

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY
KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXVII. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANU JUNE

THE MODER, REVIEW OFFICE 120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUITA

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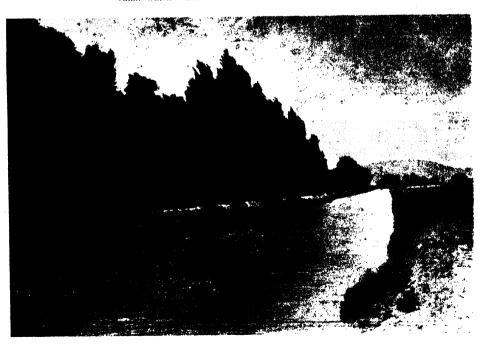
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This irrigation gate in the Western U. S. State of Colorado controls the flow of water into the canal which carries water to miles of farm fields



The main canal in an irrigation project in the western State of Oregon supplies about 65,000 acres of farm land with irrigation water

Courtesy: USOW1

AFTER HARVEST

THE MODERN REVIEW

IANUARY



1945

Vol. LXXVII. No. 1

WHOLE No. 457

NOTES

1945

The Old Year is dragging out its miserable course to an end as we pen these columns. But what are the portents for the New Year, do they bear any augury of the dawn of peace and, what is still more important, of the return of sanity to this unhappy planet of ours? We are no prophets nor do we possess the ability to See into the dim and murky future any further than the average man, but judging by the history of the Post-World-War I period, we are constrained to say that in 1945—and probably tor a full decade thereafter—this world will remain the same sinful, passion-torn, power-lust we pronounce judgment? We do not judge but riven, inferno as it has been ever since the like bits of straws we merely point the way the beginning of this century.

there came forth from the lips of those who were China to deny her the just fruits of her heroic leading the nations of the world to fight the stand, the intervention in Greece which has war-to-end-aggression, promises of a rosy, pros-raised a storm even in democratic Britain, there perous and peaceful Post-War-World There is no want of indications. We would rather not would be no more war, no more exploitation. say much about the campaign of slander against no more subjugation of man by man they said, India in general and Hindus in particular that and the Ether veritably throbbed with the has been continuously in action for over a broadcasts about Atlantic Charter, the Four- century and a half. Abbe Dubois the French Freedoms and so on and so forth. Came the Jesuit, subsidized by that most Christian body. turning of the tide against the Axis and with it the British East India Company, was the first started the slow dispersal into the thin air of outstanding figure of the last century in this matthe Most Glorious Vision of the Post-War World. ter, in this century we have had the Western Into 1945 will continue the disillusionment of Sapphira, Miss Mayo-who wrote so ably about this weary world, we make bold to say, that the Philippines as well-and the latest is that started in 1944. In India we had even an earlier remarkable English author Beverley Nichols, start with Mr. Churchill's unequivocal state- who never grew out of his conceited puppyment about India being outside the pale, so far hood. This last scribe has rolled all the great as the Atlantic Charter was concerned. That heads of Hindu India into the dust. Mahatma helped us to assess the full value of Western Gandhi he has made into a charlatan and ethies. The rest of the world started to learn the Tagore he has lowered to the state of a "minor lesson in 1944. Stalin being the first preceptor poet." Perhaps he later felt that Tagore was a with his strong-arm exposition on Poland, Mr. brother scribe-however unworthy and there-

tations in Parliament and Mr. Roosevelt ably summing up with his "de-bunking" of the "Atlantic Charter."

Who are we to malign the Great thus, and whom do we represent, it may well be asked. Well, we represent all of that great tribe, the tribe of Nobodies composed of those vast masses of suffering, voiceless and submerged humanity who possess little of the birthrights of man beyond the classification of Homo Sapiens, and who are amongst the worst suzerers from the wars waged by the power-lust maddened "followers" of the Apostle of Peace. And how dare wind is blowing, and what with the partition When the Democracies were hard-pressed, of Poland, the propaganda campaign against Churchill following up with his tutorial disser- fore some amends were due, and so in a moment of unctuous charity, he raised the geographical organisation. He said: "I know from my own site of Tagore's University, Santiniketan, some experience how helpless a provincial Ministry thousands of feet up into the Himalayas ! Not sometimes is to carry into effect any important nor yet with his culinary efforts with truth, this the economic or political rights of the people at that.

-especially the European mainly on a cash basis, the troubles of man will be on the increase. The only hope of mankind lies in the hands of Him Who is greater than all the dictators and pro-consuls of the world. In 1945 we can only hope and try to work for our own salvation under His eve. No one will help us unless we strive for it ourselves that much is certain. While there is a war, they are all too pre-occupied with the prosecution of scrambling for the spoils.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Address

matised and camouflaged by "services rendered" the same platform as the Congress. in return. Dr. Mookerjee rightly pointed out, a remedy for Indian poverty.

content with this remarkable feat of levitation, plan of reform and reorganisation concerning worthy descendant of super-fatted haberdashers if the Governor and the permanent officials take delivered a lecture on art and artists in India, it into their heads to obstruct such proposals." and, what is more, had it printed. But since In spite of this shortcoming, however, he behe himself says that he is a follower of Winston lieved that "a boycott of the constitutional Churchill, staunch and true, we shall accept all machinery was sometimes more harmful to the his statements as being on par, and leave it interests of the people than its utilisation as a weapon for fighting reactionary forces and for We confess that we are not well-versed in preparing the field for wresting large powers," International Politics and therefore we have This is exactly the position the Congress had hopes that we are wrong, but the signs of the taken up in 1937. Dr. Mookerjee echoed the times do indicate that the seeds of the Third voice of the Congress when he said: "Every World War are being sown. Neither the Four seat of power has to be captured and the whole Freedoms nor the Atlantic Charter seem to be machinery worked in a team spirit backed by in the offing. The only certainty that seems to popular support, so as to prevent avoidable be in store for the Post-War World is that mischief and to advance the good of the people fine product of Western culture and civilisation, whenever possible. . . . But let there be no namely, Power-Politics. And as Western culture misgiving that our real work must remain outvariety--rests side the Legislature."

Dr. Mookerjee boldly declared the Mahasabha's views on the communal question and pointed out their differences with the Congress. He disagreed with the C. R. formula and called Gandhiji's attempt to conciliate Mr. Jinnah a iresh Himalayan blunder. He said: "Once we allow religious considerations to determine the sovereignty of particular areas in India which will by no means be confined to one single war. After the war they would be too busy community following one religion, there will be no peace and progress for us." He brought out the points of unity underlying the Indian civilisation and said that irrespective of pro-In his presidential address to the 26th vincial barriers or the diversity in faiths and session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at language- there existed a remarkable economic Bilaspur (C.P.), Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and cultural unity and inter-dependence which struck upon a new note which would no doubt could not be destroyed at the dictate of inbe welcome. At the outset he described in short terested parties. He expressed his eager support the systematic destruction of Indian trade and for ample safeguards to protect the religious industry and declared: "It is a calumny to say and cultural rights of minorities wherever necesthat India has been mainly an agricultural sary. He explained the Mahasabha's attitude country. Not only was she industrially rich towards Muslims and said that it was not one but she sent out materials and finished goods to of hostility or domination. The Muslim League other parts of the world." He narrated how policy was attacked because it was actuated by under the Company as well as under the Crown considerations which would retard progress the 'bleeding' has continued regularised, syste- in India. Here also Dr. Mookerjee stands on

We welcome the new orientation that Dr. point which is often missed, that India's Mookerjee has given towards a uniform nationseconomic slavery is due to her political sub- alistic outlook with the Congress. The foremost inguition and Swara; is the first and essential leaders of public opinion in this country are slowly coming to the conclusion that the main Discussing the political situation in the function of the Congress is that of a Tribunal country, Dr. Mookerjee dilated on several or rather a forum where all particular diffeimportant subjects. Acceptance of office under renees in the political outlook of the different the present constitution, in his opinion, could parties and communities in India would be metry be the be-all and end-all of any political discussed freely, and settled with anxiety.

Lord Wavell's Speech

Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery spoke almost simultaneously and in the same vein. Both tried to shift the responsibility for the continuance of the deadlock on Indian shoulders. The Vicerov said:

"It is now once more fashionable to demand a move by HMG to solve the deadlock. But remember that HMG has made two attempts in the last decade. The first was the Constitution Act of 1935-a complete constitution based on years of discussion and research. I agree with Mr. Mealing that had that Act been worked in the right spirit, it would have carried us far, in fact. I think we should now be near the goal. The in fact, I think we should now be near the goal. second attempt was the draft declaration propounded by Sir Stafford Cripps. Both attempts failed.

"After the second failure, HMG said, they could do no more and that India herself must make a constructive suggestion. No such suggestion has yet emerged; and the recent discussion between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah shows how intractable the communal problem still is. I am glad to see that prominent Indians are undertaking further discussion of the problem.

"The previous rejections of their offers must naturally make HMG chary of a further advance until they feel that the spirit of compromise and co-operation is real. But their desire for a solution remains perfectly genuine; and I have tried to indicate lines on which progress might be attempted, if the Indian leaders desire it."

The Act of 1935 has been condemned by the people and stands fully exposed. This Act has taken away India's right to defend her own borders and to conduct her own foreign affairs, to run her railways and to determine her currency and exchange policies in her own interests. By this reactionary Act the Governor-General and the Governors, who previously enjoyed powers of emergency legislation by means of Ordinances for limited periods only, have been granted powers to enact permanent laws in defiance of the Legislatures. India's right to grant protection to her own industries against British competition has been circumvented by the provision for the establishment of (India) Ltds. and by equipping the Governor-General with powers "to prevent commercial discrimination." The martial races of the country have been placed out of the control of popular Legislature by a demarcation of Excluded and partially Excluded Areas to be under the direct administration of the Whitehall through the Governor-General and the provincial Governors. These in a nutshell, are the "Reforms" that India had "gained," which in the Britisher's opinion, marked a "long step forward." The Cripps proposal was even more reactionary in its immediate implications while for the dim future it held out vague promises draped around the sinister project for the vivisection of India. Even the Muslim League, composed mainly of the Government's own men, did

pretensions to the contrary, Indian opinion will continue to urse that the initiative for resolving the Indian deadlock lies with Britain and Britain alone.

Lord Wavell on National Government

Lord Wavell told the Associated Chambers of Commerce that it was commonly said that current and post-war problems could only be solved by a National Government, but the precise meaning of the term was seldom or never defined. "I am afraid that to some a National Government may mean a government in which their own particular party is in power, I think of a National Government as one formed, to meet a national crisis, in which 'none are for a party but all are for the State,' to quote Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome.

The Viceroy was very far from being accurate in saying that the meaning of the true National Government was seldom or never defined. The Congress has defined and explained it in a way which would have convinced anybody except such as are pledged to obduracy. A Government composed of the leaders of the people and responsible to the Legislature with the Governor-General as the constitutional head was the Congress definition of National Government, Congress had made the very inportant concession in this definition that they did not want complete control over the Defence services during the continuance of the War.

Lord Wavell seems to have a fancy for Macaulay. We quote below a few of his words which, although written a century ago, may be applicable in a fair degree to modern conditions in this country:

"The servants of the company obtained-not for their employers, but for themselves a monopoly almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependent, who ranged thru the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while 30 millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surai ud Dowlah. (Italice ours-Ed. M. R.)

The Mining Policy of the Govt. of India

The Government of India's mining policy forms a dark and characteristic chapter of British Indian history. The Geological Survey of India was established in 1845. Dr. Cyril Fox. Director of the Geological Survey in 1942, in the not see any virtue in the Cripps proposals and course of a statement made in a conference held miceted it. In spite of the British Government's on July 8, 1942 and presided over by Sir Firose rals. Dr. Fox made a reference to the year 1902 on?" when the Department possessed six specialised simple mining inspectors!

The Government of India suddenly besuspicions.

tion on Sept. 15, 1942, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Rahim. stated that the Utilisation Branch would, with

movement up one negrective General Manager of the Mawchi mines of the policy of the Government of India in regard to Burma Corporation, negotiated with the Mewar the development of India's mineral resources Government for working the most promising during the past century. The formation of the lead-zinc mines at Zawar in the Udaipur State. utilisation branch of the Geological Survey They secured the cancellation of payment of was announced in that conference and Dr. Fox compensation of the lease of the mines held bu made the astounding revelation there that the a private Indian firm and obtained a prospectimportance of geological work on the part of ing license from the Mewar Government. Had the Government was realised only in the in- Dr. Ambedkar's earlier professions been sincere. terests of getting bunker coal for the purpose of what prevented the Government to work the supplying ships which came from Europe with Zawar mines jointly with the existing Indian merchandise to this country. This is what he leaseholder and why was it necessary to have said: "The work of geologists in India was the lease cancelled? Dr. Ambedkar evaded the mainly to promote the export of raw materials question when Mr. Neogy pointedly asked: rather than to encourage industrial development "Before getting the Udaipur durbar obligingly in this country." The Government evidently to cancel this lease, was any attempt made by took the view that the Department was con- the Government to find out whether any agreecerned in getting minerals for export to other ment could not be arrived at with that private countries and was not interested in the question party for the purpose of enabling whatever of manufacturing anything out of those mine- activities the department wanted to be carried

In the course of a debate on the same submineral experts and was prepared for a big ject on September 21, 1942, Pandit L. K. utilisation drive. It was prevented by the Maitra asked: "Is Dr. Ambedkar in a position Government and the experts were turned into to tell us that after the field-work is done and after the exploratory work is finished, when the Utilisation Branch recommends that certain came active in its Geological Department after metals or mineral substances may be commer-Japan entered the war, and particularly after cially mined, Indians will get the benefit out of the loss of Malay and Burma. British evacuee it? Is he prepared to give an assurance that mining experts from Burma found ready em- the money that will be spent on this Utilisaployment here. The parent bodies under which tion Branch will eventually lead to the fostering they had worked in the Burma mines have not of the Indian enterprise in the development of gone into liquidation and it is not known mineral industry, and not to the investment of whether such evacuees drew salary both from British capital as has been our unfortunate extheir firms as also from the Government, Mr. K. perience in the past?" No assurance however C. Neogy, speaking in the Central Legislative came forward, from the Treasury Branches, to Assembly on September 14, 1942, expressed a the effect that if the Utilization Branch decides shrewd suspicion that "ultimately the activities that certain types of minerals could be developed of this branch (utilisation) of the department in this country profitably, preference should, in will be utilised for the purpose of rehabilitating the first instance, be given to Indian companies in findia, the powerful British financial interests to work and develop them. When Mr. Jamnawhich were dislodged from enemy occupied das Mehta raised discussion about the exploitacountries, interests which were engaged in the tion of the mica mines by joint Anglo mineral industry in Malay and Burma." Sub- American interests to the exclusion of Indian sequent events have tended only to confirm his commercial firms, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Leader of the House, frantically tried to have the dis-Mr. Neogy investigated the activities of the cussion stopped and ultimately succeeded in his utilisation Branch further. In reply to his ques- attempt on a ruling of the President, Sir Abdur

After incurring a lot of expenditure on the the help of experts, prove deposits and under- mines, the Government of India have decided take small-scale mining operations which might that the Zawar operations could not be consiinclude the operation of experimental and pilot dered as a war project in view of the fact that plants for smelting, etc., up to the stage when it no pilot plant could get into production till very became clear that production could be under- late in 1945, and that India and the Allied taken his commercial firms. In the course of the Nations were already receiving a substantial same reply Dr. Ambedkar gave materials for a portion of their requirements from other sources, contradiction of his own statement and the The Geological Survey has finally recommended real fact came out. He stated that the Govern- discontinuance of further prospecting and dismonth of India, acting through Mr. Cowen, late possel of the operatives to the best advantage

of the Government of India. The executial desirability of developing a mine of two of the most strategie metals, lead and zinc, in India and in the interest of India has been completely neglected. With increasing prospects of the recapture of Burma, it may well be that the Imperialists desire to have the Zawar mine closed in the interest of the Burma Corporation unless the mines could be secured by the Corporation itself. It is understood that the Government of India are now trying to surrender their lease of the mines to the Mewar Government thus leaving the Mewar Durbar free to dispose of the concession in any way they like. The fear is entertained in informed quarters that this may be a devise for helping the Burma Corporation to secure the lease through diplomatic pressure of the Political Department.

Petroleum Concessions and the Need for a New Mining Legislation

The grant of petroleum prospecting licenses by the provinces deserves attention. Mr. K. C. Neogy had asked the Government of India whether petroleum was included among the minerals with which the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India was concerned. In reply, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated that according to the present programme, that is in 1942 petroleum was not so included,—although sulphur, mica, tungsten or wolfram, and nonferrous metals like lead, zinc, copper and tin were included among minerals required for war purposes The exclusion of petroleum from this list was mysterious and no explanation for it was put forward.

It is widely believed—as it was plainly stated in a scientific journal—that the right to carry on certain preliminary scientific investigations as regards the occurrence of oil in the foothills of the Himalayas and other areas in India has already been granted by the provincial governments in favour of certain well-known foreign concessionaires. Mr. Neogy, on other occasions also, enquired of the Government of India the reason for the grant of prospecting licenses for oil, a defence material, by the provinces instead of keeping it under their own responsibility. The Government of India have denied even any knowledge of such a grant on the plea that regulation of mines and oilfields form a provincial subject. In the previnces under Sec. 93, and in the others with subservient Ministries, it is not at all difficult to have licenses issued to most favoured parties. It is desirable to clarify once for all the constitutional position in respect of mineral rights made fully public. In his statement to the between the Centre and the Provinces. Under press, Nawab of Bhopal, Chasteller of the the Government of India Act 1995, "Regula- Chamber, has declined to chesitate the issue at

tion of mines and silfields and mineral developments to the extent to which such regulation and development under Federal control is declared by Federal law to be expedient in the public interest" is a Central subject, while there is an entry in the Provincial Legislative List which states that "Regulation of mines and mineral development is subject to the provisions of List 1 (the Federal list) with respect to regulation and development under Federal control." No Federal law has so far been enacted and therefore the provinces continue to possess full freedom to frame their own mining laws and rules to regulate the grant of mineral concessions in their territories. This has been the position since the introduction of the new reforms in April 1937, but it requires revision. The regulation and development of oil and strategic minerals as would be necessary for national defence should be in the hands of the Central Government. Experience during the present war has definitely proved Central control to be expedient in the public interest and the power to legislate for minerals of strategic and key industrial importance should rest with the Centre alone. The provinces have so far enjoyed this privilege by virtue of sufferance from the Centre and the position should now be made clear by means of appropriate legislation for giving effect to this policy.

"Churchill Must Go"-Wells

Under the heading "Churchill Must Go." Mr. H. G Wells, in the Socialist London Weekly Tribune, describes the British Prime Minister as "would-be British Fuehrer" Mr. Wells writes:

'Churchill's ideology picked up in the garrison life of India, on the reefs of South Africa, the material home and conversation of wealthy Conservative households is a pitiful jumble of incoherent nonsense. A boy scout is better equipped. He has never given evidence of thinking extensively or of any scientific or literary capacity. His ignorance of contemporary social and physical science is conspicious. He has served his purpose, and it is high time he retired before we forget the debt we owe him. We want him to go—now—before he discredits us further, for his own sake as well as ours, and if he takes all the Royalties in the world with himso much the better for human hope. The matter is urgent '

Princes' Resignation

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes have tendered resignation in a body. but the causes which led to the adoption of a drastic step of this nature have not yet been however, throws some light on this hitch between the princes and the paramount power. The differences seem to have been seven-fold, the problems being (1) joint services, (2) protection against attacks from British India. (3) the attachment scheme. (4) industrial policy, (5) courts of arbitration, (6) post-war reconstruction and (7) Treaty rights. A deputation of the princes had waited on the Crown Representative. Lord Wavell, some time before the resignation, with the object of obtaining clarifications of these problems. The Viceroy's reply conveyed to them by the Political Department of the Government of India has been reported in the Hindustan Times.

The joint services scheme, in which the princes agree generally that the smaller Indian States which cannot by themselves maintain an efficient standard of administration should cooperate with some other State or States to secure this essential end, has been supported by the Crown Representative.

In demanding protection against attacks from British India, the States have expressed the fear of Jatha invasions and campaigns against them in the British Indian press. Lord Wavell has assured them that the States will continue to receive protections whether from baseless agitations against individual States directed from British India or from scurrilous attacks in the British Indian press, Such provisions have been made in the Government of India Act itself and protection of the princes form an important item in the lists of special responsibilities for the Governor-General as well as the Governors

The States have claimed an equal participation with British India so far as the industrial policy is concerned They demand production goods like machinery and fuel, etc., on the same basis as the provinces. The transference of capital from British India to the States to avoid the E. P. T. has engaged the attention both of the States and the Central Government and this transference has been brought under the supervision of the latter. The control of capital issue under Sec. 94-A of the D. I. Rules has also been a point of controversy. The industrial life of the States has already been much vaunted Treaty Rights. been issued to the States for receiving paypost-war reconstruction for the States are simi- sacred Treaty Rights.

use and one intention of the Government in this respect also is not quite clear. In the several post-war reconstruction committees, the states have not been adequately represented and the princes have made a grievance of it.

The remaining three crucial points have been left completely unsolved. The princes proposed that recourse to Courts of Arbitration should be had as a matter of right for resolving the issues which are justiciable or relate to fiscal economic or financial matters including the interpretation of Tresties and Agreements. The Crown Representative has expressed his inability to accept this proposal. The princes have been greatly alarmed by the attachment scheme, and the manner in which the India (Attachment of States) Act was rushed through the Parliament, without any consultation with the princes has, not unnaturally, confirmed their apprehension. The groups of States formed under the joint services or co-operative grouping scheme will be some sort of a coalition of the autocrat princes the real while will be exercised by the superautocrat, the Political Agent. The States have been very much apprehensive of the merger scheme. The merger of small States into larger ones without consent of the merging states has involved the transference of the paramount power's rights to the attaching states. The Princes had earlier obtained an assurance that the functions of the Paramount Power would not be transferred to the British Indian Government. The Princes have failed in their attempt to secure a revision of the Instrument of Attachment so as to include in it the consent of the merging state, and the refusal of the Government to revise the Instrument has confirmed the Princes' fear that the principle may be extended in future also to States not immediately concerned with the merger scheme.

Too much fuss has been—and is still being made about what the princes call Treaty Rights. These treaties are all in reality subsidiary alliances and the princes enjoy their "rights" under sufferance of the Paramount Power. Encroachments on these "rights" have systematically been made to meet Imperial needs. Dynastic rights and questions of misrule have always been determined in pursuance of an Imperial policy and the Princes' rights chained up under this Rule in spite of their have been completely disregarded whenever An order has they were in conflict with Imperial interests. The recent order of the Textile Direcments in British India for goods delivered to torate to pay for their goods in British India the Supply Department and the States have against the protest of the States and the appliwerey much resented it. The reply of the Crown cation of the Control of Capital Issues order to Representative on industrial policy has been the States are the most recent instances of the rather vague and has been confined mainly to helplessness of the Princes against the Covernthe expression of a pious wish. The problem of ment of India in spite of what they call their at 1 1 1 100 14

It is not only that the Princes have little freedom of action, but their freedom of speeds is also greatly restricted. Just as they are upable to take any action even for their own welfare when such action tends to conflict with Imperial interests, they cannot deliberate any question which is not favoured by the Vicercy. The Chamber of Princes only suggest the agenda for their meeting, discussion takes place only on such items of it as have been approved by the Crown Representative; the text of draft resolution which was framed for discussion by the Chamber of Princes, and which could not be discussed, shows that unilateral action has systematically been taken to trample The substance of the down their treaty rights resolution which has been published by the Hindustan Times is given below:

The Chamber requests His Excellence the Crown Representative to be pleased to convey to His Majesty's Government the grave misgivings and apprehensions aroused in the states, by the recent tendency to alter the states' relationship with the Crown and to qualify the observance of the Crown's obligations, by unilateral action without the consent of the states notwithstanding the solemn royal pronouncements that these treaty rights shall be maintained unimpaired, and the recent assurance conveyed to the Indian princes by His Majesty's Government that the fulfilment of the fundamental obligations arising out of the treaties and sanads remains an integral part of His Maiesty's Government's

The Chamber further requests H E the Crown Representative to convey this expression of their devotion to his Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, with the respectful submission that in this matter of fundamental importance to the continuance of their relationship with the Crown, the Indian princes solicit His Majesty's personal good offices to ensure an early and satisfactory announcement.

Majesty is irrelevant as the doctrine of Minisotherwise than on the advice of the Cabinet.

U. P. Education Plan

The United Provinces, like Madras, forging ahead with schemes of post-war development of education. A committee of officials, non-officials, and eminent educationists of the province has been appointed by the Governor to discuss the post-war development schemes of the Education Department of the U.P. Government. The committee recently met and the following decisions were made:

The meeting was of the opinion that compulsory education should be introduced in selected areas till the whole province was covered. The Government proposals christaged that this should be done in 20 years, but the survenged that this should be done in 20 years, too was sheeting thought that that period was too long and that it should be possible to achieve the desired results _n about 10 years of the scheme worked successfully throughout the province. Computation was to be applied to children between the ages of five and 13 years.

has reporte girls it was strongly night by the lady members that if necessary, owing to there being no girls eshool available, girls up to the age of 10 should be admitted into boys schools, provided that there was a substantial number of women teachers in that school. It was revealed that while the number of girls in girls primary schools at present was 75,000, no less that 1,30,000 girls were volutitarily reading in boys schools. The meeting then discussed the arrangements for training a lesses number of teachers required and was

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separate schools, and that full facilities should be given to the members of the depressed classes to read in ordinary state schools, and thereil assistance by way of stipends and freeships should be afforded to them.

On the question of technical education, the meeting was of the opinion that technical education should have the run parallel to general education and should have the same stages—primary, secondary, intermediate and degree—and that the degree courses should be managed by the university, and the others by a special board of technical education. of technical education

The meeting concluded with a general discussion on university and high school education. It was unanimously accepted that the intermediate examination should be abolished and one year of its course should be added to the degree rourse and the other year to the high school course, the total number of years required to take the degree not being exceeded.

It has been estimated that the 20 years educational scheme of the United Provinces in the post-war period involves an expenditure of Rs 21,12,87,650 on junior basic schools and Rs. 16.22,47 290 on senior basic schools.

Mass Education to be Made Compulsory in Madras

The report on Educational Post-War Re-Invoking the personal good offices of His construction prepared by the D. P. I. has recently been considered by the sub-committee of terial responsibility in the British constitution the Post-War Reconstruction Department of restricts the rights of the British King to act the Government of Madras. The Committee agreed that

> Compulsory education for both boys and girls of all communities should be introduced in all areas, in the first place from standards I to V, providing additional accommodation and staff to the extent necessary in areas already served by existing schools, and opening the providing additional areas aready nerved by existing schools, and opening

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In Bengid, the Government is busy in devising ways and means for the denial of education. No effect has been given to the

Primary Education Act passed by the Bengal of a lengthy statement by Om Prakash, an Out Agency Legislature years ago, although the Primary Education cess has been collected in some areas.

The Education Sub-Committee of the recently Post-War Reconstruction in Bengal considered the problem of secondary education and decided that a selective process should be adopted for deciding which boys and girls shall be provided with special facilities for higher academic learning. Way is also being cleared for the passage of the Secondary Education Bill for the curtailment of education by handing over important powers of the Legislature to the Governor. The measure has found eager and active support with the European members of the Bengal Legislature, the prop of present Ministry and the upholders of Imperialist policy of denial of education.

Corruption and Bribery Rampant in Food Administration

Hindustan Standard's New Delhi correspondent reports:

New Delhi, Dec. 16 .- Sensational findings that corruption, bribery and petty harassment by minor officials, are rampant in the food administration of the country, are contained in a voluminous report submitted by M. 8. Butler, officer on special duty, who toured many of the provinces in order to report on the Government Grain Purchases Schemes.

Mr. Butler says, "In no food administration is here complete absence of any bribery and corruption" and that "another aspect, more serious perhaps than bribery and corruption. is that of petty harassment by minor officials. That it goes on to a fairly extensive degree there is no doubt. That it should and must be eliminated is equally undisputed." That

is equally undisputed." That Provincial and State Governments do not generally speaking, "take sufficient specific steps in this direction, is, I am afraid, a fact." It is understood that Government are now scriously considering as to what is the best way of climinating cornection, and bribery. In this connection. I understand, a special branch within each Food Con-trol Administration, dealing with the elimination of bribery and corruption, may be set up. The Central Government seems to have brought the matter to the notice of the Provincial Governments, who are being urged to take effective steps to counteract such practices.

Allegations about serious cases of corruption have been made in the press and within the Legislature before now, all to no or little effect. It is hardly likely that this report will produce any better results. Bribery, corruption and inefficiency are the inevitable consequences of Divide et Impera, which means keeping timeservers and reactionaries in positions of trust.

Nature of Corruption in Railway Administration Revealed

The staff correspondent of the National Call reports:

A number of sensational and startling disclosures

Clerk at Baghpat, relating to the case against 64 persons including Mr. H. M. Nolan, Superintendent, S. S. Light Railway; Mr. D'Costa, Traffic Inspector, seven Station Masters, a railway contractor and a number of phrominent sugar Merchants of the United Provinces, proceeding in the court of R. B. Vinod Chand, Special Magistrate at Meerut, under the various sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Defence of India Rules: This case is described as the most sensational case of profiteering, bribery and corruption of the present war in Northern India: Om Prakash who was also one of the accused in the case has been given King's Pardon: According to a rough estimate about Rs. 800,000 were paid as a bribe and approximately double of amount was made by the accused merchants as profit by selling sugar and Gur, etc., in the black market and contravening the various regulations of the Sugar Control Order:

There was a surprise to-day in the court when Lalita Prashad, Station Master, Kandhla, been declared absconder by the court, surrendered himself remaining under ground for over an year. He was

immediately taken in police custody.

Among some of the facts which the approver Om Prakash had disclosed so far in the court during the course of his statement were that thousands of rupees were taken as bribe in the name of police, a number of documents were either torn or destroyed, thousands of railway receipts were antidated and written by the merchants themselves, and the signatures of the goods clerk were forged, railway receipts were prepared even without the forwarding notes, without the actual delivery of goods at the railway station, unauthorised railway receipt forms were printed, thousands of fictitious entries were made and several orders of the District. Magistrate were deliberately defied.

The hearing of the case is proceeding.

Strictures on Ispahanis Expected in Woodhead Reports

The National Call's Delhi correspondent reports that the first part of the Woodhead Report is likely to be issued some time in January while the second part is expected to be issued in March. The first part will deal with the famine in Bengal and the second part will make recommendations regarding procurement and food supply. The correspondent says:

It is understood that the Woodhead Commission is taking due notice of the findings of the Braund Committee which purports to throw responsibility for Bengal on the Government of India rather than on the Government of Bengal. The Woodhead Commission it is understood, is likely to white-wash the conduct of the various governments involved by showing that the Bengal famine was consequential on so many factors that blame cannot be made to rest on any single authority. I further understand that very serious strictures are likely to be passed on the conduct of the Bengal Food Procurement Agency whith is in the hands of a famous Muslim League firm of Ispahanis, The report, I believe will be unanimous, the Indian

members concurring to the findings of Sir John Woodhead and his colleagues, and the feeling is that this unanimity may be achieved at the expense of frankness.

Imperialism in Asia Doomed

A sharp contrast to the bulletin of the far beyond one's imagination; were made in the course American Foreign Policy Association is pro-

vided in the bulletin of the Pacific Relations Institute. The United Press of America reports that this bulletin calls on the U.S. Government to attempt to obtain at the Pacific Relations Institute Conference, to be held in New York in January 1945, from the European colonial powers an agreement to the unequivocal and deficits programmes under which the peoples of Burma, Malay, Indo-China and East Indies would be assured of self-government in "foreseeable future." The author Lawrence Salisbury savs :

An effort must be made now because America's "bargaining power" among the Allies would be greatly lessened with the defeat of Germany and "we may miss a great opportunity of ridding the world of the ever latent threat to the global and inter-racial war." He adds, "Imperialism in Asia is doomed" and "whatever may be the attitude of the colonial Powers the people of Asia will eventually achieve self-government." Theirfore in their best interest America and her European Allies should realise that "it is wiser to yield strength to the growing aspirations of the colonial Asiatics than to delay until they are forced to yield from weakness."
He said America's 'prolonged silence" on the issue of colonial independence meant "tacit commitment to colonial independence meant support the imperial system which will inevitably come to an end" He warned that the Jap propaganda for pan-Asia will continue in the post-war, "seizing every opportunity of creating among the other Asiatics and the opportunity of creating among the other Asiatics hatred of the whites." Hence unless America and the European Powers co-operated the "enlightened policy which treats the Assatics as potential equals in the world affairs" Japan's purpose "to fight next time with Asia solidly behind her" would more probably be achieved He said in such a war China might be on the side of Japan, "for if our policy in South-East Asia proves to be a failure, our policy everywhere in East Asıa will have failed."

No solution of the Asiatic problem is conceivable until and unless India attain her freedom. Programmes for Burma, Malay, Indo-China and the East Indies, in spite of their unequivocality and definiteness, will be useless and futile with India remaining "a vast prison house with the key at the White Hall."

103 Detenus Die in Bengal Jails

During question hour in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, on December 12, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister informed the House that the number of persons detained without trial who died during detention was 59 in 1943 and 44 in 1942. The increase in death was, in the Government's opinion, due who were released due to ill health was 67 in higher standards might suffer. 1943 and 44 in 1944.

amount of security obtained by the British increase in the tempo of the war against Japan. Empire by imprisoning large numbers of pri- the C-in-C said one hoped not. He added as soners in a bad state of heath. A perusal of the more resources became available from overseas, official records of the proceedings of the Bengal it should not be necessary to demand so much Legislative Assembly reveals a good many from India, but so long as the war against

cases of neglect of the health of the detenus in some instances resulting in the death of the sufferers. The parliamentary secretary's reply reveals a state of affairs which deserves the severest condemnation of the present jail administration of the province. The proportion of deaths appears all the more alarming when we remember Sir Nazimuddin's statement that there were 1577 such prisoners in detention.

Control of Colonies

A bulletin issued by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, says that the desire for national independence among Asiatic peoples can no longer be checked, even by force. The Association has suggested a three-fold policy. Firstly, the United Nations, instead of returning the Japanese occupied areas to their brevious colonial rulers, should establish an international trusteeship over them. Secondly, specific dates should be set when this trust could reasonably be expected to be terminated. Thirdly, that during the period of trusteeship, every effort should be made to provide the dependent peoples with education in political and economic matters. Peoples of Asia have knowledge of how these theories of trusteeship and white man's burden have worked out in Africa and Asia. Given any option they would want to manage their own affairs, even if it be attended with a temporary chaos, rather than remain under foreign vule. The Association further says, "The difficulty of liquidating the heritage of empire in subject countries must be accomplished in as orderly a manner as possible if chaos is to be prevented." Asiatics have found to their cost that such pleas are put forward not for the liquidation of an Empire but for the continuance of it in a modified

War Effort Load Heaviest on Indian Peasant

Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Claude Auchinleck at a press conference today gave some impressions of his recent tour of India. He acknowledged that even the humblest in India were bearing the burden of war effort. and that the sacrifice which the Indian peasant with his small margin of reserve was called upon to admission of a large number of prisoners in a to make was severer than the deprivation of bad state of health. The number of prisoners comfort which people in other countries with

Replying to question whether the burden We are unable to appeciate the added on the civil population would increase with the

should not be increased to a point at which it becomes unbearable."

Difference in the Emoluments of British and Indian Troops

In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Negry in the Central Legislative Assembly on Nov. 3, last. Mr. C. M. Trivedi, on behalf of the Government, made a statement about the difference between the emoluments of a British soldier serving in India and of an Indian soldier serving abroad. The figures are given below:

British other ranks serving in India (i.e., outside

their own country):—	
Rank A	Ionthly emolument
PRIVATES-	
(Private after 3 years' service)	Rs. 119-12-
NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS-	
Corporal	142-9-
Sergeant	171-1-
WARRANT OFFICERS	
Ciam II (Sub-Conductor)	262-5-
Class I (Conductor)	307-15-
Indian soldiers serving outside	India:
PRIVATES-	
(Sepoy after 3 years' service)	44-8-
NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS-	
Naik	56-0-
Havildar	63-0-
VICEBOY'S COMMISSIONED OFFICERS-	_
Jamadar	108513

In addition to the monthly emolument. the married British soldier gets a marriage allowance at the following rates:

For wife	••	Rs. 80
For wife and 1 child		86
For wife and 2 children	• •	136
For wife and 3	• •	181
Each additional child	••	45

In his report, Lord Munster has suggested several amenities for the British troops, but the conditions of Indian troops serving inside and outside India, has not merited the attention of either of his Lordship or the British or Indian Governments.

India's North-West Frontier

Subedar

The Leader's special New Delhi representative reports that an Afghan Military Mission has arrived in New Delhi. With the emergence of Russia on the world's diplomatic chess-board. India's North-West Frontier is again coming into lime-light as a bulwark of defence of the the chairmanship of General Tucker is already sion at a time when the Tucker Committee is anna stamp for postage.

Germany continued those resources were diffi- at work may be of some diplomatic significance. cult to come by. "I can assure you that the It is for the first time that a military mission Government of India has this matter very much from a neighbouring country has come to visit in mind. The strain on the civil population India during the war. Formerly goodwill or cultural missions have toured the country from Siam, Turkey and Iran. According to an official statement, the Afghan mission has come to study Indian Army methods.

Muslim League Politics

Muslim League politics in this country has developed three different characteristics. (i) one for Mr. Jinnah as Dictator, (ii) one for the provinces where the League is in opposition and (iii) one for the provinces where it is in office. The worthlessness of Mr. Jinnah's long standing grievance against the Congress parliamentary Board of the Working Committee in that it interfered in provincial administration has been proved by his uncalled-for intervention in Sind politics after Mr. Roger Thomas had been appointed Minister by the Sind Premier. The opportunist policy pursued in the provinces has also been exposed. In the Punjab, the League 0 opposed the Members' Salary Enhancement Bill on grounds of principle demanding that any extra money should go to the small salao ried people, while in Bengal such a Bill is being sponsored by the League to put more money ir. the pockets of the League members of the Legislature at a time when the petty clerks and school teachers, including a large number of their brothers in faith, are starving. In the Punjab the Leaguers have suddenly become conscious about the political prisoners and have demanded their release condemning the government action as "crushing the civil liber-ties of the people." The Punjab Premier has given a fit reply to them when he challenged the Leaguers who, he said, had one high command and one leader, to release all political prisoners and detenus in the N.-W. F. P., Sind, Bengal and Assam, and then press such motions in the Punjab Assembly. In respect of the states also the same dual policy is pursued. In Hindu majority states, where the Ruler is a Muslim, separatism is condemned but if the Ruler is a Hindu separatism is fostered. In the Hindu majority states where the Ruler is Muslim, dictatorship is applauded as being the best arrangement, but where the Ruler is a Hindu popular government is demanded.

Index of "The Modern Review"

On account of restriction on paper it has British Empire in India. A committee under not been possible for us to publish in this issue the index of the seventy-sixth (July-December, examining the problem of frontier in regard 1944) volume of The Modern Review. Readers both to the tribal aspect and future defence desirous of obtaining it should write to the line. The arrival of the Afghan Military Mis- Modern Review Office Manager, enclosing one-

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE end of the year leaves the position of the Allies on the Western front in a state of flux. This is an anti-climax to the inspired news we have been receiving from that quarter regarding the desperate straits to which the German defenders have been reduced. After the magnificently executed landing operations of the Allies in June, the real war-situation became secondary in importance on the "News-front" the head lines being repeatedly and continuously pirated by this allied spokesman and that predicting an early and summary collapse Mr Churchill of the Germans on the West predicted victory by the end of summer in the first instance, then by the end of autumn and finally after many disappointments discreetly refused to think of victory at all for the present. American spokesmen were no less optimistic and even amongst the Allied fighting generals many broke out in prophecies Field-Marshal Montgomery being the most optimistic earlier checks in Normandy cooled down the optimists for a while but after the German started their retreat to the frontiers, they gushed forth again into a veritable spate of amateur strategy and mock-heroic perorations about the future Even the very distinct set-back in Holland and the very stiff opposiin the Palatinate and tion encountered elsewhere failed to daunt these oracles even though Mr Churchill himself cooled down to a more cautious vein. It is this back-ground against which the present German thrust comes out in such a violent contrast

We do not think the Allied commandersin-the-field were under any delusion whatever the position might have been in the Supreme -War Council, for the facts of situation were standing out in stark relief after the German master-plan stood revealed in Eastern Europe. There after an orderly retreat across hundreds of miles of devastated Soviet territory, the German defenders stood to battle on the approaches to the Reich. Thereafter the fighting took on a new orientation. On the coastal territories of the Baltic States, on the marches of East Prussia, across the heart of Poland and on the foothills of Carpathians a series of grim show-downs took place in which the defenders fought for each square yard of territory with a ferocity and skill that belied all thoughts of an imminent collapse. The debacle in Rumania, the defection of Finland and the seemingly total collapse of the defences in the Balkans were all major disasters and if the Germans were in reality at their last gasp, as Mr. Chur-

chill and other Allied spokesmen led the world to believe, then the Wehrmacht would never have been able to pull the defence together out The Wehrmacht of such desperate straits. succeeded, at that time, in establishing the defence on fresh lines where it materially succeeded in containing the Soviets' assaults en-masse. The defence line in Warsaw stood in spite of the very violent thrusts of the Soviets forces-aided as it was most substantially by the truly valiant "forlorn hope" attempts of "General Bor" and his gallant and heroic two hundred thousand Polish patriots. That the Soviets' assault should fail in spite of such a major diversion in great force at the rear was proof enough of the resources and efficiency of the Wehrmacht Stalin's condemnation of "General Bor" after the failure of the assault on Warsaw is not only one of the most ungracious incidents of this war, it is also an indicator of the extent of the up-setting of the Russian plans consequent on this unexpected check. In East Prussia the Soviets' forces were fought to a standstill and in the Baltic states their progress became progressively slow and laboured in the extreme Even in Hungary the Russian assault met-and is still meeting-extremely fierce and highly skilled opposition All these facts clearly go to show that the German supreme command is not so down and out shorn of all reserves and bereft of all resources, as the wishful thinking of some of the great ones on the Allied side led the democratic world to believe Turning to the Western front the extremely slow and halting progress of Montgomerv's armies which virtually have come to a standstill for the present after being manneuvred into the flooded and marshy areas of the Dutch frontier regions. and the long and bitter opposition the American forces met prior to the German thrust were all pointers standing up a mile high of the strength and capacity still retained by the Nazi warmachine. And the Allied commander-in-thefield must have been well-aware of the implication of these facts, else why their slow, cautious and calculated, step-by-step advance into enemy territory in spite of a more than five-fold superiority in men, armour and artillery and mastery of the skies above the battle lines?

The fact is that the Wehrmacht is trying to force a long war of attrition on its opponents. The first essential of such a project is to disrupt the Allied plan of campaign with regard to both its continuity and coherence. The Russians succeeded in stalling the German campaigns in

this manner before Moscow, at Rostov and finally at Stalingrad. After each set-back the Nazi supreme command had to plan afresh and, new reserves of men and material had to be sent to the field. Major alterations had to be made in the commands and drastic changes had to be made in the strategy of the assault in the matters of venue, tactical moves and the method of approach to seize the initiative The Russians knew that they had not a ghost of a chance to obtain a decision on the field in their favour without the full weight of Allied intervention on a major continental scale in the West, which would force a substantial diversion of the forces of the Nazi High Command from the Eastern front to the West. And so they confined their counter-thrusts and winter-campaigns to limited objectives, which merely aimed at throwing the German campaigns out-of-gear, inflicting heavy losses in men and high wastages in material on the Germans thereby, Realization of the implications of such methods of warfare dawned on the Nazi war-lords after Stalingrad and with characteristic efficiency they changed their strategy from offence to defence in order to meet the imminent threat on the South and the West. That the defence plan was well thoughtout and placed in capable hands is proved by the survival of the defence forces in the face of colossal disasters caused by the defectious of all its allies in the West with the exception of the Hungarian fighting forces. This thrust by F. M. Rundstedt is thus just one more move according to plan "Aachen as Xmas present" and "Paris in New Year" is just so much ballyhoo by Allied news retailers for place names are of little moment in warfare on the continental scale. The German is fighting for time, time to add to and perfect his defences, to his reserves of men now in training and to his reserve of latest weapons, and the measure of his success is by the measure of time by which he can prolong this war.

It might be argued that the Russians could look forward to the day when the Western Allies formed the Second front and brought into action their vast resources in men and material against the enemy. They knew that once the Allies landed in France the battle in the West would be as exacting in costs to the Nazi resources as in the East and sooner or later the Axis war-machine would break under the load of the tremendous odds against it. But what have the Germans to look forward to, that they thus are trying to take a leaf out of the Soviet hook of defensive warfare? Apparent they have nothing-or have they? Japan's latest campaign in China provides much food for thought in that respect. As things stand,

already the U.S.A. has made substantial diversions of fighting forces to the Far Eastern theatre and indications are that still more and more troops and plans and material of war will have to be sent to that area. The Allied Supreme Command has had to modify its own dictum of "Asia must wait" already and if the war in Europe lengthens out to the end of 1945, then major alterations will have to be made in its plans. Japan did not wait though the rest of Asia had to perforce and it is gradually dawning on the Allied war-lords that further delay might be dangerous.

But will the Germans succeed in their attempts to gain time? This is a question for the Allied Supreme Command to answer The situation in Luxembourg and Belgium at the time of writing (27-12-44) is too fluid for others to draw any conclusions If Rundstedt succeeds in taking Liege and in consolidating for the winter on the line of the Meuse down to the approach to Sedan, then the Allied plans for the spring offensive would be handicapped.

In Italy the fight for the plains of the river Po blazed up about the middle of December and is still continuing in the pulsating manner that has marked the Italian campaign all along. We wrote in a previous issue that the Germans would probably stage a stubborn defence here, as beyond the Po the terrain would be in favour of the Allied forces due to their preponderance in the weight of armour

In Hungary the battle for Budapest has now mounted to a climax The Soviets' winter campaign has also started in the North and also on the Slovak border. The difficulties facing the Russians in this year's winter-campaign are peculiar, as we have remarked before, and therefore continuous long-term battering of the German positions have not been possible up till now. Even now the offensive has not mounted up to the proportions of the previous campaigns, though there are signs that the Soviets have solved their supply problems to some extent.

In the Far-East the Chinese have fought the Japanese campaign to a standstill. There is a welcome respite from the pressure on the slender and vanishing resources of China. The situation is far from the re-assuring as yet though the immediate danger seems to have passed. In the Philippines Leyte has been freed from the Japanese. This is a substantial gain for the Allies and it will probably aid the U.S.A. plans for a major offensive against Japan to a very great extent. Lucon and Mindanao have to be brought under American control, however, before the Japanese inner sealines can be cut, and that is the main objective before the Allies.

A NEW SOURCE OF MARATHA HISTORY

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, KW. G.LE., D.Litt.

rose to unmistakable prominence in Indian Holkar (both series printed by Parasnis), bepolitics by the leading part that he took in sides a mass of Persian news-letters called restoring the exiled Mughal Emperor Shah akhbarat written by professional reporters of Alam II to his capital at Delhi. Then followed events' (called wagia-navises) kept at the years of stagnation and gloom for him owing to Emperor's Court or in Sindhia's camp by prothe premature death of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I (18 Nov. 1772) the murder of his successor Narayan Rao (30 Aug 1773) and the civil war that broke out in Maharashtra against the next Peshwa Raghunath Rao The English merchants of Bombay seized the opportunity of this internal weakness of the Puna Government to intervene and annex Maratha territory on the west coast (December 1774). The Maratha national leaders popularly known as the Bara-bhai, patriotically met the challenge and war ensued with the English and the local traitor whom they supported This is known as the First Maratha War, though it really consisted of two separate conflicts which were rightly styled in some contemporary English histories as the First and Second Maratha Wars. The treaty of Salbai in May 1782 put an end to them recognising Mahadji Sindhia guarantor of its terms to the English

This people's war brought to the front two national leaders of unrivalled ability and character: Nana Fadnis the statesman and Mahadji Sindhia the soldier and diplomat The work of the latter survives to our day. From the Convention of Wargaum (January 1779) in this war to the day of his own death on 12 Feb 1794 Mahadii Sindhia dominated contemporary Indian history in North and South alike. He was the friend and "patron" of the English and the Regent Plenipotentiary (Wakil-imutlag) of the Mughal Empire after December 4784, and his successor Daulat Rao Sindhia continued to hold that commending post till his reduction by Wellesley in 1803.

quarter of the 18th century can be complete which does not use the original Marathi and Persian State-papers and news-reports emanating from the courts of these two Sindhias or the camps of their generals. Hitherto our best sources of the history of Mahadji were the letters relating to this period (published by Rajwade in his Sadhanen, vol 12) and the despatches sent to Nana Fadnis by that minister's and also (though incidentally) by Nana that, and Gulgule at Kotah was constantly kept

Ar the end of the year 1771, Mahadji Sindhia Fadnis's agents at the Court of Ahalya Bai minent princes and nobles. This last class of records has not yet been printed, or even fully listed

> The Marathi despatches and news-letters sent from Mahadii Sindhia's camp run in an unbroken stream so long as Mahadii was absent in Northern India. But after his return to Puna in June 1792 they naturally ceased, because Nana and Mahadji being now at the same place there was no occasion to send such information about the one to the other in writing This gap in our materials is filled by Persian akhbarats from the Peshwa's Court and Mahadii's camp written in Puns for employers in Northern India such as the Nawab of Oudh the English Council in Calcutta and others. A mass of these manuscript newspapers covering the years 1793-1795 are preserved in the British Museum (London) I have worked through photographs of them belonging to Kumar Raghuvir Sinh.

> But these Persian "private press reports" from Puna do not supply us with any information (except at second hand or hearsay) about the happenings in Sindhia's dominions and spheres of influence in Northern India Akhbarats were undoubtedly sent from those places to the Peshwa and the two Sindhias at Puna during these ten years, but they no longer survive among the Peshwas' Daftar in Puna and the Sindhia archives at Gwalior.

This gap has most happily been filled by the recent exploration of the Gulgule Daftar. preserved in the Sarola House in the city of Kotah These are the property of a family of Saraswat Brahmans surnamed Gulgule who were Therefore, no history of India in the last placed at Kotah as the managers of the Maratha tributes from Rajputana as early as 1740 The founder of the family Balaji Yashwant and his son Lalaji Ballal cover between them the long period from about 1734 to 1810. Balaii started his career as a clerk of Sindhia about 1733 and rose to be Kamavisdar or Commissioner of tribute collection for Sindhia at Kotah.

Kotah was for a long time the pivot of envoys (wakils) stationed in Mahadji's camp Maratha interests in Rajputana, Malwa and (printed by Parasnis and reprinted by the further north, and a convenient half-way house Gwalior Darbar). These are supplemented by between Delhi and Poona, being just at the the reports, also in Marathi, sent by the gate of the Mukundara Pass. Money governed Peshwa's agents at Delhi (the Hingane family) the unending military operations of the Maraletters received by Mahadji and his orders on I know of, and these documents with their exthem, and the diplomatic moves in which they act dates and precise details, very usefully were emaged. Besides, Gulgule like other high supplement, and where necessary correct, officers had his own paid newswriter at his memoirs of Bhawani Shankar Bakhshi written master's court or camp. Thus, after Mahadii in Persian. In fact, no full history either of Sindhia's arrival at Puna in June 1792 this is Mahadji Sindhia or of Jaswant Rao Holkar the only source from which we get inside in- can be written unless the Gulgule records reformation in full detail about the savings and lating to them are printed doings of Mahadii and of his chief officers The Persian akhbarats mentioned above and the Marathi letters in Khare's Aitihasik Lekh Samgraha often give only the current reports and echoes of original information Lalaii Ballal's agent, Jagannath Vishwanath wrote to his master from Puna during 1791-94 full details of the affairs at the Peshwa's Court and Sindhia's moves and fortunes there These letters are an invaluable corrective and supplement to the letters of the Southern Maratha jagirdate printed by Khare in many volumes

For the period 1789-1802, when the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry dominated and distracted the of Rainutana and Puna Malwa one would naturally look for the primary sources of information in the record offices But the the Gwalior and Indore States historical papers of the Holkars were burnt in a fire in the wooden house where they were stored, and only their charred fragments have been printed in three or four thin volumes by the Indore Darbar Hence this side of the case is practically silent except for the book Holkaranchi Kaifiyat which is open to doubt as a later compilation, written in 1824 on the basis of hearsay and traditions and not

quoting original documents

As for the Sindhias, the record office Gwalior contains only a few historical papers for the period before 1803 and these are of second-rate or third-rate importance often relating to money matters only After 1803 the records in the English language are profuse and most authoritative, except for the small domestic concerns of these two States The full correspondence, both letters received and sent out, of the successive British Residents with Sindhia have been published in five volumes in the "Poona Residency Correspondence Series" (Bombay Govt. Press) —the last of them being under preparation.

of supreme importance, and in some points our originals into Devanagari characters and to only source, for the history of Mahadji Sindhia publish them. Phalke printed two volumes of from 1792 to 1794 and also for the Sindhia- selections from these archives; the first (print-Holkar relations from the rise of Jaswant Rao ed in 1929) contains 296 very short documents

informed of the developments of their cam- Holkar at the beginning of 1799 to the neutrapaigns and diplomacy. He received frequent lisation of Daulat Rao Sindhia by Wellesley in despatches from Sindhia's captains, envoys and the first months of 1804. On the early career of civil administrators in various places, reporting Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Gulgule Daftar conthe progress of events, the substance of the tains the only original sources in Marathi that

> The Gulgule records change in character as we pass from the year 1742 when they begin to 1785, when Sindhia became regent of the Emperor At first the letters are very short, mostly bare entries or orders about small money transactions or land rights and similar commonplace things, without the least historical significance But after 1785 they become despatches. giving authentic accounts of battles and diplomatic negotiations announcements of policy. or exact reports of the speeches and doings of the chiefs on the two sides. Here we get Statepapers in the true sense of the term written on the spot by competent agents and exactly dated An example may be here cited: the detailed study of the Lakheri campaign of De Boigne (1793) which I had composed with great labour and thought from the previously known materials had to be vitally changed and corrected after the Gulgule papers on the subject were made available to me

In addition to the Marathi records. Sarola House archives contain a number Persian letters written to Lalaji Ballal or Zalim Singh (through Lalaii) on behalf of the French commanders of Sindhia, such as De Boigne, Perron, Bourquien, &c by their Persian secretaries (munshis) But they are of no historical importance, in not being despatches on campaigns, but mostly conventional letters referring to petty matters. On them, however, we get the exact signatures of these officers and also impressions of their Persian seals.

The despatches and news-letters in Marathi language in the Gulgule collection number over 5,000. They have been carefully preserved and sorted according to the different chiefs to whom or for whom they were written. This work was done by their late owner Pandit Purushottam Rao Gulgule about 20 vears ago. He permitted Sardar Anand Rao Bhau Phalke, a noble of the Gwalior State, to Thus it happens that the Gulgule Daftar is transcribe them from the Modi script of the

NON-POLITICAL ACRIEVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS

relating to the family of Sindhias from Ranoji (the founder of the house) to Rayloji, 9 per- Pandit Chandra Kant has very kindly permitsons, covering the years 1742-1767; his second ted Maharaj-Kumar Raghuvir Sinh, D.Litt., volume (printed in 1930) is made up of 198 LL.B., the heir of the Maharajah of Sitamau letters from the Peshwas, the Pawars of Dhar (in Malwa) to take typed copies of these and Dewas, the Gackwads, and the Holkars, records. All lovers of Indian history must pray from 1738 to 1814. But both volumes are very that this highly enlightened and liberal prince scanty, as not a single despatch or news-letter will be able to publish the very cream and relating to any of these chiefs has been included, truly unique portion of the Gulgule archives,because the latter class of records are not letters namely, the records of Mahadii and Daulat Rao written by them! No letter of Mahadii Sindhia Sindhia, under the competent editorship of Rao has been yet printed, as Sardar Phalke reserved Bahadur Govind Rao Sardesai, soon enough to this chief's correspondence for future publica- enable the older generation of students of tion on account of their vast size which de- Maratha history like myself to use them before mands several volumes to deal with them ex- we leave the earthly scene. haustively.

The present head of the Gulgule family

SOME NON-POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

Τ

What, it may be asked by many not friendly to our only all-India non-communal political organisation, has the Indian National Congress done so far? A complete answer to a question like this should cover so many points and concern itself with so many aspects of national life that one naturally shrinks from undertaking such an onerous task. Naturally the answer which comes first of all to our mind is its achievements in the sphere of political progress. It may point with just pride to the progressive advance made in widening our liberties and claim that these have been secured mainly, if not wholly, on account of the repeated demands made by this organisation and the self-sacrifice and devotion of very large number of its members who have courted imprisonment and even physical pain in order to put pressure on an alien unsympathetic bureaucracy.

It is not intended to deal here with those political advances for the securing of which the activities of the Congress are responsible, but to discuss certain other improvements in our all-India condition which the present writer regards as the outcome of the activities of this great organisation.

Ever since the foundation of the Indian National Congress, it has always carried on a vigorous campaign for the inclusion of Indians in the various branches of the public services. Even up to the seventies of the last century, the highest of Indian ambitions was limited to appointment as the Principal Sudder Amin on the Judicial and as the Deputy Magistrate on the Executive side. No one could then imagine that an Indian could side. No one could then imagine that an Indian could aspire to the position of a Session Judge or a District Magistrate. The present writer has heard from his father that when in 1871, three Bengalis forced their way into the I.C.S., the late Rev. K. M. Banerjee, always known for his balanced judgment and the sobriety of his language, described their success as the "second great battle of Plassey fought on British soil." Since that time, many such battles of Plassey have been fought and won but without attracting much public poting Even the most earnless comparison of the been fought and won but without attracting much pubmovement. The Congress did not formally sanction the lie notice. Even the most careless comparison of the boycott but gave-its approval to Swadeshi. Civil List of the period just referred to with any cf.

The first to benefit were the Bombay mills. They teday will show what progress has been made in this had to be enlarged again and again. There was greater direction all of which, it is maintained, represents demand for hand-woven shuff. We next had small-scale

gains made by the country through the constant agitation carried on by our great national organisation.

Today we see Indians occupying the highest possible positions everywhere and administering the country in various different capacities with skill and success but into this it is not necessary to enter. Only those who have any knowledge and recollection of those older days can fully appreciate the robust optimism which urged the Congress to demand the legitimate rights of Indians in no uncertain voice and to continue insisting on them till they had been secured

There is, however, still a sharp distinction between the Provincial and Imperial services as well as special provisions for saleguarding the interests of a certain class of the servants of India. National India does not feel the slightest doubt that it too will disappear. In this connection, something ought also to be said about the rapid Indianisation of the Army which has been forced on the British administration by the exigencies of the present war but it is such an important matter that the present writer will content himself with merely making the barest reference to it.

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Bengal and Madras had long an indigenous textile industry but they had been ruined by the importation of cheap foreign textiles from Lancashire. It was in 1906 that Bengal launched the boycott movement as a protest against partition. The present writer has vivid recollections of the mammoth meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, where there was an audience said to have numbered between thirty and thirty-five thousand. There were three meetings held -involvemently one on the first and the second on the ground from of the Town Hall but the largest was held in the maidan opposite the Town Hall. The boycott movement spread like wild-fire all over India and it was then that the British administration came to realise the intensity of the opposition this uncalled-for measure had provoked as well as the strength and the unity which lay behind the boycott

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growing self-sufficient. Large-scale Indian industries have also come to stay. But these are too well-known to require any but the barest mention. It is the Congress and the Congress alone which gave the required fillip to industry and it has thus indirectly met many of our most crying needs. In conclusion, to fill in this barest of sketches, reference has to be made to the organisation of the National Planning Committee and the unfortunate circumstances under which its activities have been suspended.

It was Hume, the "father of the Indian National Congress" who, in laying down the aims and objects of our national organisation, said that they were "the regeneration of India on all lines, spiritual, moral, social, regularization of India of an increase, spiritual, inclusively inclusively and political," though at the same time he added that the energies of the Congress were to be principally "directed to national and political objects upon which the whole country was able to stand on a common ground." Later on, another friend of the Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, pointed out how "the workers for political progress were the most active friends of social reform."

Who of the elder generation does not remember the question of sea-voyage and how it was tackled by the older race of Congressmen so that it has today ceased to be a problem at all? We are now concerned with another and still more difficult problem, the problem of the Harijans and of untouchability. This too is being boldly faced everywhere. When they were in office, the different Congress ministries made educational grants for the uplift of this backward community. The use of public wells and roads by Hangans, their proper treatment in schools, dispensaries and hospitals and temple entry are now insisted on. The present writer confesses his inability to give an adequate description of the value of the work done by Mahatma Gandhi both through his own efforts and through the Hanjan Seva Sangh in this direction.

In addition to the campaign against untouchability carried on by the Seve Sangh, we also find that the destruction of caste exclusiveness has been hastened by the national struggle for political freedom. Common ideals and common sufferings have brought the different classes closer to one another. In the jails, members of all castes mixed freely and came to know and love one another. Then again, the distinction between the rich and the poor was obliterated and new bonds of sympathy forged between them. It was in the jails that the economically prosperous Congressmen came to learn something about the miseries of their poorer brethren and the oppression to which they are only too often subjected. The first-hand knowledge acquired in this way explains the whole-hearted enthusiasm with which the righer and the more influential have given their moral and financial support to organisations, such as the All-India Spinners' Association, the All-India Village Industries Association, the Harijan Seva Sangh, the Waitline Scheme of Education and the Prohibition policy of the Congress,

Three years after its foundation, the Congress alarmed by a large increase in the consumption of liquor entered a demand for a policy to promote temperance. This led to an increase in the import duty on foreign This led to an increase in the import duty on foreign It is a regrettable fact that, little by little, prohibition spirits, the imposition of excise duty on Indian-brewed has been withdrawn on the plea that it leads to the malt fiquors, the abolition of the cutstill system in illicit manufacture of liquor, sausging, etc.

The one thing, however, with which we are in Madras in 1860-60. Ten years inter at the Labora concerned here is that the introduction of prohibition assembles, the Congress passed a resolution in which a has reformed many a drunkard and drug addict so that further rhpid increase in the consumption of alcohol was today their families have at least the happiness of assumbed to the "chasp supply of liquor" readded knowing that the whole of their earnings is spent on possible by the indifference of the administration to the

and cottage industries supplying many of our major problem of intemperance. Recommending the enacting wants and every indian is aware to what extent we are of legislation to discourage the easy awaitability of growing self-sufficient. Large-scale Indian industries liquor and the imposition of additional terration upon have also come to stay. But these are too well-known to intoxicants not intended to be used as medicines, the Congress stated that unless these or similar steps were taken immediately

"the moral, material, and physical deterioration of those classes among whom louor etc., have obtained a firm hold would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian arts and industries would bear no

fruit."

As the Congress became, more and more broadbased, the new blood that entered it and which had more intimate contact with the masses and sympathised with their miseries, came to the conclusion that resitating measures such as an increase in the would merely scotch the evil but would never kill it. These people also noticed a serious increase in the consumption of narcotics as also that the use of drink and drugs was growing more and more extensive in the rural areas so much so that, in most provinces, the revenue from excise formed a considerable proportion of the total revenue. This explains why total prohibition became one of the planks of the Congress platform from 1920 and why it was pressed on the attention of the people and a large volume of public opinion in favour of it was sought to be created by Congress leaders not

the least among whom was Mahatma Gandhi.

This move received little support from the British administration which probably held that it was a political stunt to capture the imagination of the masses. Dr. Ansari, the nationalist Muslim leader, was referring to this unsympathetic attitude of our rulers when he

said,
"Forbidden by his religion to the Mussalman and held pernicious by the Hindu, the evil of drink would not have spread so rapidly and extensively, had the Government taken sympathetic attitude towards those

who were endeavouring to stop it."

Though the necessity of prohibition was urged on the country by Congressmen from 1920, the movement assumed its most militant form during the Civil Disobedience Movement when shops selling liquor and drugs were picketed with very great success by women most of whom belonged to highly connected and prosperous families. Two or three of them would be seated on chairs, sometimes provided by the shop-keepers. Every one would have a badge with a number and a book of printed forms in which the names of those who patronised these shops were entered. An appeal would be made to them not to buy and if it failed, a letter enclosing "temperance" literature and some sort of

pledge was posted to them.

The campaign was carried on up to the time of the introduction of Provincial autonomy when Congress ministries were formed in some of our provinces. The seriousness of the menace was realised only when it was found that the revenue from drink and drugs constituted as much as 25 per cent of the total revenue of Bombay, Madras and Bihar and 29 per cent or more of the revenue of the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Assam. In spite of the inelasticity of the revenue structure, the different Congress ministries took revenue activates the different congress ministries took immediate steps to introduce prohibition in certain restricted areas and, to make up the loss, taxed the rich with the anticipated result of incurring their heatlity. It is a regrettable fact that, little by little, prohibition has been withdrawn on the plea that it leads to the little transferation of the recognition of the control of t



Indian mechanics work under the direction of U.S. Engineers on a B-25 at a field somewhere in India



These dogs and their trainers are attached to the Marauders, the American infantry troops that fought for the city of Myitkyina, Burma

Courtesy USOWI**



Britain's harvest is being gathered in Sussex by-tractors driven by Land Girls



Accompanied by parishioners, members of the Women's Land Army and Young Farmers' Club, the Bishop of Salisbury passes through a wheat field blessing Britain's crops

that many such persons in different parts of India and had participated in the different attempts made to is therefore in a position to vouch for the correstmess enlarge India's political powers, were sent to jail where of the opinion expressed above. The one thing about intimate contact was entablished with them, which he is certain is that though indulgence in Gandhiji's suggestion that hand-spmning along with stimulants and narcotics is easier than in the days when hand-waving offers an immediate, practical and the Congress ministries were enforcing their prohibition permanent solution of this our most vital problem, policy, there can be little doubt that the example of unemployment with its coacomism, deronic underthese reformed drunkards and drug addicts must open nourishment, was enthusiastically accepted. All these reformed drunkards and drug addicts must open nourishment, was enthusiastically accepted. All the eyes of their friends and neighbours as regards the understood that India had ample supplies of the raw benefits derivable from abstinence—indeed a valuable material and that no appliances beyond the means of contribution to their economic betterment.

belonging to the highest and wealthiest aristocratic substantial addition to the very meagre carnings of the Hindu families as also ladies belonging to the wealthiest agricultural population living on the verge of starvation. Parsi families picketed liquor shops and shops selling foreign cloth, led processions, were handled roughly,

often beaten and flung into jail.

The present writer has seen an onthusiastic Congressofficial positions, dragged by the hair of her head by an Indian policionstable in front of College Square, crores whereas the sale of khadi of the same value Calcutta, and in the presence and under the eyes of a would mean the payment of Rs. 35 crores as wages to the contraction of the same value. woman, the wife of a Hindu holding the very highest of non-Indian Commissioner of Police, not fit to black he. shoes. It is true that she was breaking the law by picketing the Presidency (Government) College but what he witnessed he considered deliberate "frightful ness." Jawaharlal Nehru has told us in his autobiography how even his frail mother was beaten. This happened not here and there but all over India and only cases concerned with people occupying high positions extracted public attention and called forth public commen'a It was when our women in their thousands were treated has that the iron entered into our soul and we Englishwoman had been ill-treated at Amritsar during the troublous days in the Punjab.

Thanks, however, to Mahatma Gandhi the resentment natural as " was, never found any expression in violence. And violence too in a disarmed country would have been useless. Probably this was as much responsible as the principle of soul force in keeping the country quiet It had, however, one very beneficial effect. Perdah, at least among Congresswomen, disappeared for good. Only yesterday, the U.P., had a woman minister. A lady belonging to a very respectable and highly connected Muslim family was the very active secretary of a coolies' union in a city of North India when the present writer visited it three years ago. Two of the most prominent socialists are women. Truly, out of evil cometh good. Today we have Hindu and Mussalman women members in the different provincial

assemblies.

When engaged in conducting the campaign against the oppression of the ryots by the European indigo planters of Champsian in Bihar, Gardhiji had observed that in meeting these poor men he felt that he was face of sace with God, Ahimsa and Truth. But it would be mistake to suppose that a burning love for the masses s confined to him only. Vallabhbhai Patel has said,

this earth, it is the peasant. He is the producer, the others are parasites."

Along with these great men, leaders like Jawaharlal, Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, etc., had realised the appalling poverty of the peasant because of his emforced idleness for periods varying from four to six months every year due to lack of supplementary compations. Congressmen, as a class, began to feel sympathy with the masses when such among them as

the masses were required for implementing the khadi programme. Its value lay in the fact that it could be taken up and laid aside at the convenience of the The Civil Disobedience Movement very greatly operator, that it could, by supplying all the cloth required accelerated the disappearance of the purdah and the by him, reduce the expenditure he has to incur for awakening of women. Many women came out of the purdah for the first time and never went back. Ladies a day, small as the amount undetabledly is, promises a latter than the country of the procuring the statement of the purdah for the first time and never went back. Ladies

The extent of economic benefit which can be derived by the adoption of the khade programme becomes evident when we remember that only 10 crores go towards the payment of the wages of cotton operatives in our Indian mills which are normally said

the workers.

The All-India Spinners' Association, originally organised by Mahatma Gandhi, recently severed all connection with the Congress mainly because it was felt that no handle should be given to the critics and opponents of the latter to describe it as part of its political machinery to influence public opinion. According to the report of the All-India Spinners' Association for the year 1940, it provided work for more than 275,000 villagers including nearly 20,000 Hanjans and nearly 58,000 Muslims who received as wages nearly 35 lakhs felt what Englishmen must have felt when only one while the value of the khadi produced was about Rs. 50 lakhs. It has to be remembered that the figures given above do not take into account probably still larger numbers engaged in smilar work though not under the direct supervision and control of the All-India Spinners Association.

The attention of the reader may now be drawn to the light in which the khadi programme is regarded by a well-known Western thinker, G. D. H. Cole on page

290 of his Guide to Modern Politics says,

"Gandhi's campaign for the development of the home made clothes industry, Khaddar, is no mere fad of a romantic age to revive the standard of the Indian villager."

This is why the present writer regards it as one of the most precious non-political contributions of the

Congress to our national well-being.

VIII

The impact of Western industrialised civilisation on our old agricultural economic order has implied not only loss of employment for our rural craftenen and increasing pressure on an already overburdened land, but also expenditure which he cannot always afford by the rural buyer for the purchase of manufactured articles which he cannot do without. In other cases, it has meant the batitution of less for more lasting articles and aduarated for pure foodstuffs. What is "If any one is fit to walk with his head erect on most regrettable is the unexampled rapidity with which

our rural arts and crafts have been disappearing.

It has also been realised that the fundamental problem of India, like that of almost every other country in the world, is the adoption of effective measures for the gradual increase in the volume of employment and that industrialisation is no cure for large-scale unemployment. Improvements in technical processes merely mean cheapening the cost of production through displacement of industrial labour, a fact

"The continuous automatic steel strip enables 126 men to do the work previously performed by 4,512."
So far as India is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi with

his accustomed clarity emphasised the difficult problem

we have to face when he remarked that

"Mechanisation is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work as is the case in India. The problem, therefore, with us is labour absorption and not labour saving machinery."

The aim of the All-India Village Industries Association organised in 1934 by the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, was the resuscitation and popularisation of our village arts and crafts in order that we might use our raw materials in the areas where they are produced or in places as close to them as possible thus ensuring a continuous demand for them and a fair price for their producers. The second object was the supply of adequate quantities of manufactures at prices within the reach of the poor consumers. The third purpose was the providing of employment for our village craftsmen and, along with it, the reduction of the pressure on the land. The fundamental idea was to make the villages prosperous by making them self-sufficient and to decentralise production thus avoiding the evils of capitalism.

On the first page of the Report of the All-India Village Industries Association for 1941 we find the fol-

lowing account of its activities:
"The Association fixed on a minimum wage, organised exhibitions and museums to demonstrate the possibilities of persons taking to village industries, carried on propaganda to make the village people conscious, and develop their economic thought along decentralisation of industries."

Industries like paddy husking and flour grinding, oil pressing, our making, bee keeping, paper and soap making, tanning and leather work, coir spinning and weaving, mat and basket making, slate pencil manufacturing, horn work, button making, etc., have been Vidyalaya was organised to train students in various village industries. Along with the above the Association also carried on village uplift and rural welfare work. No one can deny the valuable nature of the services sought to be rendered to the masses by this purely nonpolitical activity of the Congress.

TX

Recognising the intimate connection between illiteracy on the one hand and poverty, ill-health and superstition on the other, Mahatma Gandhi outlined his scheme of Primary education in 1937. This, either in the form he gave it or with modifications to suit local needs, has captured the imagination of India. To realise its true place in the educational system, we must remember that it is meant for villages where the percentage of illiteracy is much higher than in towns, that it aims at imparting what may be characterised as practical literacy and familiarity with some useful handicraft and that one of its objects is to prevent the rush of rural folk to large urban centres. Its special feature is that the whole of the elementary school curriculum centres round a basic handicraft which, in

its turn, leads to several subsidiary occupations.

There seems little doubt that its adoption such variations as may be found necessary in different areas, would revolutionise village education within a few years provided the different political organisations sould be persuaded to withdraw their opposition to it as a dubious quarter. The present writer with over four on by most non-indian observers.

amply proved by what Mr. Philip Murray, Chairman decades of educational work to his credit holds the of the Steel Workers' Organising Committee, said on above view as he regards it as the most practical attempt at a type of education that has its roots in village life. In addition, he believes that the mass drive against adult illiteracy sponsored by the Congress ministries during their limited period of power and continued, though with less intensity, after they had withdrawn from office, owes nearly all its inspiration to the efforts made to popularise mass education through this scheme.

It did not take the Congress long to realise the importance of having one common language through which a man from say a province like Bengal could make himself understood say in Maharastra or Tamil-nad. Though it is perfectly true that English has played a valuable role in the interchange of ideas between Western educated people belonging to different provinces, it cannot be denied that it is useless as a means of communication where the masses are con-cerned. There is also the fact that the United India which nationalists envisage will require a medium of national self-expression which cannot but be one or other of the so-called Indian vernaculars. While there are objections to the selection of that particular type of Hindi which one authority has very happily called "Bazar Hindusthani," with its words drawn from Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu sources, for South India specially does not know much of it, we cannot deny that it is spoken in a more or less modified form more largely and that it is more widely understood than any other Indian language.

The steps taken by the Congress to popularise this language were characterised probably more by enthusnasm than by discretion and its political opponents der, not fail to take advantage of the mistake made. But as they have no constructive suggestion to offer and moreover as the need for an all-India language is recognised, it is difficult to see by what other equally widely understood language it can be substituted. Under these circumstances, the establishment of an organisation for the popularisation of an all-India means of commu-nication seems a distinct service. The use of Hindi or variants of it in the cinemas is also another pointer to the evolution of this common language for the whole of India and this too may fairly be regarded as one of the

by-products of nationalism.

It cannot be denied that, by temperament, the average Indian is unwilling to assert himself even when he has justice on his side. A little reflection will show what a marvellous change for the better has come over his character under the stress of the no-tax and the no-rent campaigns as well as other militant forms of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It is admitted that critics of the Congress are not altogether wrong when they contend that the adoption of what has been called "direct action" has brought in indiscipline as against which it has developed a capacity for suffering, a new type of pugnacity displaying itself by not striking back when struck and a self-confidence to which the Indian had been a stranger for generations.

The transformation referred to here is noticeable not only among those who defied the British administration and had to pay the penalty for doing so but also among those who stood by and watched the struggle from a distance. And what is still more remarkable is the fact that this psychological change noticed first among the leaders, nearly all of whom were drawn from different layers of the middle classes, was later on manifested by the masses whose patient endurance of mainly because it comes from what many of them regard all kinds of oppression has been noted and commented

Gandhiji, the sincerest and most consistent expo- admiration for uprightness. People no longer show any nent of Ahimas, had given India the political montrum, backwardness in giving public expression to their con-"Swaraj is the abandonment of the fear of death, A nation which allows itself to be influenced by the fear of

death cannot attain Swaraj, and cannot retain it it somehow attained. . . We are not yet completely free because we are not prepared to look death quietly in the face."

Not content with merely giving this mantram, Gandhiji taught by his own example that the one and only way to freedom is absolute fearlessness with the result that thousands, if not lakes, of Indians not only accepted the message but also acted up to it. It was astonishing to see a whole nation including the generally temorous down-trodden masses throwing off, as it were overnight, what an Englishman has called "the mental bonds of servitude" and acquiring a new dignity through sheer cold courage. The process commencing in the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920-22, found its consummation in the Civil Dis-chedience Movement of 1930-32 when an Indian commenting on what he had seen wrote as follows, in June.

"The national upheaval has well-nigh broken the mental bonds of slavery. Man, woman and child are learning to hold their heads high and breathe as free beings. The dread of imprisonment is gone. The fear of

callets and lathus is also going."

In his India and the Simon Report, Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews was referring to this wonderful psychological change when, after giving a patient hearing to an Indian friend who was bitterly condemning the Non-Co-operation Movement, he asked the very pertinent question.

"Does the Indian villager today stand up to the Englishman more fearlessly than before? Has he become less afraid of the Government official, of the land-

owner, and of the police?"

and the Indian, after a very long pause replied, "You're right, I never thought of that. Of course there is no comparison. The villager looks every man in the face today.'

That this new fearlessness even in the face of death was not confined to the villager was demonstrated most clearly in Bombay when a young and humble Congressworker drawn from the poverty-stricken working classes was run over and killed by a motor lorry carrying foreign piece-goods while offering Satyagraha by lying in front of it.

As the funeral procession that escorted the dead body of this poor and unknown boy was passing the burning ghat, people were astonished to see that Hindu women who never attend funerals were carrying the bier along with the men. Still more wonderful was the fact that although no Hindu female may light the pyre even of her husband, father, brother or son, it was a Brahmin woman of the most exclusive sect and family who set fire to the funeral pyre of this youth.

It was thus that under the stress of common suffering, new bonds between the rich and the poor were forged. Even if they weaken with time, it is not likely that they will disappear altogether. The Congress and the Congress alone should get the credit for the esta-blishment of this new relationship between the Indian

classes and the Indian masses.

Still another remarkable result of the conscious or unconscious imbibing of Congress teachings has been a marked improvement in the character of Indians in general. This naturally enough comes under the notice of a man like the present writer who has lived long enough to compare what was to be seen nearly seventy years ago with what one sees today. In every grade of society, there is a greater love of truth, a more passionate hatred of insincerity and a larger measure of

backwardness in giving public expression to their convictions and to pay the penalties contingent on doing so.

It is true that these qualities, praiseworthy in their own way, occasionally display themselves in undesirable forms specially among the educated young men and young women. None the less we must hope for the disappearance of their objectionable features and the retention of those only that are admirable.

The present writer for one can never sufficiently admire the obstinacy often displayed by Bengali youngman in refusing to get married before they are in a position to support their families. The disintegration of the joint family system is another very welcome sign of a change of healt brought about by the urge for self-respect and economic independence which ever goes hand in hand with the desire for political

independence.

Then again, the insistent demand for better treatment, the readiness with which gratuitous insults whatever the quarter from which they proceed are resented and, above all, the claims for justice and fairness are all more or less due to that independence of character which has been fostered by constant Congress propa-gands. That cringing servility which has been the shame and the disgrace of India's manhood and to which Lord Macaulay made such caustio reference is no longer the rule either in official or public life. The restoration of the self-respect of Indians as a class had come first of all in the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920-22 but it had not touched directly or indirectly so many Indians as the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32. Here in addition to the thousands who actively participated in it and most of whom paid the penalty for their temerity in ways about which the future dispassionate historian of Indian nationalism will have much to say provided the records are not detroyed or placed beyond his reach, there were others, numbering millions, who in spite of their their fundamental ideological differences with the Congress felt a glow of pride when they realised the steadiness with which sufferings were borne and were stirred to the inner depths of their beings when they contrasted the gallantry of their countrymen and countrywomen against what appeared to them, at least in those hectic days, as the calculated frightfulness of an administration which claimed to be civilised and to be present in our country for the benefit of its people.

When Gandhiji after his march from the 12th March to the 5th April, lasting for 24 days in which he and his followers covered about 200 miles, lifted a piece of salt from the sea-side on the morning of the 6th April, 1930 without paying the tax, he was doing exactly what had been done more than a century before in the famous Boston tea party—asserting the freedom of the Indian people as a matter of right. In the frail, weak old man defying the mightiest empire in the world, India saw herself, poor, helpless and unarmed, asserting not merely her right to self-determination in the political sphere but also the acquiring by her children of a new dignity and a new self-respect. No one who calls himself an Indian will care to deny that, here, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress was rendering a service to the people of this country which no other organisation in our motherland had ever even dreamt

of performing.

of performing.

Formerly, Indians patiently endured the results of natural calamities and, if relief came, it was received from official sources. It was very rare to find Indians organising themselves for doing this kind of work. Today, if there is a devastating flood, a disastrous famine, a great fire, any outbreak of an epidemic or even overwhelming pressure on local resources on account of a large religious concourse, one finds Indian organisations and Indian volunteers in large numbers ready to come with the situation. Whatever the faults ready to cope with the situation. Whatever the faults and shortcomings of the educated community, and no service because they are patriotic and for their public activities the only reward they expect is the appreciation of their countrymen and the approbation of their conscience. The valuable work done by Indian organisa-tions during the disastrous earthquake in Bihar and in the recent famine in Bengal is too well-known to require anything except the barest mention. It is the contention of the present writer that all this is the result of the example set by the Congress and of the work which Congressmen are doing even today.

IIIX

A sorutiny of the actual situation will prove that, in spite of difference of language and even of race, there are and have been real points of unity among Indians all over the country. The Hindu religion, the universal acceptance of the obligatory nature of pilgrimages, the conception that India, like Palestine for the Jews, is a sacred country are all factors which have continued to hold up before the country at large some idea of territorial unity. This has been strengthened by remembrance of the historical fact, that, from time to time, very large areas, though not the whole of present day India, have been ruled by one sovereign. Another factor tending to produce the same feeling the cultural unity of the Hindu barkground which, in a sense, resembles the idea of "Christendom" medieval Europe.

It is admitted that during the centuries of Mussalman ascendency, the unity found in the Hindu period disappeared to a very large extent, that the history of India became a history of the different provinces and also that, even under British rule, there was a time when there was little if any sympathy be-tween the people of the different provinces. But those times have changed. The railway and steamer have brought them together. Business has promoted intercourse between the provinces removed distance. Lastly, a common political aspiration has made it easy for the non-communal among their people to meet in the spirit of brotherhood on the common platform of Indian nationalism Remembering all these things and recognising their value as unifying elements, one has to admit that all Indians are being

gradually stamped with a common seal,

The partition of Bengal aroused indignation not only in that province but all over India. Whole India shuddered when news regarding the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy leaked out and the Creeping Lane insult filled every Indian heart with intense resentment. The Khilafat agitation which followed, united Hindu and Muslim at least once, while the Non-Co-operation Movement was characterised by the absence of class antagonism and communalism. The rich and the poor, the educated and uneducated and followers of different faiths united under the pressure of what was regarded as common political suffering and thus the way was paved for a unified Indian nation. The earthquake of Quettah and that in Bihar were regarded in the light of all-India calamities. The recent famine in Bengal aroused the sympathy and opened the purse strings of Indians of every part of India. These are some out of many incidents showing the gradual disappearance of provincial isolation.

to prove the correctness of the above view. The first is concerned with the work of a particular and popular school of painting in Bengal which, at least in the eyes of an amateur, bears a very close resemblance to the frescoes of Ajanta. Instances taken from literature also prove the same thing. The Bengali and the Rajout are But he has also been invited to meals at the houses of

one denies that they have their share like others includ- essentially different. But every one familiar with Bengali ing even their critics, it has to be admitted that it is a literature is aware of the extent to which the events of manlier and a bolder race inspired by higher ideals of Rajput history have influenced it. Similarly, the doings public duty and public responsibility than earlier of Sivaji and the Marhattas and the stories of the Sikh generations. Today Indians engage themselves in public gurus have fascinated Bengali writers. Today many of gurus have fascinated Bengali writers. Today many of them have been dramatised, others are found in historical novels which are very widely read and the rest have been enshrined in moving poetry of very high literary ment. On the 26th May, 1939, the Marhatta, a weekly published from Poona, in an editorial made a moving reference to the lead given by Hindu Bengal to nationalism and expressed regret for the way in which its interests were being neglected by the then Government. There are still other instances to prove that the barriers of provincialism are breaking down very rapidly.

Indians as Indians are today conscious of the link of common sympathy binding them together when they hear about the sufferings of Indians abroad. One has only to turn to any of the newspapers and read the comments made in the editorial columns as well as in the correspondence which appears from time to time in order to gauge the feelings of indignation excited when our brethren overseas are the victims of injustice. And yet, in a majority of these cases, these Indians are born and bred abroad and have but little in common

with their brethren in India.

Though we have many all-India organisations to-day, it cannot be denied that the Congress has done more than any other single political party in making us forget inter-provincial jealousies and misunder-standings thus taking the leading part in gradually moulding the vast heterogeneous population of India into a homogeneous nation. This was referred to by the late Amvica Charan Majumdar, the President of the 31st Congress held at Lucknow in 1916, when he said,

"A generation ago, the stalwart and turbalant, Punjabi, the intelligent and sensitive Bengalee, the orthodox and exclusive Madrassi, the ardent and astute Marhatta, the anglicised Parsi and the cold, calculating Guzrati, were perfect strangers to one another, and if they happened to meet anywhere they learnt only to despise each other. Their hereditary tradition was one of mutual distrust, while their past history was marked only by internecine feuds, pillage and bloodshed. But what are they today? They are now all united by a strong and indissoluble tie of brotherhood, over-riding all distinctions of caste and creed, and inspired by mutual appreciation and common fellowship. Hatred has given place to love and callousness to sympathy."

This very clearly proves that the Congress has not only laid the foundations for the colossal work of nation-building but has also made considerable progress with it. This one achievement is sufficient justification

for the existence of the Congress.

When a leader like a Gandhi, a Nehru, a Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Rajendra Prasad or an Abdul Gaffar Khan visits any part of India, he is made welcome at once. Difference in the religion professed makes no difference here. The present writer has seen Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abul Gaffar Khan given as hearty a welcome as any non-Muslim leader. Many in India have at last come to realise that difference in the language spoken or the faith professed is no draw-back to unity. The case of the United States of America where many languages are spoken and many faiths professed as well as that of Switzerland have taught us this lesson. It only remains for all to learn it when we shall achieve communal unity.

The Congress has gradually become the most Two examples taken from art and literature tend powerful factor in bringing about an all-India unity. The prove the correctness of the above view. The first is present writer has toured through every part of India. except Sind and the North-West Frontier and has been the guest of the very well-to-do, of the middle as well as of the poorer classes. He has, in a majority of cases, been entertained in the homes of his brothers in faith.

non-Christians. In a very large number of these homes, munities unite for the attainment of economic and he has seen pictures of Mahatma Gandhi. Pictures of political freedom, "there is no force on the surface of Pandit Jawaharlai Nehru stand next in popularity, the earth," as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, President in Then come pictures of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the 12th session of the Indian National Congress Rajendra Prasad. After these come the pictures of observed in 1896, "which can resist our just and leaders of local Congress organisations. The time may legitimate demands." vet come when the claims of Mahatma Gandhi to immortality will rest on his unique achievement in not only introducing the technique of non-violence and truth in the political field, but also in miraculously forging an all-India unity.

XIV

It was probably Lord Salisbury who remarked that the success of a people who know how to wait is always sure. The Indian National Congress has been working under exceptional difficulties for more than 50 years, differences of opinion and of policy have manifested themselves from time to time but they have been composed and the march towards the goal resumed with unfaltering steps. The political consciousness of the people has been aroused. This has naturally raised new and difficult problems. They are being sought to be solved satisfactorily by those who have been entrusted by Providence to guide the destinies of this great national movement.

Our Mussalman brethren have been galvanised into increased vitality of which the signs are to be found in the keenness they now show for safeguarding their interests. There is no doubt that the somewhat unfortunate shape their political consciousness is taking is causing sharp differences between the two largest communities in our motherland. But we firmly hold that an ultimate union is inevitable and that once all com-

In the midst of a constant struggle between jealous bureaucracy determined to retain power as long as possible and a progressive political organisation equally determined to force as much as possible from unwilling hands, the national movement, in spite of misrepresentation, calumny and downright persecution, has been gaining strength ever since 1885 when it first came into existence. Like a mountain torrent which in its headlong rush sweeps away all obstacles which lie in its path, the Indian National Congress is gradually obliterating those differences which are presented by dissimilarities of creed and caste, of language, customs, habits and manners. The work of unification is proceeding rapidly, the angularities due to provincial and racial causes are being rounded off and a united Indian nation fired by common aims and aspirations is in the

No doubt mistakes have been committed from time to time but these are unavoidable in every organisation which is alive and active. The pity of it is that its critics very rarely realise that if they had been placed in a similar position, they also, unless they are gods, would have made perhaps worse mistakes. the one thing which stands out clearly is that there is no other single organisation, political or non-political, in India which has so much to its credit and so little to its discredit and that is the note on which the present writer would like to close this discussion.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER Position of Gandhiji

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Ι

In this article I propose to deal with the position taken by Gandhiji during his recent negotiations with Mr. Jinnah and afterwards.1

In his letter, dated 24th September, 1944, Gandhiji

wrote to Mr. Jinnah, among other things:
"With your assistance I am exploring bilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore the areas or through some equivalent method. may be reasonably satisfied

be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i.e., Baluchistan, Sind, N.-W.F.P. and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements, and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in

2 See The Statesman and Hindusthan Standard of 29th September, 1944 (Dak Edition).

absolute majority desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

"Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore on my basis and on the following terms :--

"The areas should be demarcated by a commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes the possi- of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of

"If the vote is in favour of separation, it shall be "I proceed on the assumption that India is not to agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as regarded as two or more nations but as one family soon as possible after India is free from foreign sisting of many members of whom the Muslims domination and can, therefore, be constituted into two sovereign independent States.

"There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

"The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguard-

ing the rights of minorities in the two States.

'Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League, the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of the independence of India.

¹ As indicated in a foot-note to our preceding article, our original plan was to deal with the question of the "two-nations" theory of Mr. Jinnah in this article. Considerations of space, however, do not permit this. We shall deal with the question in our next article in this series.

of any direct action to which the Congress may resort, and in which the League may not be willing to

participate.

If the letter from which the above extracts have been taken, has been correctly reported in the Press, as is very likely, then there is some confusion of ideas in it. It is not very clear from the language which Gandhiji has been reported to have used in extract 5 as quoted above, as to whether the Muslim-majority areas as contemplated by him are to constitute "a separate Simil of two sovereign independent States." Probably he meant—and this also follows from the wording of extract 7 above—that if the plebiscite suggested by him isvoured separation, then India, after it had been freed from foreign domination, was to be divided "into two sovereign independent States." Our examination of Gandhin's position in this article will proceed on this assumption-which we believe to be correct-of his view on this particular point.

Candhiji suggested the formula contained in the extracts quoted above, in place of that which is popularly known as the "Rajaji" (or the C. R.) formula for the settlement of the Indian communal problem, but which had also previously received his own approval. He did this because Mr. Jinnah had stated, in his letter to him, dated 11th September, 1944, that the Rajaji formula had not only put the Lahore Resolu-tion of the Muslim League "out of shape," but also "mutilated it." We shall refer heremafter to the formula presented by Gandhiji himself as the "Gandhiji" formula. Let us now analyse the implications of the

formula.

According to this formula, India is to be divided into two sovereign independent States, and these two

The italics in these extracts are ours.

4 For convenience of reference and comparison we may reproduce here the Rajaji formula:-

(i) "Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period.

(ii) "After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hudustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

(iii) "It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(iv) "In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

(v) "Any transfer of population shall only be on an

absolutely voluntary basis.

(vi) "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India."

5 The relevant extracts from this Resolution were published in the first article in this series. See The Modern Review, December, 1944.

6 Gandhiji has been reported to have said on 30th September, 1944, to a correspondent of The News Christicle, London, that Mr. Jinnah had "rejected Rajaji's formula."—America Bazar Patrika of 3rd October, 1944 (Dak Edition).

"The League will, however, be free to remain out States are to be "the contracting parties" to "a treaty my direct action to which the Congress may resort, of separation," and this treaty of separation is to "proof separation," and this treaty of separation is to provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence," etc. Further, the treaty "shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States." And in the course of an interview granted to a correspondent of The News Chronicle, London, on 30th September, 1944, Gandhiji is reported to have said:

"It is my suggestion that provided there was safe-guard of plebiscito, there could be sovereignty for predominantly Muslim areas, but it should be accompanied by bonds of alliance between Hindusthan and Pakisthan. There should be a common policy and working arrange-ment on foreign affairs, Defence, communications and similar matters. This is manifestly vital to the welfare

of both parts of India."

With all due deference to Gandhiji, we are constrained to observe that in expressing these views as he has done. he has spoken like a layman who is totally ignorant of the lessons of history of Federations like the United States, Switzerland, and the German Empire (formed in 1871), and who does not know how human nature works in Politics, whether national or international. Moreover, there are, as we shall shortly see, not merely misuse of political terms, but also some inherent contradictions, in his views. May we ask him in all politeness, what will be the sanction of his "treaty of separation"? In the absence of a common central authority, capable, in the last resort, of enforcing its decisions, if necessary, with the application of physical force, who will enforce the terms of the treaty, or of the alliance, as suggested by him, in the event of their non-fulfilment by either of the contracting parties? The philosophy of nonviolence will be worse than useless in such matters. Government is not a matter of charity, goodwill, advice, instruction, or even persuasion. Ultimately, it involves the application of physical force. And it must be borne in mind in this connexion that this "treaty of separation" is to govern matters of such vital concern to India as foreign affairs, defence, etc. We do not like to repeat here what we have already said in our previous article* in this series, in connexion with the position taken by Mr. Jinnah. We only want to emphasize here that all those arguments which we have put forward against that position, apply with equal force to the position taken by Gandhiji in this matter. It is, indeed, not only a gross, but a very dangerous, delusion to think that a treaty as contemplated by Gandhiji, can solve the Indian problem satisfactorily. The very same arguments may also be advanced against the view taken by Gandhiji when he clarified, in his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 11th September, 1944, clause (iv) of the Rajaji formula. He said: "Mutual agreement means agreement between contracting parties. 'Safeguarding defence, etc.' means for me a central or joint board of control. Safeguarding means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy." This is mere paraphrasing unless Gandhiji meant that his central or joint board of control would be a real Government, amply vested with legislative, judicial and executive powers, and capable, in the last resort, of enforcing its will, if necessary, with the application of physical force. And if he did really mean this, then there would be no room for the continuance of separate contracting parties. They would be ipso facto merged in one Indian Union or Federation, and would form politically a single State.

(Dak Edition). The italies are ours.

9 Published in The Modern Review of December,

⁷ See extract 6 from Gandhiji's letter of 24th September, 1944, as quoted above. The italics are ours. 8 See Amrita Bazar Patrika of 3rd October, 1944,

See foot-note 4 above.

The italies in this quotation are ours.

If, however, it is argued against the position taken above by us that under the Gandhin formula there will be a treaty of separation which will "provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence," then our reply is that this is the very thing which the proposed treaty will not be able to ensure. Apart from what we have already said in our previous article¹³ against the efficacy of such treaties, we may observe here that a treaty between two or more independent and sovereign States cannot permanently and effectively bind them. The reason is that it does not create a political power superior to the contracting parties. Moreover, as a distinguished American political scientist's has rightly pointed out in another connexion, "Rebus sic stantibus, expressed or implied, is a clause in every treaty, and States have ever asserted the right to declare such instruments of no force when by change of conditions their welfare has become so greatly affected or menaced as to overbalance the evil results to be expected, by way of retaliation or otherwise, from the violation of their faith as given in a treaty."

If, however, the words "efficient" and "satisfactory"

have been used by Gandhiji to mean what they really mply, then there must be, by force of logic, a single State for the whole of India, an All-India Union or Federation—and not a Confederation, nor an Alliance, of Sovereign States, as the expression "a treaty of separation" seems to imply. Gandhin owes it to the or unintentional, or any hide-and-seek policy, in such a vital matter. As it is, the formula is self-contradictory. It, however, Gandhiji says that he really meant by his formula the creation of a Federal Constitution for the whole of India, then we have no quarrel with him that ease he should abandon the use of such misleading terms as a treaty of separation," "two sovereign in-dependent States," "two States," etc., and openly declare that India should be a Federation of autonomous, constituent units, as suggested by the All-India Congress Committee in its resolution, adopted on the 8th of August, 1942, in its Bombay Session.

In his letter to Mi Jinnah, dated 22nd September, 1944, Gandhiji stated. "I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests, such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity." Certainly, there "will be no feeling of security by the people of India" without this recognition and also its translation into consequential constitutional provisions. But we may point out to Gandhiji that he cannot have both. If he wants to appease the Muslim separationists by conceding to their absurd and unreasonable demand for a "division" India, he should not expect any "simultaneous safeguarding" of common interests. The two things are, by virtue of their nature, fundamentally incompatible with each other.15 Indeed, it appears to me, after a very

12 See extract 6 from Gandhiji's letter of 24th September, 1944, as quoted above.

13 Published in The Modern Review of December,

1944

15 Gandhiji has also been reported to have said at that 'he accepted the principle of sovereign States, consistent with friendliness." And "friendliness suggests," he said, "that before the whole world we must act as one nation, not united by extraneous enrumstances, or united by force of British arms but united by greater force, that is our own determined will." This is, un-doubtedly, a very fine sentiment. But, unfortunately, dated 11th and 25th September, 1944.

careful consideration of the correspondence that passed between Mr. Jinah and Gandhil, and also of what followed the break-down of their negotiations, that Candhill's mind must have been in a serious conflict during the negotiations between two things his desire to maintain, in consonance with his unequivocal de-clarations in the past, the unity and integrity of India as far as possible and the implications of the commitment he had made by giving his assent, while he was fasting," to the communal formula which Mr. Rajagopalachariar had presented to him at Poons. As a consequence, the offer made by Gandhiji himself to Mr. Jinnah is indefinite, misleading, and self-contradictory. It cannot really solve the Indian problem unless it has for its object the establishment of an All-India Federation, composed of autonomous, constituent units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial or religious minorities in this country. But in so far as the offer made by him concedes the principle of secaration or partition, it has the same mischievous in containing as the Rajaji formula. The partitionists would make a full use of it in a future negotiation for the settlement of our communal question, and the enemies of India's unity would not be slow to take a full advantage of it either. And Gandhiji has said that, so far as he is concerned, the offer made by him stands." Moreover, in his correspondence" with Mr. Jinnah, Gandhiji again and again assured the former that, although he refused to assume people of India to explain what he really meant by his any representative capacity, he pledged himself to use formula There must not be any subterfuge, intentional all the influence he might have with the Congress, to the latter And this means much. Herein hes a danger of the Gandhili formula. And there is not much essential difference between the Rajan formula and the Gandhiji formula in so far as their mischief-making

> the politics of sovereign States and friendliness as Gandhiji contemplates, are seldom compatible with each other. Things would not be otherwise here. As Spinoza rightly pointed out long ago, "Two States are natural enemies" And this is particularly so in the case of border States. Gandhiji cannot have both "sovereignty" and "friendliness." Federalism is the only durable and satisfactory solution in a case like ours. Gandhiii should work for that.

16 It appears from a statement of Mr C. Rajagopalachariar to the Associated Press of India, dated at Panchgani 9th July, 1944, that he "had secured Gandhin's personal approval even during his fast in February-March last year (i.e., 1943) for the formula that" he was then releasing to the public. We cannot help remarking here that it is really strange that Mr. Rajagopalachariar should have chosen to present his highly complicated formula with its far-reaching implications, to Gandhin when the latter had been fasting and, therefore, could not be, being a human being, in a sufficiently proper and alert state of mind and body. Gandhiji has been reported to have said at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944: When he (i.e., Rajaji) found me in the Aga Palace and presented the formula (i.e., the Rajaji formula) I did not take even five manutes and I sau:
'Yes, because I saw it in a concrete shape'." (The italios are ours). We do not know if the implications of the 14 See W. W. Willoughby, An Examination of the Rajaji formula were so simple as to enable Gandhiji to come to a decision within five minutes. At least we come to a decision within five minutes. not think so Perhaps Gandhin has since realised that the a Press Conference at Bombay on 28th September, 1944, formula is not really so simple as it may have appeared to him when he was fasting. At any rate, this only confirms what we have said above in this foot-note,

17 See Gandhiji's statement at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944,

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sourse, it is far from our mind in saying this to ascribe say sinister motive to the authors of the formulas. We are only exposing here the inherent defects of the formulas and their probable consequences. And Gandhiji himself has invited criticisms of his offer from the general public."

We should also like to refer here to another view of Ganthiji, which we think in the public interest shueld not be allowed to go unchallenged. At a Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944, he has been reported to have said in reference to his

own formula:

"I think it is a just solution of the problem and it is in the spirit of the policy which the Congress has consistently" adopted in connexion with the communal with the communal control of the community control of the control of the community control of the control of question, namely, self-determination." And, with reference to his assent to the Rajaji formula, he has been reported to have said at the same Press Conference :

Thereby I have not departed from the Congress standpoint in general terms. Congress has accepted selfdetelmination and the Rajaji-formula has also cepted the principle of self-determination and formula had become a common ground."

Further in the course of a statement to a special representative of the United Press, Gandhiji has been reported to have previously said. "At the same time, at the time I made the statement you refer to I was also a party to the self-determination resolution of the A.I.C.C. I hold that Rajaji's formula gives effect to

that resolution."

The clear implication of these statements is that, even though the Gandhiji formula and the Rajaji formula may concede the principle of partition of India, yet they are quite in consonance with the object and policy of the Indian National Congress. We should like to submit to Gandhiji very respectfully that his view is both wrong and misleading. And, quoting his own words used in another connexion, we may also say that mere "assertion is no proof." Nor can the repetition of what is not a fact make it a fact. We have already dealt with this question in an article entitled The Rajagopalachari Formula and the Congress, in the October (1944) number of this Review, and, therefore, do not propose to repeat our arguments here. We should like to invite Clandhiji's attention to this article, and to say only that the Rajaji formula is definitely against the declared policy and object of the Congress. The resolution of the Congress Working Committee adopted at New Delhi early in April, 1942, which presumably Candhiji had in mind when he made the statements quoted above, was completely neutralized and nullified by the resolutions of the A.I.C.C. (All-India Congress Committee), adopted by the latter in 1942 during its Allahabad and Bombay sessions—and, in particular, by

19 And Gandhiji himself said at the Press Conference at Bombay on 28th September, 1944:- "Where there is an obvious Muslim majority they should be allowed to constitute a separate state by themselves and that has been fully conceded in the Rajaji formula or my formula. There is not much distinction between them. That right is conceded without the slightest

30 See Gandhiji's statement to the correspondent of The News Chronicle, London, dated at Bombay

30th September, 1944.

21 The statio is pure.

23 The "United Press" message, dated at Wardhagani 5th August 1944.

Also see our letter entitled "The C. R. Formula and the Congress" in Hindusthan Standard of 4th September, 1944, Calcutts (and of 5th September, 1944, Dak Edition), and in Free Press Journal of Bombay, dated 7th September, 1944.

property is concerned." This is our deliberate view. Of what is now known as the Jagatnarain Lei resolution. This resolution—rather counter-resolution—of Ans. resolution—rather counter-resolution—a Mr. Jagatharain Lal which the A.I.C.C. adopted on 2nd May, 1942, by a majority of 92 votes against 17 during its Allahabad Session, and which we have quoted in our article referred to before, is so categorical and so unequivocal that there can be no room for any reasonable doubt about its implications in anybody's mind. Moreover, the A.I.C.C. accepted this resolution of Mr. Jagatnarain Lal after he had made it definitely clear, in the course of his speech in support of his resolution, as to what his real object was in moving it, He had said:-"I want the A. I. C. C. to give a clear and unequivocal declaration against the disintegration of India.....I appeal to the members of the A.I.C.C. to give here right now their firm, clear and unequivocal mandate against the disintegration of our country and against Pakistan." And the A.I.C.C. did it. The A.I.C.C. did not pass in 1942 any "self-determination" resolution. These remarks apply equally well to the Gandhiji formula. We really wonder how after all this Gandhii still maintains that his formula as well as the Rajan formula, both of which concede the principle of division of India, is consistent with the position of the Congress. He seems to be under a misapprehension. This is He seems to be under a misspprehension. This is evident from the following sentence in his letter to Sardar Durlab Singh, dated at Sewagram 14th November, 1944:—
"Maulana Saheb explained the implications of the

Jagatnaram Lal resolution which please see."

We have seen what the Maulana Saheb "Giving permission for the resolution moved by Jagatnaram Lal, the President (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad)," says an official document of the Congress, "gave it as his opinion" that the resolution no way contradicted the position taken up by the Working Committee at Delhi with regard to the question of the demand for the partition of India made by the Muslim League and incorporated in the resolution dealing with Sir Stafford's draft proposals."

This was a purely personal opinion of the President as the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee, and not even an official ruling. Even if it had been an official ruling, it would not have mattered in the least. As we have shown in some detail in our article published in the October (1944) number of this Review, under the Constitution of the Indian National Congress, the Working Committee, being what it is, has no power to act against any policy or programme laid down by the All-India Congress Committee or by the Congress itself, Further, it is subordinate to the All-India Congress Committee which can undo what the former has done. The Working Committee is in a sense a Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, and an agent of the latter. As its master and official superior, the All-India Congress Committee may, therefore, with unquestionable constitutionality, set aside or repudiate any action or decision taken by the Working Committee. Moreover, the language of the particular resolution of the A.I.C.C., which Mr. Jagatnarain Lal had moved, is to be the determining factor here. And that language, Gandhiji knows very well, is absolutely unequivocal and categorical. No personal remark of the President, not even an official ruling by him can undo, nullify, or neutralize the implications of a resolution which the A.I.C.C., while in full possession of all facts, solemnly and deliberately adopted. There is no provision in the Constitution of the Congress which empowers the President to neutralise the effect of a resolution which has been adopted by the A.I.C.C. The A.I.C.C. itself, or its own master the Indian National Congress in its annual or special session, can undo it, and none else. This is the correct constitutional position. The acceptance of Gandhiji's view would mean the placing of the Working

stood doctrine of self-determination referred to by Gandhiji, all that we should like to say here is that the right of self-determination is, as Lord Curson pointed out once in 1923, like a two-edged sword and can be admitted only with reservations. The doctrine is to be applied to a country as a whole, and not to any section of its population at its dictation. Otherwise, there will be a disintegration of the country. Moreover, self-determination on the same ground, Logic, reason, and equity would, therefore, require that there should be parallel governments, over the same territories, for majorities and minorities. Thus there would be created an absurd situation. The principle of self-determination is not such a simple thing as some people imagine it to be. It is not without any reason, therefore, that we find such a comment on it, in Hall's great Treatise on International Law, as the following:—

decided to recognize Finish sovereignty over the Aaland

"The phrase (self-determination) is one of dangerous vagueness as encouraging inordinate nationalist claims, and its application, in ignoring economic conditions, has led to some disastrous results."

And if Gandhiji applies this principle to sections of the Indian people as he proposes to do, it is sure to lead to equally, if not more, disastrous results for this country.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to refer here to the Aaland Islands dispute and to a certain view of the Committee of International jurists appointed in 1920 by the Council of the League of Nations to give

Committee above the A.I.C.C., and the enthronoment an advisory opinion in this connexion." The dispute of the distantenship or absolutism of the President of the "was one concerning certain islands which lie midway Congress. We believe that the Congress is yet a deside to be tweether that the Congress is yet a deside of the Bredien inhabited almost exercise body, and not an authoritarian institution. Being clusively by people of the Swedien race, but which a lawyer, Mr. Jinnah, therefore, was perfectly right when historically and geographically had always formed a heavyer, in his letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th part of Finland. The Finish Government "declared September, 1944, the difficulties created by the Jagat that the Aslands were geographically part of Finland. September, 1944, the difficulties created by the Jagat- that the Aslands were geographically part of Finland, narain Lal resolution in the way of the division of India, and that it was strategically impossible for Finland to so far as the Congress was concerned.

surrender them." The Swedish Government complained In regard to the much-abused and much-misunder-that the Finns were refusing "to allow the Aslanders deduction of self-determination referred to by the right of self-determination." As a matter of fact, the right of self-desermination." As a marrier of tact, by plebiseites held in 1818 and again in 1819 the people of the Azland Islands, writes Professor Garner, an American authority on International Law, "had voted almost unnamously in favour of separation" from Finland. The Committee of Jurists, however, declared its opinion, continues Professor Garner." "that there was no rule of positive international law which magazine." section of its population at its dictation. Otherwise, its opinion, continues Professor Carner, that there there will be a disintegration of the country. Moreover, was no rule of positive international law which recognif the doctrine is unwisely applied to sections of the right of fractions of peoples as such to population in a country on a religious basis, then the separate themselves by a simple act of their own will minorities in the areas affected, who may be opposed to from a definitely established state of which they form the majorities in them, should also have the right of a part, any more than it recognises the rights of other states to demand such separation....It added that the recognition of the right of self-determination in the form asserted by the inhabitants of the Asland Islands would amount to an infringement upon the severeignty of existing states, would lead to destruction of the stability which the very word 'state' implies, and would

decided to recognise Finish sovereignty over the Asland Islands, practically accepting the recommendation of a Political Commission previously appointed by it. And in October, 1921, this decision was accepted by the League of Nations "under the condition that cutonomous rights" should be granted to the population of the Islands." This incident has a very valuable lesson for us, and we invite the attention of both Mr. Jinnah and

Gandhiji to it.

See Ibid.

Ibid.

DESERT

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Wounds have replaced warm roses. Nothing stirs In love with ugliest intrigue and strife, Except black winds which dally with the hours: Driving authentic beauty out of life. Weed-gatherers have exiled the gardeners And with uncanny cunning do succeed In making men wild lovers of the weed Oblivious of their heritage of flowers.

Inheritors of the desert, grim and bare, We are mad, self-crowned monarchs who

contend, Painting red struggle on the envenomed air:

We record the beginning of the end.

Sowers of song-seeds have departed, and Our gardens bloom no more; the singing throng Makes way for vultures, while the poet's hand In sad, star-widowed solitude withdraws. Leaving a multitude of hungry claws Which close around the throat of real flong!

^{25 8}th Edition, p. 54n.

²⁶ The italics are ours.

²⁷ See The Annual Register, 1920, pp. 183-54, 218-19, and 267; also The Annual Register, 1921, pp. 76, 182-58, 199-200, and 257-58.

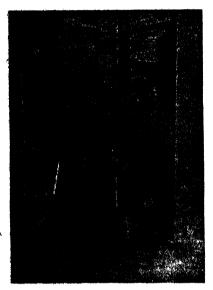
See his Political Science and Government, p. 185.

The italics are ours.

WAR NURSERIES

By CICELY FRASER

own home. The war has altered that, for now while mother is working. that women are going to work in factories to task.



Father is taking his little son to the nursery school and handing him over to one of the charming and efficient nurses

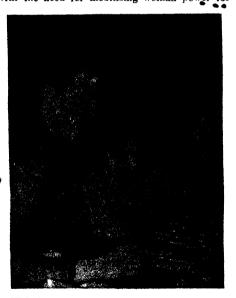
In a large and airy room, its walls distempered and lined with nursery frescoes, forty children between two and five are cating their mid-day dinner. The miniature tables at which they sit in groups of four are painted in bright colours. The children-industriously feeding themselves with large spoons—are dressed in gay check overalls of blue and red and mauve. To look at you would say they were "country bred children, for their faces are round and their cheeks rosy. Yet a year ago these same kiddles lived in mean houses, with no better playground than the city streets. To see what they looked like then you have only to notice the newcomer in the corner, whose face is pale and thin, and who seems much smaller than the other children of his own age.

built in the country some thirty miles from London. They themselves are evacuess whose children under two, and the other for toddlers

Berove the war, a mother with a baby to mothers are engaged in war work, and who are look after had no time for any duty outside her brought here for the day to be looked after

This particular nursery has been specially produce shells and tanks, means have had to be designed and built for the purpose. It stands in found of relieving mothers of this domestic a field, where the toddlers can play in fine weather. All the furnishings-chairs, tables, the washbasins and lavatories—are made to scale. In the cupboards lining the playroom walls are toys of all kinds; dolls, engines, books, paints. In another room are forty small beds for the afternoon nap.

The scheme of war nurseries, set up by the Ministry of Health in the first place as an emergency scheme, has spread and developed. and has proved one of the most valuable contributions to social service brought about by the war. When at the outbreak of war large numbers of mothers and children below school age were transferred from the town to country districts, the problem of how to see that the children were kept healthy and occupied became a pressing one. It became still more pressing with the need for mobilising woman power for



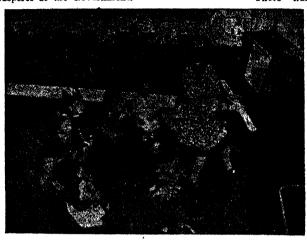
With the encouragement of her teacher this little toddler is learning to fit a pussle together

factory work. And so the Government began The children's new home is a war nursery, setting up nurseries in all parts of the country.

They are of two main types, one for

from two to five. Some nurseries are open for For these infants nurseries have been started school hours, from about nine till five others in the towns. One manufacturing district has no from seven in the morning till seven or eight fewer than seventy, scattered about the outat night. Nurseries have been opened both in skirts and centres of its towns, and more are at night. Nurseries have been opened own in saint and country and in city areas, in all cases under the being built.

These nurseries are usually converted.



Britain's young children are being cared for with every kind of attention in the way of feeding, recreation and training

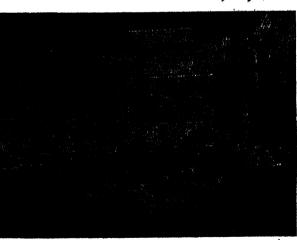
From the very beginning. the idea was to provide something more than a mere place where children might be kept out of the way. Those nurscries are training the children, seeing to their physical health, teaching them to be independent, clean, intelligent, and good citizens Frequent medical inspections take place, minor ailments are cured.

The trained helpers who are in charge of the nurseries report that most of the children improve in health and physique after a very short time. And they are wellbehaved too-not because they are regimented, but because they are occupied and happy.

The parents pay a small sum, a few pence a day,

houses. One of the biggest is in an old Victorian mansion. The house has been refitted and re-decorated, with coloured walls and furniture which make it spitable and attractive for children, and is now one of the full-time nurseries. It opens at about 6:30 or seven in the morning. se that mothers going early to work in the factories can bring their children on "the way, and it does not shut till about eight at night. It eaters for children up to five years of

The top floor belongs to the babies in charge of a trained nurse, assisted by a number of helpers. It has a sick room where babies with any suspicion of illness may be isolated -if necessary they are trans-



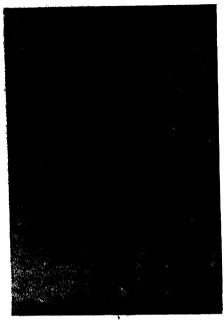
School-children evacuated to all parts of the country have contributed models, drawings and paintings to the Exhibition of "The History of English Life"

Clothes are found the main cost of the nurseries (which ferred to a hospital. includes two or three meals a day) is borne by for babies who are poorly the Government. dressed, and They day. cots. of their time in Some mothers have been unable or un-spend most start willing to evacuate their children under five, though babies old

the floor.

crawling are allowed periods of exercise round their health and clearing up the coughs, colds, and similar ailments which often affect city

Down below are the older infants, in con-children.



The wash basins, like all the other nursery fittings, have been specially constructed in miniature to suit the young children



One of the very young children is enjoying her mid-day

ditions like those described in the country The problem of providing nurseries for the nursery. They have not had the same advan- small children of working mothers has always tages of country air, but plenty of rest and been a serious one, but it has taken the war to healthy food has done wonders in improving solve it on a proper scale.

THE GOLCONDA FORT How a Cowherd Helped a King in Its Construction

By M. FATHULLA KHAN

Boxen gueer legends about the celebrated fort like that of Warangal, under some Hindu of Calconda in Hyderabad-Deccan, round which prince before it fell under the sway of the senses the remarkic rise, the glorious pros- Warangal rajas who subsequently ceded it, perity and the sudden fall of the famous Qutb together with its dependencies, to Muhammad Shahi dynasty, have come to light in connection Shah Bahmani in the year 1363. It was after with its construction for the first time. These are this Sultan that Golconda was known, for a contained in an interesting three-centuries old time, as Muhammad Nagar. Even though the document which has come to the notice of the Bahmani kingdom began to break up in 1490 writer.

middle of the thirteenth century. Therefore, it of Goloonda. must have originally been a small mud fort.

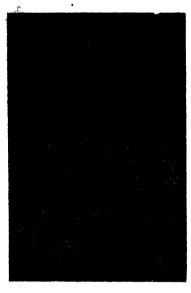
A.D., Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, the Bahmani Viceroy Although there is no recorded history of of Golconda, continued to hold allegiance to the fort prior to the year 1363 A.D., traces in Sultan Muhammad Shah II, his benefactor, the citadel indicate that it is at least as old as until the latter died in 1518. Thereon he asthe fort of Warangal which dates from the sumed independence as Sultan Quli Qutb Shah

Quli Qutb Shah is said to have had replaced

the mud fortifications by substantial stone ones during his viceroyalty.

The fifth king of Golconda, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611) was the next monarch who is recorded to have made exten-

sive additions to the fort.



Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah

We then come to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672), the seventh king of apprehended Golconda, who danger from the Mughals, and, therefore, further strengthened the defences of the fort, making it as far as possible He added new impregnable. defences in the new wall to the fortifications on the northeast, which is 3,340 yards long, taking in the small strategic hillock within fort, as otherwise this hill would have presented a very favourable position to the enemy making it difficult to dislodge him from there.

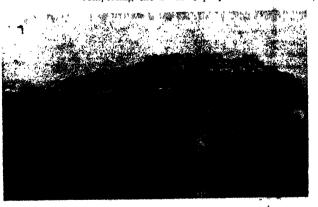
It will thus be seen that the fort did in obedience, already exist at Golconds long before the Qutb fort, Shahi dynasty was founded, and that its forti- Golla Konda. fications had been strengthened not only by two out to the Sultan the mysterious gold of the Sultans prior to Abdullah Qutb Shah, image lying in Sadhu Gokuldas' well, and but also by the latter himself to a considerable explained to him the secret about it. The conextent.

STORY OF THE COWNERD

The sanad or document, which is written separately in Persian and in Telugu and bears the seal of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, with whose name the events mentioned therein are associated, is granted in the name of Dhangar (Cowherd) Kondiah, and it is now in possession of a distant descendant of the original recipient.

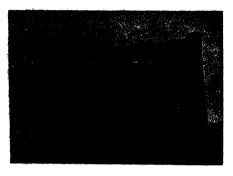
The sanad mentions the original name of the citadel as Manural fort, abas Golakonda, situated at Muhammad Nagar in Bhagnagram pargana, and it records the story as to how Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah managed to construct the fort.

The Sultan narrates the document, having failed in his attempt to construct a fort consulted a murshid or spiritual guide by name Sved Muzaffar Shah of Aurangabad, then residing at Gulhargah, as to why, his ancestor was not able to construct a fort and why even his own attempt had failed. The murshid, thereupon, suggested that the services of the Dhangar (Cowherd) Kondiah, who had promoted the scheme to construct the forts at Warangal and Bhongir for Raja Pratapa Rudra Deva, and which fact had been acknowledged by the Raja himself in the sanad granted to Kondiah, be requisitioned in this connection. The Sultan agreed; and the cowherd was accordingly sent for. When Kondiah arrived at Golconda he was entrusted with the task of completing the Sultan's project. The cowherd,



The Golconda Fort

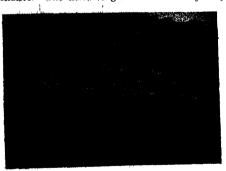
laid the foundation of the calling it, after his occupation. The cowherd then pointed struction of the fort was eventually sompleted. with the wealth obtained out of the idol in the their peetham (seat of learning and authority well. The Sultan was greatly pleased with the in the community) for the past 5007 years be services rendered by the cowherd, and he allowed to him throughout the Sultan's kingasked the murshid to find out from the cow-dom. He further requested that some lands and herd what he wished to have in return from rights for performing certain jatras (fairs) be him. When asked, the cowherd said that as he given to his castemen, and that all their rights



The Mosque

was the guru of 12 cowherd and two shepherd castes, a sanad granting him rights and privileges similar to those granted by Raja Pratapa Rudra Devà be awarded to him, with the seal and signature of the Sultan.

Members belonging to cowherd and shepherd castes should not be killed and if this condition were to be violated, evil would befall his kingdom and the goddess of wealth also desert the ruler. Full rights over the Ellamma temple, the mosque, and the Mari Mutta be given to him, and also the lands surrounding these places for the purpose of their maintenance. The hondurs granted to him by Raja

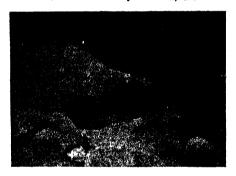


Sadhu Gokuldas' Well

quin, umbrella, crown, musical drums on He gives quite a different story. He says that elephants and camels, ear-rings, lion-headed the site where the fort stands was pointed out gold bangles, panjak (five-fingered emblem), to Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, the first king of Goletc. etc. and the use of all the titles which he conda, by a shepherd who guided him to it had been enjoying ever since the institution of through a wood, and that the king called it

and privileges should be safeguarded and instructions to all Government officials be issued accordingly. They should have the right of settling their disputes amongst themselves. Except in the case of theft. Government interference should not be allowed. Wherever the sovereignty of the Sultan was extended, their rights and privileges should also be extended in those territories. The right to collect one rupec from each house of his caste people should also be given to him. Such were the wishes of the cowherd Kondiah who asked that a sanad granting them be awarded to him.

When the murshid conveyed the cowherd's wish to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, the Sultan



Naga Jharra

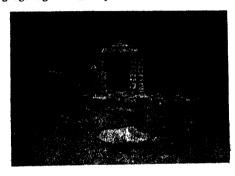
issued a sanad granting him and his peetham all that he had asked for.

SANAD HISTORICALLY EXAMINED

There can be no doubt with regard to the authenticity of the document itself. But some of the dates and events mentioned therein are so very contradictory, covering the periods of previous rulers, that one is led to believe that the document might be only a renewal by Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah of the original grants.

The French travellor Monsieur de Thevenot, who visited Golconda in 1666, during Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's rule, does not mention of either this Sultan as having founded the fort, Pratapa Rudra Deva, such as the use of palan- or of the cowherd as having come to his rescue.

shepherd. Theyenot's own words are: "Qutb Gokuldas. A cowherd who used to grase his Shah the first, gave it that name because after cows in the vicinity greatly venerated the his usurpation seeking out for a place where sadhu, and used to offer him daily milk. When he might build a strong castle, the place where the sadhu became confident of the faithfulness the castle stands was named to him by a shep- of his disciple, he, one day, placed a big vessel herd, who guided him through a wood to the filled with oil on an oven, and calling the cowhill where the palace is at present; and the place herd said to him: "I want to do you some good: appearing very proper for his design, he built go round this vessel three times." The cowherd the castle there, and called it Golconda, from obeyed the sadhu. As he was making the third the word Golcar, which in the Telenghi lan- round, the analysis hold of him and tried guage signifies a shepherd."



Ellamma Temple

Had the story of the cowherd occurred, as the document would give us the impression, during Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign, why should not have Thevenot told us so, instead of having associated it with the first king of Golconda?

So, from these divergent stories, it occurs to a searching mind that the cowherd legend about the founding of the fort might have originally been associated with the first Hindu rulers of Golconda, and subsequently handed down and kept current by the descendants of the original cowherd Kondiah for the purpose of perpetuating the grants made to his caste peetham by the founders of the fort. Thus, the story of the cowherd does not seem to have anything to do with the fortifications built by the Qutb Shahi Sultans.

LEGENDARY SITES

and around the fort such sites as the Naga cowherd respected him profoundly, and used to Jharra, Mari Mutta, Ellamma temple, Mallana offer him milk. The sadhu asked him one day Mutt. and Sadhu Gokuldas' Well. All these are if he had ever seen a plant whose leaves grew mentioned in the document, and were pointed up as soon as they were eaten away by the out to the writer.

THE GOLD IDOL

legends about the gold idol of Sadhu Gokuldas' came to the sadhu and told him that he had

Golconda, from Golcor the Telugu word for there lived near the fort an old sadhu by name to hurl him into the boiling oil. The cowherd became furious and lifting the sadhu, in turn, threw him into the vessel. The sadhu suddenly disappeared, and in his place stood a gold image. At this, the cowherd became nervous. and, not knowing what else he should do, he scized the image and threw it into a well close by.

The mystery about this gold idol was that whenever a part or piece out of it was cut it became intact again the next day. This secret was known to the cowherd Kondiah, who explained it to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, as narrated in the document; and that it was from the gold derived out of this idol that it became possible for the Sultan to meet the cost of the construction of the fort.



Maliana Muth

The other legend is that, during the reign of a certain Hindu ruler, a cowherd used to graze his cows in the vicinity of a rock on which was a temple. One day, the cowherd met It is, however, interesting to see within a sadhu who had come there for penance. The cow. The cowherd replied that he had so far never seen such a tree, but that if he came across it any time, he would immediately in-There are two queer but slightly varying form him. Some days afterwards, the cowherd well mentioned in the sanad. One is that, once seen a tree with the qualities described by him. Thereupon, the sadku immediately went to the tree and set fire to it. While the tree was in if the sadhu was completely burnt to ashes. flames, the sadhu told the cowherd that if he went round the burning tree it would do him standing in place of the tree, which resembled good. And as the innocent man was going round



Marı Mutta

to throw him into the flames, when the cowherd struggled and, freeing himself from the sadhu's clutches, lifted him in turn and hurled him into the fire.

The cowherd went there the next day to see But he was amazed to behold a gold image the sadhu. As the cowherd could not tolerate the sadhu caught hold of him and was about his sight, he began to break the idol with an axe. No sooner had he cut one hand of the idol than it became intact again. So, he changed his mind and carried the idol home. Thereafter. he would daily cut a piece out of it and exchange the gold piece for his daily requirements from a merchant. While the idol remained intact all the time, the merchant amassed gold in plenty.

> One day, the king of the place came to know of the sudden prosperity of the merchant, and wished to know the truth of it from him. The merchant, thereupon, revealed the secret to the king, who took away the idol from the cowherd. The king thereafter extended his territory with the help of the gold derived out of this mysterious idol. Later, when this king died and his successor happened to be an immoral and wicked ruler, the idol disappeared.

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CONTROL FOR CHAOS

By P. R. SRINIVAS

extravagant hopes were entertained of it at the beginming. It opened in India with the food criss reaching important in themselves than for what they may be
its dimax, the general economic life nearly breaking expected to lead to.

Take first the food problem. Here the main trends
straining against the leash of controls and other antimidationary measures. Let it be said of the year now year. 1944, in fact, opened with Bengal and parts of
closed that it could essily have been worse than it was. South India in the grip of severe shortage of foodThe food position was slowly brought under control, grains. In Bengal particularly, the whole machinery of
though by no means to the satisfaction of the people. The national economy was strengthened at a few and men had begun to die in tens of thousands in
points; and the main trends of 1944 are less
than the main trends of 1944 are less
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some gratitude for. But the general outlook from the distress. It is a sad commentary on the administration

NEARLY always, the Old Year is like a guest who has progress of allied arms has slowed down since the overstayed his welcome—the departure occasions no liberation of France, while the practical value of regrets. For ten years at any rate, every year has American gains in the Pacific is not as highly rated as proved in the end a disappointment, being no better it used to be. So far as India is concerned, not only in than its predecessor in some respects and distinctly there no prospect of early relief from the strains of the worse in many others. 1944 has the advantage that no war period, but 1945 may well add to our burdens and extravagant hopes were entertained of it at the begin-privations, so that the main trends of 1944 are less

These are small mercies it would be churlish not to feel of relief did their best to mitigate the suffering and the some gratitude for. But the general outlook from the distress. It is a sad commentary on the administration point of view of the national economy is by no means as a whole in all its rings that a tragedy so acute and brighter. This outlook embraces such questions as the on so wast a scale was needed to bring about a realistic progress of the "grow more food" campaign and the appreciation of the food position. From the international general adjustment to wartime conditions and demands, plane of the U.N.R.R.A. down to district boards and the success of anti-inflationary measures, the progress of local authorities, there was for the first time recognest-war planning and India's position in international nition of the gravity of the problem. Questions were trade and finance after the war will be over. In the asked in the House of Commons; and though Mr. background is the war itself, its vicinitudes and the Amery characteristically blamed the Indian birth rate prospect of its early end. It is indeed a pity, as well on the one hand and on the other emphasised the trom an individual or sectional as from a broad human priority of British and American lives over Indian, point of view, that the last quarter of the year failed there was sufficient anxiety to avoid the repetition of the shird quarter kindled in man's minds. The had already occurred. There were less indigent morths

Meanwhile, the Food Policy Committee had submitted its report. And the basic recommendations were import of wheat and the building up of a large reserve of over 500,000 tons and the inauguration of a system of monopoly procurement and rationing of food-grains in all the towns and cities of India. So far as the acute situation in Bengal was concerned, simmediate relief authorities. Imports of wheat during the last one year have been well maintained, though authorities figures

procurement has gone ahead and rationing ensures even of cotton cloth has been reduced in spite of our having distribution of available stocks, the quality of the to earmark a portion for this expert trade of recent supplies is extremely unsatisfactory. Imports have not origin. been sufficient to build up the Reserve recommended by the Food Policy Committee. And it is now recognised that, the grow-more-food campaign has to be buttressed with other measures. On the one hand, it had to lead to an agricultural plan for which the outlines have been drawn up by Sir Phiroze Khareghat, on the other, it has called for statutory restriction of the acreage under cash crops which in the present state are norse profitable than food crops. Altogether, our experience of the food problem is illustrative of the restricted scope of war time measures and of the way they pave the transition from wartime controls to post-war planning.

As compared to food control, cotton cloth control can claim a greater degree of success. Though there are still complaints of uneven distribution, which must be attributed to defects of the local administration, the control has succeeded in bringing down prices by more than 40 per cent, since the middle of 1943, in ensuring supplies of yarn for handloom weavers and in making essential goods available at tex-mark prices all over the country. Production as a whole has increased to 5,800 million yards; and though the country can certainly do with more, the position must be considered satisfac-tory, particularly in view of the coal shortage, which is the principal handicap of industry at the present

The coal shortage affects not only the production without a break during the whole of the war period; of cotton cloth in the mills but the whole gamut of and the following table shows the position during last Indian industry. Considering the wide orbit of its re- year: percussions, it is strange that the Government did not ward off the danger but was driven to secure relief by such dubious methods as lifting the ban on female labour. But the coal shortage is not the sole handicap of Indian industry. While all the world over, industry was substantially adding to its equipment, quantitative by and qualitatively, Indian industry had to be content with doing jobs of a minor character and that, too, under surveillance. Changes in the fortunes of the allies would seem to have made no great difference. While during the dark days of the war, imports of essential raw materials were denied to Indian industry on the

to feed. The next rice crop was better. Shipping pendented industry to be run under foreign direction, too, had eased. And what was most important of The estensible ground for increased imports of consult, public opinion was more disposed to support drastic sumer goods, however, is the need to fight the effects measures of food control.

of inflation.

The effect of these imports of consumer's goods is seen in the figures of foreign trade. Imports went up Rs. 53.76 crores in the first half of 1943 to over Rs. 50 crores in the corresponding period of this year while the rise in exports is only from Rs. 92.72 crores to Rs. 105.74 crores. Leaving these figures saids, which are only a small part of the much higher pictures of the exchange of goods and services between India and the rest of the wested, India's foreign trade is characterised by shifts is the sirection of trade, of which the closer relations between India and the Middle East may prove lasting theses it had it to one in the for procurement has been slowly improved. The Railmay prove lasting, though it had its usign in the ways have functioned with better recognition of the closing up of the Mediterranean till the surrender of priority of food supplies. And more and more towns Italy. The Indian cotton mills, which had long been are being brought under the scope of the rationing content with the home market area. licity. The Indian cotten mills, which had long good content with the home market ever since the loss of the Chinese market for yarn, have again been side to secure an export market in adjacent lands. Though this is no unmixed advantage in the present period of But the country as a whole is hardly out of the secure an export market in adjacent lands. Though this wood, so far as the food problem is concerned. The is no unmixed advantage in the present period of authorities are inclined to pat themselves on their scarcity, the progress made is not to be despised. At backs for what they have done. While it is true that any rate, it is a matter for entire other than the searcity

> The improvement in the position of food and cotton cloth would not however warrant a completent view either of anti-inflationary measures as a whole or of the claims commonly made for control in the war period Now, more than at any time statistics are unreliable; they are almost treacherous. In regard to prices and cost of living, while the price of food-grains and sugar and cloth have certainly been brought down, there are other necessaries of life like milk and vegetables where the rise in prices more than offsets the decline in the former. This is only to be expected since the besic conditions which make for the rise in prices continue unchanged. The problem of inflation in India was never tackled as such. The Government of India was never tackled as such. The Government of India took an unconscionably long time to recognise that there was any inflation. And when it could no longer be burked, they accepted the obligation to fight the effects of inflation rather than inflation itself. To fight inflation, it was necessary to insist that foreign Governments should pay every rupes worth of goods and services in Indian, and not foreign, currency. And that was beyond the powers of the Government of India. The Govern-ment, therefore, have endeavoured to check inflation to the extent possible and fight the effects of inflation as well as they can. The former source was taken later; and it is even now far from complete. Generally speaking, additions to currency have been made almost

•	Notes in sirculation	Starliz Icene Dept	ng securities L. Besking Dept
7-1-44	845-69	788 - 84	128.70
31-3-44	882 - 49	779 - 84	166-23
7-7-44	931 - 93	828 - 33	174-46
29-9-44	941 - 25	834 · 33	204 - 85
8-11-44	989 - 82	886 - 38	840-08

The note issue has risen more than five times its pre-war figure. And this in spite of the fact that gold and silver belonging to the Allied nations have been sold in India. The twin problems that this gives rise to Taw materials were denied to Indian industry on the soid in India. The win problems that this gives like of shipping, improvement in the are inflation at home and accumulation of sterling shipping position led only to increased imports of the balances in London. So far as prices are concerned, as finished products. Instances of these are found in many has been mentioned already, the success of control of lines. But complaints of this kind are most common certain commodities is no index of the control of in the chemical industry; and it is not without signiprices as a whole. The following table shows that, the success that its development in the post-war period is though wholease prices at one stage showed a fall, the forestalled by the drawing up of plans for a centralised rising tread has reassested itself.

WHOLESALE PRICE						
Ž.	Agricultural commodition		Masufactured articles	General index	Cost of Hyling Bombay	
1940-41	108·6	121·4	120·0	114·8	114	
1943-44	270·6	184·9	251·7	237·2	237	
Sept. 1942	272-0	181-4	251·3	236·4	245	
Jan. 1944	264-4		251·3	237·8	238	
Mar.	257 - 8	196-7	252 · 3	236.3	226	
June	265-9	204·3	251·8	244·1	236	
Oct	262-0	206·5	255·7	242·0	239	

The fight against anti-inflationary measures in preference to inflation is definitely a losing battle—the odds are against the authorities. It is a case of letting go the reins and tugging the tail of a fiery steed. The Government are glad that from a political and social point of view they are keeping the situation well in hand. They are able to claim that there is not a rupee of their own war expenditure which is not covered by taxation and borrowing. They are able to claim, too, that they have drawn off a large part of the redundant money by their campaign for small savings and that more than all this, they have fought inflation itself to the extent that they have been able to sell gold and silver in India on account of the allied nations. But it is high time that more was done. There must be a definite ceiling set to the rupee circulation and measures taken to see that the note issue is kept within that limit.

The other problem, vis., that of sterling balances, has unlike the problem of inflation been taken out of its wartime setting. Intrinsically and by reason of its discussion at the Bretton Woods Conference, sterling balances is recognised as a post-war problem. before the Conference the controversy in regard to our sterling assets had developed marked acrimony, thanks to the British Press which has more than once shown itself lecking in regard for Britain's good name. As in the political, so on this front, too, India has lost much ground during 1944. The refusal of the Bretton Woods Conference to include the repayment of our sterling balances within the scope of the International Monetary Fund was felt keenly first as an insult and secondly as majority of the delegates did not mean it as either; well-being.

since there is a great deal to be said for not saddling a new and untried institution with so heavy a responsibility. Somewhat similar is the case of the International Bank where India has not been accorded a permanent seat in the Executive on a format basis, but has been ensured a seat in all conditions. But considering that the work of the Conference as a whole requires ratification of which we cannot be too sure, a different milieu of conditions calling for a revision of the scheme is not unthinkable.

After all, 1944 was only one year in a world war that might conceivably see its seventh year. All the events are related to what went before; and their significance depends on what may follow thereafter. So far as India is concerned, it is certain that the most strenuous times are yet ahead. The past never seems too sombre in retrospect. Suffice it for us that the war period leaves us with tinted glasses with which we can see a rosy future, beyond the psychic present. In the see a rosy inture, beyond the payond present. In the mixed bag that war presents to peoples planning is a kind of meccano set, which they can either toy with in infantile playfulness or utilise to build up truly constructive qualities. About the ultimate fate of economic planning, it is unwise to be dogmatic. But it is only fair to those concerned to recognise that some progress has been made in what may be called planning the plan. The Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Council has issued two of its progress reports where ideas are clearly gaining in concreteness. It has been definitely stated that nearly Rs. 1,500 crores will be available for investment in the first five years of the Plan. Detailed plans have also been evolved for agriculture, railway development and education. The Bhore Committee is busy drawing up its plan for public health. Industrialists are being asked to clarify their ideas and book orders for machinery for the post-way. period. The country, too, is visibly plan-minded. Pro vinces and States are making plans of their own and are eager to have them correlated into an all-India Plan. It is unduly pessimistic to believe that all these efforts will run to waste. And it is likewise dangerous for the public to forget that, if vigilance is the price of liberty, it is even more necessary to ensure that the surrender of ordinary freedom in the name of planning injury to our national interests. It is possible that the yields commensurate results in the increase of general

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

Our people in India are no doubt taking a keen interest in the problems of Indians in East Africa but something more is necessary. It is high time that everyone in India should study the question of Indians abroad. To India the East African decision will serve as a test for her own position under the British Empire. It is to be remembered that East Africa was colonized by Indians long before the time when Englishmen knew of this tract of land. According to Premier Churchill's My African Journey, "It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African territories and the Indian trader who developed the early hegianing of trade and opened up the first slender means of communications. Is it possible for any Government with a sound of respect for honors dealing between man and man to embark on a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith?"

I know it is useless to quote Mr. Winston Churchill to-day against the East African administration, for much water has flown under the bridges since hen. After prosperity had been built up by Indian labour and Indian blood, the White settlers began to look at the presence of our people in East Africa as an obstacle for their future well-being. Often vigorous attempts were made by the White settlers, who practically dominate over the affairs of the territories, to secure the gradual climination of Indians from there, but they could not achieve their goal owing to the intervention of the Government and the people of India.

Now under the cover of war exigencies and under one false pretext or anotrer, the Whites are once again at their old game of prohibiting Indian immigration into East Africa. They have so angineered the situation as to secure the enactment of the Emergency Defence Regulations under which the non-native immigration into Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika have been extremely restricted, and even those who came out the of that country to India at the instance of East African part Governments are prevented from returning to their land of adoption, where they were engaged in different trades and occupations.

The White settlers, it is obvious from the recent events, want to squeeze out as many Indians of possible, and the Emergency Defence Regulation is only a cloak under which the real intention of the White settlers, which is to keep the East African territories the India Government with their bitter experience of exclusively reserved for the European whether he is a the most took the word of the East African authorities Jew or a German, a friend or an enemy of England, is

cleverly screened.

and they have now virtually succeeded in their object. One recalls in this connection the Convention of the European Association, of which the late Lord Delamere was the head-figure, started clamouring for the elimin ttion of our people from East Africa in the early twenties. The Government then appointed an Economic Commission consisting of some officials and some of the leading lights of the Convention and although the ostensible purpose of it was to enquire into and report upon the economic condition of the country, they arrived at the astounding conclusion that the presence of Indians in the colony was responsible for all its misfortunes and inceries, hence their future immigration must be prohibited and the Government should aim at the gradual reduction of those Indians who were already domiciled in East Africa.

A strenuous agitation was started by the Convention, but ultimately the proposal was turned down by the Colonial Office in London due to the unanimous and colonial Omes in London due to the disaminous and schement opposition of the people and the Government of India At the time of that upheaval, the White settlers threatened an armed revolution if their demands were not granted, and the armed rebellion was very near to being carried into effect. Our exteemed friend the late Sadhu C. F. Andrews was assaulted by those White hooligans during his visit to South Africa

at that time.

The white settlers have never hesitated to use extralegal means of getting their own way But now un ler the cover of war they want to achieve what they failed to have at that time and have, therefore, by enacting an Emergency Defence Regulation put a ban on the Indian immigration. It is reported that a large number of Indians, numbering about ten thousand, had 16turned to India in response to the appeal made by the East African Governments. Under the new Regulation those Indians will not be permitted to return to East Africa. They are thus stranded in India, away from their business venue. This is the British way of doing things, it must be admitted.

I am glad that a delegation of Indian settlers of Bast Africa under the leadership of Shri Shamsud-Deen, M.L.C. has recently visited India in order to draw the attention of the Government and the people of India to the tragic situation created by the Emergency Defence Regulation in Kenya. Uganda and Tanganyika. It be tolerated that the people of India should not be They told plainly their tale of woe and distress to the free to emigrate to East Africa which they have helped Viceroy Lord Wavell and Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare, to develop with their sweat and blood!

Member of Commonwealth Relations partment.

I understand the decision, prohibiting the immigration of outsiders in that territory was taken by the East African administration with the full knowledge and. purhaps also the approval of the Government of India. It is an irony of fate that the approval of the Government of India to its ensemment was acquired under some false pretences. It passes beyond our comprehension how at its face value and did not care to find out the Indian opinion on the proposed emergency legislation.

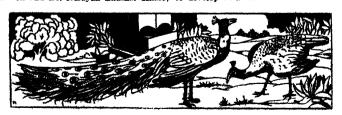
The British settlers have been conspiring since a. In practice the Regulation has been used only long time past to prevent the immigration of Indian, against the Indian immigration because the Whites are parmitted to enter the territories on the pretext of employment in essential war work. The situation in East Africa raises an issue of grate importance to India What is involved is not merely the rights and privileges

of our people already settled there but the much bigger issue whether India will allow the door of East Africa to be closed against her people for future immigration.

Some time back I reminded my countrymen that the Premier of South Africa, Field-Marshal Jan Christian Smuts, a new Messish of White Race Supremacy Religion and a foremost exponent of racial discrimina-tion, was bent upon creating the UNITED STATES OF Africa or a Ferenation of Aerica, and it is reported that he has recently been very active gathering forces to achieve his object. The Smuts' Government of South Africa has been putting extreme political pressure on the Imperial Government for the antigametion of all these African territories with the Union. If it succeeds the lot of Indians as well as of natives will be positively worsened Are we going to adopt the policy of wait and see' till the hammer-blow falls on our people in Africa?

The White hegemony which is sought to be esta-blished in East Africa is a great danger to Indua's present and future interests and unless the Government of India insists on immediate withdrawal of the restriction with regard to immigration it would in fact barter away India's rights. It is certain that without Swaraj the grievances of Iudians abroad can never be removed and India cannot give an effective retort to this unabashed racial arrogance of the Whites, yet even the present Government of India can do a great deal to give the Indians the much needed protection, if only they seriously take up the matter which in all fairness they should. The India Government is in a position to bring the East African authorities to their knees owing to the monopoly of piecegoods trade which India holds just now in those territories. Should the Government of India leave our people in the lurch or come to their rescue to protect their just rights which are being assailed in such a ruthless manner?

India's door is kept open to every foreigner and thousands of foreign refugees and evacuees are being fed and housed in spite of the general scarcity of food and famine and deaths of millions of her people. Can



MUSEUMS IN INDIA Their Educational Functions

By "KAUNDINYA"

The enormous growth of the science of Museology and with those interested in Art and in the Museums' services that a Museum can render to any community may be conveniently grouped under three heads : (a) Collection and Preservation, (b) Interpretation and Study, (c) Educational Services, (d) Publicity, Since the Markham Report was published on the positions of Museums in India (1936) which severely criticized the portance and status of the Museum. starved and stunted conditions of the majority of them, due to the apathy of Government and the poor financial assistance provided in official budgets, Indian Museums have recently come in for its share of criticisms from our oversea visitors, who are accustomed to the benefits, in their own countries, bestowed by efficient Museum Administration, liberally supported by official and private munificence,—particularly in the United States. In India, the growth of Museum Collections depend on (i) Acquisitions under Ancient Monuments and Treasure Trove Acts or Excavations, (ii) Purchases, and (iii) Gifts. Owing to poor finances and public apathy, development and growth under the last two headings are almost nil in marked contrasts with the munificent sums allotted by Government, private donations and gifts which are showered on the Museums of U.S A. Most museums in India have no definite educational plans, and are unrelated to the programmes of studies current in schools and colleges, and the facilities for private studies are very meagre and the public are severely discouraged by official red-tapeism and indifference. The general public and the cultured members of the community are not taken into confidence and are not encouraged to take any interest in the growth of Museums or to make any gifts or endowmeats. Voluntary sits of objects and monetary endow-ments are one of the chief sources of the development of the Museums of U.S.A. To cite some examples at random, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, received by way of gifts and loans notable masterpieces of Art. numbering altogether 233 items, during the year 1928 and as money gifts two several sums of 7328 dollars (Rs. 29.312) and 5,000 dollars (Rs. 20.000), earmarked for the purchase of objects of art, during the

The incentive for private gifts and donations is stimulated by regular programmes of Educational Services (Gallery Talks, Lectures for the General Pubite, Special Lectures for Schools, Colleges and for Teachers, and incessant Exhibitions throughout the

in Europe and in America during the last fifty years, educational programmes. The Bulletins are the most has developed the role that Museums should play in important features of American Museums and help to applementing the educational curriculum of schools radiate an up-to-date knowledge of the latest acquisi- and solleges. It has long been recognised that the tions of examples of Art of diverse schools and countries and are of invaluable assistance, not only, to scholars and research workers but also to the general public interested in Art and Art-History. As a rule, these Bulletins are very inexpensive, costing one to two dollars a year for 4 to 12 issues, according to the im-

> The Markham Report has passed severe strictures on the general absence of Periodical Bulletins for Indian Museums: "Out of a total number of 105 Museums in India, only sixteen museums publish Annual Reports, and for the most part these are thin publications of a few pages, merely serving as a brief catalogue of recent acquisitions. They give the minimum of information and are stereo-typed in character, differing from year to year in little save statistics. But even these are preferable to the obstinate silence preserved by the majority of the museums.

To this dismally black cloud a silver lining has been added recently by Dr. Goets, the enterprising Curator of the Baroda State Museum and Gallery, with a bright little Bulletin of 62 stimulating pages, replete with interesting and educative articles and notices of numerous important items in the Museum (Pictures, Illuminated Mss, Miniatures, Coins etc.), profusely illustrated by excellent plates In addition to the Half Yearly Report of the working of the Museum, the Bulletin contains a sheaf of original articles describing and discussing several un-published and very little known works of art of unique interest, e.g., 'Nalanda Seals in the Baroda Museum' (A. S. Gadre), 'Twenty-two Buddhist Miniatures from Bengal' (Benoytosh Bhatta-Literary Conference' (V. L. Devakar), 'A unique Decani Miniature' and 'Modern Art in the World Crisis' (H. Goetz). As pointed out in the Introductory Note, "The Baroda Museum through the personal interest of the late Maharaja, has grown to an elimond collection almost unique in India which may offer epportunities for the broadest public education in natural science, ethnology, history and art, as in few other museums in this country. It is the fervent wish of the State to make the utmost of these possibilities. And the present Bulletin forms merely an aspect of a general and comprehensive modernization scheme. Its purpose is Ot only to publish the scientific treasures collected in it Teachers, and incessant Exhibitions throughout the only to publish the scientific treasures collected in it year), and by active publicity work, of which the most during the last half century, but also to make a wider important is the issue of Bulletins (monthly, bised each subject of the monthly, or quarterly) which keep before the public life the dead exhibits, to let them reveal their secrets, eye the activity of the Museums, and which frequently their meaning, their beauties. The Baroda State has publish notices of and describe (through short illusing month of educational role of Museums and the greatest additions and accessions, and through which a credit is due to its eminent Curator who has set a constant link is maintained with members of the public, valuable lesson to his brethren to follow.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, parallets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc. are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.— Eprron, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

BEGINNINGS OF MODERN EDUCATION IN BENGAL: WOMEN'S EDUCATION: By Jogesh C. Bagal. Pp. 82 + iv. four illustrations. Ranjan Publishers House, Calcutta, Price Rs. 2-8.

The minute and patient study among old old books, MS. records and newspapers by which Mr. Bagal has been building up a true and documented history of the Renaissance in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century has yielded this valuable and interesting history of our women's first steps in the modern world. highest credit is given, and quite deservedly, o Christian missionaries and committees of sympathising lay European ladies, who were pioneers in this untrodden and at first very unpromising field and who looked for their reward only beyond the grave. But we are glad to note that an orthodox Hindu like Rajah Radhakanta Deb became a public champion of our Rao's women's education at a time when Hindoo society spirit s frowned upon the very idea of it. Two valuable documents enrich the Appendix. We also get much new light writer. on Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's services as the early founder of girls' schools (on behalf of the Government). This history stops a little before the end of the East India Company's rule; but the story of the early pioneers ought to hearten modern social reformers in similar fields where strenuous effort has to be made against orthodox opposition and the apathy of a sleeping society. Our great countrymen of that age were justified in their distant vision of an educated modern and yet domestic Hindoo womanhood.

JACUNATH SARKAR

PESHWA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EX-PANSION: By V. G. Dighe, Ph.D., with Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pp. 236 + x. One portrait and two maps. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. Prive Ra. 6.

This book marks, in the English language, the greatest contribution made to the history of the Peshwas since Grant Duff wrote his history 125 years ago, as Jadunath Sarkar's Shivaji and his Times does to our knowledge of that founder of the Maratha Nation. Undoubtedly Baji Rao I in his meteoric exceer of twenty years—which was cut short before he was 40,—was the most brilliant and successful of the long line of Peshwas, and he has hitherto waited for a worthy biography. In the meantime original materials of primary Pashwas, and he has hitherto waited for a worthy biogalaxy of world hierati. He was a prolific writer and graphy. In the meantime original materials of primary weilded a vigorous pen for over 35 years and thus gave importance for a study of his times have accumulated, a status and standing to Hindi letters. But, it is regreting English, Portuguese, Marathi and Persian, and been able that neither there is any good biographical book mostly published. In the Peshwas' Daftar selections on him nor there are reliable renderings of his works saries alone as many as 2,500 documents on the subject in English and other principal Indian languages. Under layer been printed. It is a most promising prospect for the circumstances, this journalistically written treatise Indian history that a comparatively young son of on Premehand, though of a rudimentary nature, will be Maharashtra has mastered this mass of materials and very welcome as a good introduction to the life and presented a compact study as the fruit of his labours works of Premehand. Even in a brisin memori like this, in synthetizing all the diverse sources, and "couched Mr. Madan Gopal has successfully tried to be faithful, up the salient features with a commendable economy critical and sympathetic towards Premehand's works and of words," The chapters on the Janjira Campaign and

the Capture of Bassein (based on newly published Portuguese state papers) are the most detailed and documented accounts of these two heroic achievements of the Maratha race to be found in any language. Sir Jadunath commends the book in the words, This volume will form a very valuable addition to the growing literature on Maratha History. and will long continue as a standard authority in its own field."

New light is thrown on every branch of Bali Rao's manifold activity, which enables us to understand the Nizam ul mulk Asaf Jah's cry of admiration, la mulk men ek Baji our eab paji. The chapters on the Maratha progress in Malwa and Bundelkhand and on the early and decisive tussle with the Nisam take note of the latest research and correct many long-prevalent historical errors. The two final chapters treat of this Prime Minister's realtions with his royal Master (which show Chhatrapati Shahu in a very pleasing light) and Baji Rao's character and achievements, in a sober judicious spirit and are not vitiated by chauviniam or bombast.

Indeed, we hope for more first-rate work from this

GAURI MATA: Published by Durga Puri Devi, Saradeswari Ashram, 26 Maharani Hemania Kuman Street, Calcutta, August, 1944, Pp. 117. Price Re. 1-8.

Gauri Mata, "a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Deva," embraced the monaster life at a very early age and her great work stands for the good of postarity. Her special field lay among women, and it was educational in scope. To her said the Master: "Mould thou the clay," and the words prompted the strenuous endeavour not mere asceticism but living in God through living for humanity.

The story of her life is here told in brief but with skill and with proper emphasis on points that require it. The glossary at the end will be helpful. The book tells us of remarkable achievement and it deserves to he read with appreciation. The institution which is her legacy should be an asset to society for years to come.
P. R. Saw

PREMCHAND: By Madan Gopal Published by The Bookabode, 119, Circular Road, Lahore. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 8-8.

Premehand is one of those great Indian writers, who can safely claim a place of his own in the august galaxy of world biterati. He was a prolific writer and

of Hindi literature.

THE STARVING MILLIONS: By Santosh Kumar Chatterjee, M.A. Ashoka Library, 15, Shyama Charan Dey Street, Calcusta, Pages 94, Price Rs. 1-8.

This is a timely book on Famines in India with the reference to the Bengal Famine of the last year. India had 14 recorded famines during the seven centuries (11th to 17th century) before the advent of the British, some of which were local only. Since the establishment of the British rule in India, we had four famines during the last thirty years of the 18th century. During the first half of the 19th century we had nine famines and the second half of the century saw another sixteen. The Bengal famine of 1943 is unfortunate from many points of view. Loss of Burms and other sources of rice supply, local crop failure in some districts on account of natural calamities, denial policy of the Goverament, lack of communication due to destruction of boats etc., profiteering and hoarding by seekers of gain, maladministration of the provincial Government and inefficiency of the Central Government, export of foodgrains from India even during scarcity, inflation and last but not the least Bureaucratic stubbornness in not yielding to the popular demands and cries in taking suitable measures promptly when the country was actually in the grip of famine, are some of the causes which the history shall have to record of this most unfortunate visitation.

The writer has, in a small compass, given facts and figures but has not given reference from which they have been taken. He has succeeded in showing that there was not only confusion of thought but of action also so far as the authorities were concerned (bota Provincial and Central), and as a result some three millions had to parish. A book of this nature deserves to be widely read,

A. B. Dutta

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SANKARACHARYA'S SELECT WORKS: Pub-

lished by G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras, Price Re. 1-1.
This contains the Sanskrit text, along with an English rendering made by Mr. S. Venkstaramenan, of some of the small popular philosophical treatises of Sankara as well as a number of hymne including extracts from a few, attributed to him. It serves as a useful introduction to the more abstruse writings of the Great Master. That the book is passing through a third edition testifies to its popularity.

CHINTAHARAN CHARRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLA SAHITYER KHASRA [A Sketch Bengali Literaturel: By Sri Priya Ranjan Sen. The Book Emporium Ltd., 22/3, Cornwallie St., Calcutta.

Price Re. 8.

To all serious students of Bengali literature Prof. P. R. Sen is too well-known to need an introduction. Here he presents a short history of Bengali literature. barring out as far as possible, dry statistics and knotty controversies. Works by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and Dr. Sukumar Sen are immensely valuable for their wealth of details, but they are not meant for the average reader. For him too we needed a book and here it is. The preliminary chapters on the Meaning of it is. The preiminary complete on the recenting of Literature and the relation of Bengali to Sanskrit are not out of place. They serve as a good introduction. The last chapter brings the story down to the time of Rabindranath and it includes comments on Sarat Chandra. Prabhat Kumar and Pramatha Chaudhuri.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

and's inspiration. We commend this book to lovers' venturer, gave start to the Bengali theatre so early as

Hindi literature.

M. S. Sengar

1796. Within eighty years from that date the Bengali

THE STARVING MILLIONS: By Santosh stage took a regular shape on Western model, Professional theatres came to be opened in Calcutta and the moffusil by 1872. The reader will find in the volume the story of this development, told in a fascinating manner. In the narrative the author has mainly depended on materials, hitherto unused. From this point of view also the book has been unique. The stage has played a very important role in our national life, which, too, the author has not failed to refer to. The publishers deserve congratulation for bringing out such a neat volume on the Bengali stage.

CHHELEDER JEHANGIR: By Srimati Buni Gupta, M.A., B.T., with a Preface by Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Published by Lalitmohan Gupta, 72/1, ('ollege Street, Calcutta, Illustrated Price Rs. 2.

Among the Moghul Emperors, Jehangir's was a most romantic life, and it aroused the curiosity of the people of different ages. The authoress has presented this romantic career in a way suitable for our juvenile readers. The style is easy and lucid. Apart from its valuable contents, the illustrations of the book are a great attraction for the reader. The frontispiece is of four colours, and the inside pictures are printed in one but distinct colours And all of these are reproductions of first class Mughal paintings. We should congratulate both the authoress and the publisher for producing the book in such a beautiful and neat way

JOGESH C BAGAI

HINDI

DARSHAN AUR JIVAN : By Sampurnanand. Published by Parmernanand Varma, Cawnpore, Pp. 190.

Philosophy is not a subject outside the range of practical life; on the contrary, it is of the general practical use possible It is the philosophical outlook of a community which determines its social, political and economic organization Starting with this idea of the supreme usefulness of philosophy, the author analyses the concepts of the true, the good and the beautiful satyam, sivam, sundaram, roughly corresponding to numa, kurma, bhakti, to metaphysics, ethics and westhetics.

The author, who put down his observations and comments into this book from a central prison, did not aim to give out his conclusions or the result of other people's investigations so much as to awaken the questioning spirit in his readers. He has been successful in that. The language is very simple.

NETI NATUDU VAGATI VAGAIRA: By Kopparami Subba Rao Printed at Laxmi Power Press, Tenali, Pp.

100 Price Re. 1 only.

The book contains three short plays. In the first, the author tries to show the difference between good acting and bad acting. The second is a satire on religious fanatics and the third is an opera matirizing present-day civilization

Necessary directions are given by the author so that amateurs can easily enact the plays. K. V. Sussa Rao

GUJARATI

KALI DARSHAN: By Muljibhai P. Shah. Pub-lished by the Jivan Sahitya Mandir, Baroda. 1943. Paper cover. Pp 26. Price four annas

This very small book was published at the time when the Sahitya Parishad met at Barods in the Christmas of 1943. The writer has devoted to each of the fifteen well-known poets including one female poet.

Miranbai add and new, one poem and published in BANGIYA NATYASHALA: By Brajendro Noth—Miranbar and and new, one poem and published in Benerjee. Vieve-Bharsti, 6/8, Dwarkanath Tugore Lane, a popular form the services they have rendered by Calculta. Price sight sense.

This book is included in the Visva-Bidya-Sangraha literature of the Province. It is a good work.

Series of the Visva-Bharsti. Lebedeff, a Ensain ad-



INDIAN PERIODICALS &



The Claim of the Upanishads

The verses of the Upanishads vibrate with The following quotation this time from the contagious life and light. Prabuddha Bharata Konopanishad, which is in verse—can hardly fail to The verses of the Upanishads vibrate with writes editorially:

The seers can speak out their conviction even before celestial beings who spy into the recesses people's hearts

Hear Ye all the sons of Immortality, Ye who dwell in celestial regions! (Shv., II. 3).

I know that great Being whose appearance is like the effulgence of the sun and who is beyond darkness. By knowing Him alone can one get beyond death: There is no other way of approach (bird., III. 8)

The reader's attention is often quickened by remarks of astonishing insight, his comprehension assisted by illuminating phrases, and his spirit elevated

by passages of noble eloquence.

We now turn to the literary beauties of the Upanishads. But before we proceed further, we must make one thing clear—the Upanishads are not philosophical treatises, nor are they anthologies of disconnected poems, epigrams, or catechisms. They are written both in prose and poetry; but the poetry is not laboured versufication, nor is the prose mere philosophical disquisition bereft of all art. The poetry deliberately avoids philosophical stiffness and methodebugy, but aims more at inspiring the will and the emotion to reach a state beyond speech and thought through beautiful similes, imageries, figures of speech, rhythm, and change of perspectives, etc. And the prose through its simplicity, directness, and sincerity breathes poetry at every turn. The prose is resonant with poety, and the poetry sparkles with direct touch and simple grandeur.

Let us look at the Upanishads more clesely.

We are, to start with, struck with awe at the grandeur of conception and the wide sweep of imagina-

tion expressed in the simplest of language :

Fire is His head; the sun and moon His eyes; the quarters His ears; the Vedas His voice; the wind His breath; the universe His heart; and the earth His feet. Verily He is the indwelling Self of all (Mu., II. i. 5).

For fear of Him the fire burns, for fear shines the Sun, for fear proceed Indra, Vayu, and Death the fifth

One example of simple and direct proce, throbbing with life and comparable to the highest poetry will

From evil lead me to good. From darkness lead me to light. From death lead me to immortality (Br., I. iii.

Mark how the feeling rises in cadence in the following paragraph from the Brihadaranyaka Upanisha 1.

It is not for the sake of the husband, my dear, that he is loved, but for one's own sake that he is loved. It is not for the sake of the wife, my dear, that she is loved, but for one's own sake that she is loved. It is not for the sake of the sons, my dear, that they are loved, but for one's own sake that they are loved. . . . It is not for the sake of the worlds, my dear, that they are loved, but for one's own sake that they are loved. It is not for the sake of all, my dear, that all is loved, but for one's own sake that all is loved. The Belf, my dear Maiting.

should be realised—should be heard of, reflected on,

and meditated upon (II. iv. 5).

rivet the attention on the prime dynamic factor in life mental and physical:

That which cannot be revealed by speech, but which reveals speech, know that to be Brahman and not this

which is objectively worshipped.

That which the eyes cannot see, but that by which the eyes see, know that to be Brahman and not this which is worshipped objectively.

That which cannot be vitalized by life, but that by which life is enlivened, know that to be Brahman and not this which is worshipped objectively.

Can Indian Philosophy be Made Progressive?

G. R. Malkani writes in The Aryan Path:

The ideal behind Indian Philosophy is the knowledge of That knowing which all else is known. It is knowledge that will cut at the root of all evil and all suffering. The Truth which we should seek in Philosophy is timeless and eternal, and our knowledge of but only for "is." The certainty of truth is part of its very nature. There can be no higher truth than that Has Indian Philosophy found this truth and shown way to it? If it has, all further philosophical progress is barred. There is no scope for it. We may give an exposition of it in language, adopting the conventions and the spiritual genius of that language, -but that will not be reorientation or re-interpretation. It will simply be speaking to everyone in the language he can understand. After all, this truth cannot be racial or communal. It is for all humanity. We must therefore com-municate it in the language in which different sections of humanity can imbibe it and make it their own. this sense alone can we say that Indian Philosophy can be written. Has it not a message for all mankind and must it not enter the cultural tempo of the lives of all? But this is not philosophical progress. It is progress in the forms of its communication or expression, or, more generally, progress in its presentation, not in its content.

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Economic Resources of India

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Kalhana, the Poet-Historian of Kashmir

Rajaterangini, the famous sage of Kings of Kashmir, was written 800 years ago in a time when Buddhism had been completely by the poet-historian, Kalhana. Prof. S. Dhar writes in The Indian Review :

Little is known about the lufe of Kalhana beyond his own confessions in his history, which he wrote between the years 1148-49 a.p. He came from a cele-brated family of Brahmans. He father, Campaka, was a manuster. Untoward political curcumstances deter-tained an author's career for Kalhana. He cultivated a therough-going acquaintance with all the past chronicles of Kashmir and knew at first hand the positical and social developments of his time.

Kalhana's crudition is estimated from the fact that the story of Rajatarangini or 'The River of Kings" covers thousands of years from earliest times down to his own day.

Kaihana is pre-eminently a Kavi, a seer poet. He looked upon himself as a poet first and chronicler afterwards.

His standpoint as the historian is that of an independent and dispassionate observer. Non-Kashmiris like Bengalis who did great things in Kashmir were warmly applauded by him. He extended the same tolerance to idol-breakers, iconoclasts and vandals that he meted out to temple and city-builders and great patrons of art and learning. He wrote history with the professed aim that it might help people to live and to understand life. He is no sycophantic court-poet who pays extravagant tribute to kings He describes royal love-affairs, court intrigues and military campaigns with the same veracity with which he gives accounts of famines, floods and fires. He ascribes no dates to the kings of the pre-historic period of Kashmir. He gives dates after 813 A.D. when he is sure about their authenti-

Kalhana ranks among the first-rank Indian Sanskrit historians of the Middle Ages.

He boldly expressed his sympathy with the downtrodden Kashmiri masses who lived the pitiable lives of serfs. He gives interesting descriptions of their hunger-strikes which formed the only political weapon that they could use against their feudal and autocratic

Kalhana's saga portrays the ancient times of Kashmir, the clash and the consequent intermixture of various cultures. Kalhana acquaints us with many shedent superstitions, customs and traditions, some of which have persuated to the present day. He gives brilliant pen-portraits of great men like Surya the engineer, King Meghavahana the philosopher, Lalit-aditys the conqueror.

As a man, Kalhana presents the curious combination of poet and historian on the one hand and a Brahman and rationalist on the other. He was a Brahman but he had Buddhist leanings though he lived N. placed by Hinduism. Perhaps his interest in Buddhism accounts for his determinism and didacticism. The cult of Saivism, then prevalent in Kishmir, influenced him strongly, so that each one of the eight cantos of his poem begins with a Saivistic quotation that emphasises the transitoriness of life and the triumph of Death over Thus the dominant "rasa" (sentiment) of chronicle is "santarasa," the sentiment of remgnation. Kalhana's numerous references to ancient Indian classical mythology reveal his broad learning. He was well informed in history, geography, literature, economics and prosody.

Disruptionism as a Determining Factor in the Indian Situation

K. M. Munshi writes in the Fourth Annual Number of The Social Welfare:

Right till the Partition of Bengal, the educated Hindus and Muslims were agreed in secularizing their group sentiment and pursuing the path of nationalism related to India as the Motherland. But the British presented separate electorates to the Muslims, the community was segregated, religious passion was made the measure of politics; and broadminded nationalist Muslims were suddenly made unrepresentative of their own community.

When the Congress broke with the British in 1939, Disruption which was no more than a bare idea was exploited by the British to create an obstacle, which now has assumed a sinister shape

Mr. Jinnah has recently in his letters to Gandhill, given us an idea of what its latest phase means.

First, the Muslims of India are a separate Nation, and the Nation has an inherent right of self-determination.

Secondly, Sind, Baluchistan, N.W.F., Punjab and Bengal and Assam as they are now, are Muslim homelands, subject to minor territorial adjustments without any regard to the crores of Hindus who are residents of these provinces and irrespective of the fact whether as in Assam they are majority This attitude logically implies that a dozen Musalmans in any corner of India are part of a Nation which sprawls across the whole continent; that these dozen, even if they be near Cape Comorin, have a right to determining what 'hoy should do with any part of the country even if it be predominantly Hindu; and that in determining whether any part of this country should be under Muslim control, the non-Muslim, inhabiting their territory, has no right even to be consulted.

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Thirdly, it makes a sweeping claim that the Mushins historically, ethnically or culturally have nothing recently discussed the synthetic oil situation in Germany with the Hindus of this country.

The fact that these claims are entirely fictitious makes no difference; that every territory occupied by Hindus is as much their homeland as the Muslims many shounds, Most of the larger lignite mining compinabiliting equally has no appeal; that the doctrine of panies have established their own plants for the hydroreligious nationalism employed with the two-nation generation of coal on the right bank of the Rhine under the over is anachronistic and unrealisable does not matter.

Disruptionism is for the moment the most serious Instruptionism is for the moment the most serious it is stated that about 800 tons of lighter mined impediment to the country's progress. It sakes the Con- in the neighbouring Gensel valley are being utilized for gress to give up its demand for independence; to the production of synthetic oil. On an average, about forswear the demand for a federal centre and for a five tons of lightly vields one ton of motor fivel. At democratic constituent assembly; and to withdraw the the Saale Water Works near Leuns, about 800 000 cu.m. August Resolution "which is immical to the ideals and of water are being daily used for the production of demands of Muslim India." (Jinnah's letter, 23rd Sephordrogen required for the hydrogenetion of coal Leuns tember, 1944)

The self-restraint which the Gandhian policy has imposed on the Congress Hindus, who form the majos synthetic oil, each having an annual output of over a new of politically-minded Hindus in the country, is million tons

taken as weakness

Germany's Synthetic Oil

Science and Culture writes:

and has to depend largely on synthetic oils for the her ability to maintain the tempo of synthetic oil successful prosecution of the war Speculation is rife as production on an unward curve desnite the gloomy to the extent of the output of synthetic oil in Germany, prospect of increased Allied air attacks. and various figures have been quoted from time to time from more than one source An article in a leading

It is stated that about 30 000 000 tons of lignife mined and the Gleiwitz Works in Upper Silesia are reported to be the most important centres for production of

Most of the plants are worked underground for reasons of safety against air raids and are further provided with smoke screen arrangements. The Blechhammer plants are completely underground and are reported to have survived several air attacks. With her growing difficulties of obtaining supplies of natural cil Science and Culture writes:

from Rumann Poland Hungary and Estonia Germany
Unlike the United Nations Germany is quite adwersely situated with regard to her supply of natural oils her ability to continue the war will be derived from

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Join India League

Sept. 5, 1944 Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize winner, and a group of other prominent Americans have joined the India League of America to take action paralleling the effort now being made in India by Mahatma Gandhi and others to break the political deadlock, it was announced yesterday by Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the

League. Pearl S. Buck became an honorary president of the "Knowing this now, beyond a doubt, and because League along with Dr. Lin Yutang, Chinese philosopher. I am an American, I will work for freedom and demography will be graphy in India."

announced shortly.

Other Americans whose support of the India League was announced yesterday are: Richard J. Walsh, editor of Asia, who was elected chairman of the executive committee of the League; Louis Fischer, author and correspondent, who was elected a vice-president.

Among new members of the League's national advisory board are the following: John L. Childs, Chairman, Liberal Party; Professor Albert Einstein; Henry R. Luce, publisher; Philip Murray, President, C I.O.; James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union; Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Pearl S. Buck, in accepting election as honorary

president, made the following statement:
"I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction, finally, after long, close and continuing experience with people and events in Asia, that India has become an immediate test case for world democracy, in the eyes of all the darker peoples, everywhere.

"Had it been possible for India to be regarded only as a single country, large, it is true, and with three times the population of the United States, but separate and out of the world-merely a colony in short-I would not be working for the Indian Freedom now. The scople of India in that case, might have worked out their own relationship with the people of England.

"Or had there been another country which could have proved, in the eyes of the darker peoples, our determination for democracy, it might have been possible to by-pass India again. But the Philippines are not accessible to us. nor are the Netherlands East Indies, nor French Indo-China At this present moment

Pearl Buck and Other Prominent Americans Freedom can be declared only in India. And the moment is urgent.

"Millions of eyes in China, in South America, in North America, in the isles of the oceans, in Africa and even in Europe, are watching to see if democracy means what it says and if the Four Freedoms are true or false. By what we do about India, democracy will stand or fall. Today the watchers, in silence, in apparent immobility, are deciding the future for us all and for our children, and this decision waits upon our

cracy in India."

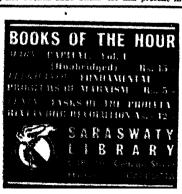
Mr. Singh, in making public Mrs. Buck's statement,

added:

"The India League has been made up chiefly of Indians, with only a few noted Americans, but the League has now been transformed into a predominantly American body."

"It will continue to work for the independence of India, but not primarily from the point of view of Indian nationalism. Its purpose, rather, is to present India as the test case of Allied war aims, and to further the winning of the war in Europe as well as in Asia, by proving through the liberation of India, that the war is being fought for democracy and freedom for all peoples."

"We stress the urgency of this issue particularly in sustaining the morale of the Chinese armies and people, and also in securing wholehearted support of the war effort, not only from the people of India but also, as the





war progresses, from the people of Korea, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, the Netherland East Indies, the Philippines and other Pacific Island groups." "We stress also the stimulating effect which Indian freedom would have upon the peoples of the Balkan and other European areas, upon the American Negroes, and upon suppressed minorities everywhere."—India League of America.

Democracy in China and India

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has promised that within a year after the end of the war China will have a fully democratic regime based on the draft constitution proclaimed by the central government in 1936. In this connection. H. G. Quaritch Wales writes in The Catholic World in the article, entitled "Democracy in the Making in China":

A good reason for us to consider China's proposed constitution sympathetically, however unfamiliar some of its provisions may seem is that attempts to transplant our Western democratic institutions to Eastern soil have in most cases not proved very successful. They failed generally in India, even where the Indians were ready to co-operate in working "provincial autonomy" which they did not through any conviction of the suitability of the system but simply because it seemed to be a step toward freedom Similar attempts failed none the less in independent Thailand, as I saw when residing in that country during the short-lived democratic regime On the other hand, significantly enough, the popular self-rule adopted by the progreative Indian state of Mysore and having much in common with the Chinese extended village system, has promered

The rock on which Western parliamentary methods have almost always foundered in the East is the fixed party system foreign as it is to the Oriental belief in the reconcilability of interests In Burma, notwithstanding that the people are racially and culturally remarkably homogeneous, government was reduced to a farce with the solitting of the Assembly into twenty or more irresponsible parties all primarily interested in attaining selfish ends In India, thanks to the British mistake of establishing electorates on a communal basis, the rift between Moslems and Hindus was deepened, at least among the politically conscious of the cities And the stress on "provincial autonomy" has tended to promote regional interests at the expense of the growth of a much to be desired Indian national outlook,

In India today not more than fifteen per cent of the

entire native population has any interest in national politics since it appears so remote from the people's lives. Hence in many provinces a trend toward oligarshy or diotatorship is not surprising. What can really be expected of an elaborate machinery designed to produce results the people do not want and which are not in accord with their tradition? Something far simpler and less mechanical will be needed if popular imagination is to be captured and a national ministry established with

support of a strong and active public opinion.

The Indian leaders have insisted on their right to choose their own form of government in a free India from the admiration which Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed for the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives it seems likely that he would be no less interested in seems likely that he would be he willage demo-China's village democracy. The basis for village demo-man avists also in India, as it does in Burma, Thailand and other parts of Southeast Asia even if the persistence of feudalism did not favour its development to the same extent as in China. In India the panchayats, or elected village councils survive, cutting right across caste and creed To regain their former importance they only need to have their prestige strengthened heightened responsibility And since now-a-days radio and the spread of communications are rapidly increasing the peasant's awareness of the outer world, there should be little difficulty in extending the spirit of the village councils unward and outward to a fully elective national assembly.

Such a growth of democracy from below upward, rather than the attempt to impose an alien system, would appear to offer the best hope for the emergence of a united India. For the divisions that mar the harmony of the politically conscious in the cities have fortunately not yet reached India's yest rural population Of them the distinguished Indian author K M Panikkar recently wrote: "The relations between Hindus and Moslems everywhere are exceptionally good They live together as friendly neighbours" And Dr J. Henry Carpenter on his recent visit to India was amazed to find, after all he had heard Sikh, Moslem,

and Hindu co-operatives contentedly working together.

This may suffice to give some idea of the wider horizons that a consideration of China's draft constitution opens up, and the tremendous bearing that it may have on future world peace Ultimately it is probable that democracy in Asia will represent more of a synthesis of Western and Eastern elements than now appears practicable The recognition of that probability, which China's readiness to consult us would appear to indicate no less than her own bold experimentation, will qualify her for leadership in peace as certainly as her gallant struggle has made her an inspiration in time of WAT.

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Anti-U.S. Feeling in Argentina
Anti-U.S. feeling is strong enough among almost
all Argentines to cause some gratification when the
colonels clique confiscates our business firms' holdings or professes to see in the American was attitude nothing of importance for the future of the world. It is a strategy that, just when we officially stiffen up our relations with the Argentine government, we fail to enunciate impressive peace aims, fail into the old same of dividing Europe to satisfy rival ambitions, and game or giving Europe to sating rival ampitions, and give slight moral leadership to the Argentine anti-totalitarian forces. One strong's idealistic, firm, and hopeful stand for specific peace aims would confound the pro-Nasi groups, just as Churchill's laudation of Dietatur Franco in Spain did more to harm democracy in Latin America than a hundred Axis propagandists.

A dangerous arms race is in the making Up to now, virtually all the armament available for Latin American governments has been supplied by the United States, and we have sent one military mission after another to train these countries to the southward in their use. Now the Argentine government, after long and intense effort, has turned out a lot of modern and reportedly excellent war equipment, all in Argentine factories, and is going war equipment, all in Argentine factories, and is going ahead with a self-sufficient program that will eventually arm the country to its molars. When the reactionary crowd now in power can do it, they will attempt to challenge Uncle Sam as the provider of "security" by armament, and will seek by selling arms to build up a great sphere of influence in South America.—Worldover Press.

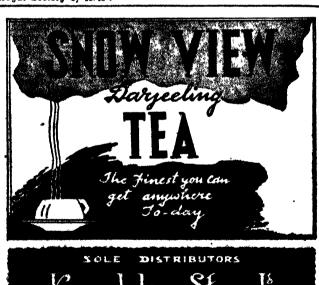
Flax

In an article on "Flax Production in War and its Prospects in Peace," Earl De La Warr, acres, or about double the present acreage, was grown Director, Home Flax Production, writes in the in the United Kingdom. Journal of the Royal Society of Arts:

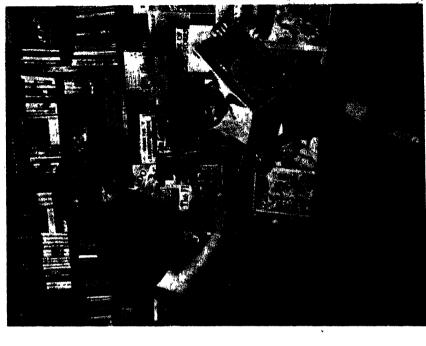
Flax is the raw material of linen. It is probably the oldest vegetable textile in the world. Its origin has been lost in antiquity, but we hear of it first being produced in Egypt. I have with me to-day samples of mummy cloth manufactured in that country over 6,000 years ago. Although the decorticating, spinning weaving machinery were of the most primitive kind, a careful examination of this cloth shows that the yarm is spun to a degree of fineness that cannot be equalled by modern machinery. When I tell you that the finest yarns that Northern Ireland is capable of producing are only half the fineness of the yarns comprised in this mummy cloth, you will realise how adept the old Egyptians were in the art of linen manufacture,

Flax is also the only vegetable fibre referred to in the Bible. Wool and silk were, of course, known, but for general purposes linen was the staple material used for clothing the biblical ancients, particularly the upper classes. Even the priestly garments, the ephods, were manufactured from the finest linen.

The cultivation of flax in Europe was introduced from Egypt. Greeks and Romans used it extensively both for under and outer garments—and it is probable that their conquests were responsible for the gradual spread of cultivation in Europe. It was late in arrival in this country and it was not until after the lapse of many centuries that we find it growing here. But un to the beginning of the nineteenth century it was still so essential for the sails of the Navy that a certain proportionate acreage was sown compulsorily on every farm The sails of the Victory were grown in this country and spun by a Scottish firm still in existence. In certain areas of Scotland the marriage portion and trousseau of the farmer's daughter partly was of linen



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THE MODERN REVIEW

MÄRCH



1945

Vol. LXXVII. No. 3

WHOLE No. 459

NOTES

American Exposure of British Propaganda

A revealing report of an interesting radio discussion by four persons alranged by the American Forum of the Air on 'What's holding back India's Freedom?" has been received. How tendentious British propaganda fulls before the arguments of knowing Americans calbergen in the course of the debate. Sir Frederick Puckle, Advisor on Indian Affairs to the British Erabassy having to face the truth, got into temper on some occasions and was promptly rebuked. The Indian case was well presented by American Socialist There were four speakers, Sir Frederick Puckle, Mr Norman Thomas, a Socialist leader, Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York and Mr S M Ahmad Indian trade consultant and American correspondent of the Orient Press.

Sir Frederick in a characteristic imperialist way, boiled down his question to this "Who is going to take delivery of India's freedom from the British at d under what arrangements? A problem in practical politics for Indians to solve."

Mr Thomas followed him and said "In the imagination of the world India long has been the crow i and symbol of Empire It is Imperialism which holds back not only the freedom of India but the peace of the world. Divided as India may seem to be, all parties are agreed in demanding freedom. The failure of the British Government to use Indian mercenaries in the invasion of Burma is further objective proof of its fear of the people"

The third man to speak was Mr Ahmad In the Mushim League propagandist style, he made the most unjustified flings at the Congress, Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru. Finally he said "The Moslems the orthodor Hindus, the princes, the untouchables, labour, farmers, socialists, communists and various other minorities have arranged themselves against the Gandhi-Nehru Congress party, I make this bold statement that Hindu Brahmins and upper castes with the help of the British are holding back freedom for all India"

Congressman Celler, the fourth speaker, made a direct hit He said. "Yes, there are poverty and disease in India. Agriculture and industry have not reached the highest point of development. There are divisions of

class and caste I point these out because these are the very arguments that an advanced for keeping India a subject nation. This is how India has fared ruled from above and from outside. An absenter-landlord sendits overseers—who must somehow manage to keep their jobs—to attend to the needs not of the inhabitants but of the employer exact tribute, divide the interest, keep the level of living low, but remember to tell them that it is for their own good. No unbridgable chasm exists a India to keep the people divided and render them unfit for self-government. There are more minorities, more unrelated languages spoken in the United States, more variance in custom and belief in the United States than there is in India and yet out of the amalgam a mighty nation was forged."

Churchill on India's Future

Following the statements the debate opened. Sit Frederick Puckle and Mr Ahmad were both put to tight corners Quoting Churchill, Congressman Celler asked a straight question.

"I want to ask our distinguished visitor from British Embassy this question. You try to distinguish between the Cripps offer and the statement made by Mr. Churchill at Mansion House I will give you another statement.. Mr. Churchill said, "Except as an ultimate visionary goal, dominion status for India would not then happen in any now foreseeable period. The loss of India would consummate the downfall of the Empire If we lost India, two million bread-winners, in Britain would be tramping the streets and queing up at the Labour Exchange."

Sir Frederick Puckle Will you give me the date and place of that last sentence?

Congressman Celler 1935 and 1940

Sir Frederick Puckle No the last one about the two million people in the breadlines.

Congressman Celler 1935 and the other one—
Sir Frederick Puckle I have looked for it and
Lean't find it and I don't believe it

I can't find it, and I don't believe it
Congressman Celler But Mr Churchill still
believes that India is the subject of Barracks Room
Ballads, and that is why we have no faith whatever
in the Crippe offer, just as we could have no faith
whatever in the offer made by Lord Montagu

twenty-five years ago or in the offer made about ten years ago. They all have the same situation. It is always around the corner in India. Try to get it!

One of Mr. Ahmad's categorical statement, that the Moslems and other minority sects constituted together a majority of the population, was sternly challenged by Mr. Thomas to which Mr. Ahmad could not reply. He said: "I have not read anything anywhere to support Mr. Ahmad's figures, for instance, as to the size of the respective populations in India." He also pointed out that Mr. Ahmad had not been in India for twenty years and that "he has sources of information that no one else has."

Pakistan and Mercenary Troops

Replying to a question whether the demand of the Moslems for a separate State was the stumbling block to independence, Congressman Celler said: "There is no doubt it was a stumbling block, and that was in the Cripps offer, To my mind, the Cripps offer was naught but a gold brick. It was deliberately fashioned so as to receive a negative vote from all parties. Even your Moslem League rejected it. All parties in India rejected the Cripps offer. It was like a green apple that agreed with no one. The Cripps offer contained a provision for independence in future. Now we know offers of that sort have been made many times before. When the Indians want to grasp their independence, they always find it around the corner and they know the promises made by Imperialistic Britain are like pie cast, they break readily.

Addressing Sir Frederick, Mr. Thomas said: "It is precisely in this war that something big was needed to show you trust the Indian people, who are certainly not supporting the War. You don't use your mercenary troops on any large scale aggressively but only in defence." Sir Frederic said: "There is one thing I do want to take up at once. I can hardly sit here and hear Indian troops called mercenaries." Congressman Celler retorted: "General Stilwell said they were mercenaries." Mr. Thomas then continued: "That is what your Hindustan Times said. Mercenaries can be brave. The Swiss mercenaries were brave for the Bourbon kings. No one in India enlists out of patriotism. He enlists out of bitter poverty. Some say to get military training. I can quote you Indian papers that use the word increasing. There was a time when that was not considered so disgraceful and if they were not mercenaries, why was General Wavell, before he became Vicercy, so exceedingly opposed to even an attempt to invade Burma and why did General Stilwell while he was in this country say if the Indian question could be settled, Burma could be rapidly conquered?

Sir Frederick could not reply.

Anti-Indian Propaganda among British Troops

The latest sample of anti-Indian propaganda carried on among British troops by specially selected army officers is furnished by the Fighting Forces, a British army journal. In its December issue just received in India is published Lectures on India by Lt.-Col. Crocker who writes what he lectures to troops on India.

The following gems from the lecture have been quoted by the National Call;

"Hindus are the most undemocratic people in the world and are directly opposed to the Muslims.

"Indians, themselves are descended from alien races who invaded the country many centuries ago and have little more right to be there than the British.

"War has affected India in many ways and almost entirely for her good and her history tells us that she has never been able to defend herself against outside invasion until the arrival of the British.

"How will Indian government deal with internal strife without impartial British troops."

Another question which he asks his audience is "How will they deal with inroads by wild Pathan tribes from the North-West Frontier who would regard the withdrawal of British as a direct invitation to repeat their national pastime of

I leave my audience with consideration of these problems to think over for themselves and I tell them once more that they personally will be responsible for the future of India."

More tell-tale quotations from this lecture could be reproduced showing what sort of propaganda is being carried on against India and ber political future since the lecturer mentions the Cripps offer and why it was turned down. The lecture also details blessings of the British Raj and how it eradicated famine, poverty, disease and universal ignorance which were the natural order of things and nothing was done for the people.

When it is noted that this propaganda is being carried on among troops who are reminded that they are "the men who are thus ignorant of one of the greatest countries of the British Empire and are responsible for its well-being and govern it through men whom they sent to Parliament to represent them," its obvious purpose becomes clearer. Comments are needless.

Cost of Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

In our February number, an account of the nature of anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America has been given. In reply to a question put by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum the cost of such propaganda has been revealed. Mr. Qaiyum asked if it was a fact that Rs. 25 lakhs were being spent annually on propaganda there. Sir Olaf Caroe gave the figure as Rs. 4,51,245 for the current year. Mr. K. C. Neogy asked if in addition to such allowances, the Agent-General had an allotment for secret service funds at his disposal. Sir Olaf denied it But the full value of such propaganda may not be ascertained from this interpellation. The share that the India Office bears has not yet been published.

Mahasabha and the League to Send Propagandist in America?

The foregoing summary of the debate conclusively shows that the Indian case has been very ably presented in the U.S.A. and responsible and leading Americans are coming forward to defend India's demand for freedom. Any communal propaganda done there will great!y harm India's cause and will only strengthen the losing case of the British Imperialists. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League have both decided to send propagandists across the Atlantic. Even this short summary of the debate shows that the League has no case

NOTES

there, even the figures presented by the League champion were carefully scrutinised and challenged. The Americans themselves have voiced against the Pakistan idea. It will, therefore, not only be needless but positively harmful to India's cause if our communal bickerings are transferred on American soil, Sardar J. J. Singh, the devoted President of the India League of America who has achieved emment success in presenting the true case for India on that hemisphere, has very strongly opposed the idea of sending Mahasabha and League publicists to America. We quote his opinion below and hope that the Mahasabha at least will have the wisdom to refrain from any such action. Mr. J. J. Singh, the President of the India League of America, told Reuter that the reported plan of the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha representatives to come to the United States and present two viewpoints would be a 'Tragic Move'.

He said, "Such a move would harm the cause of freedom. It would be playing into the hands of British propagandists in this country. The propaganda line of British here is that it is differences between Hindus and Muslims that are in the way of India's freedom and not British Imperialism

The presentation of communal views in America will weaken India's case and strengthen the British case.

My countrymen must realise that India is a pawn in the game of world politics. India's fate and future faulty leadership of the Congress. The Muslim supporters is being decided in conferences like Teheran and Yalta, and not in New Delhi.

India's case is very strong because India's right is the inherent right of men to be free. Let us not spoil it with narrow communal or party considerations."

Bertrand Russell Demands Release of Indian Leaders

Mr. Bertrand Russell, in an exclusive interview with the United Press of America correspondent, in answer to a question as to what the British Government should do now to solve the Indian deadlock, stated: "I should say that the British Government should state quite unequivocally in a declaration that India should be given independence, at a definite date—after the war against Japan was over-say, twelve months after that.

"Moreover, I say that all the people in prion should be let out now, if they don't hamper war effort. I have great affection for Nehru but I found him in the time of crisis always siding with Gandhi when he ought to take a definite stand. Additionally, negotiations should be reopened and kept open until a settlement was achieved."

Asked whether he is in favour of a new approach to India, whereby India's confidence in Britain could be won and which could destroy the 'notion' that the Cripps proposals were made because of the reverses in Malaya and Burma, Mr. Russell answered: "The Cripps proposals, with a plain clarification, must be made known unequivocally and emphatically and America should be invited to support such clarified proposals.

"Many people do not believe that the Cripps proposals are still open as they have not been reiterated of the Bengal Subah has given a good account of how very much more emphatically which would carry the Hindu and the Muslim communities had lived side conviction. We can find some way out of it so that there will be no doubts of genuineness of the offer.

I sincerely feel and advocate for a new approach?" stepd the corrust of the militant forces of Islam without

Asked what friends of Indian independence in America and Britain could do and should do to bring about a settlement with India, Mr. Russell said that they should make a political agitation of the present facts to the people and explain India's case and educate public opinion.

He expressed the belief that a change in the Government of Britain would be necessary in order to achieve a settlement. People in India also hold the same view that so long as the present Cabinet remains in power in the U.K., no solution of the Indian problem is likely to be reached.

Congress-League Talks Again

With unabated zeal, the Congress pursues its erroneous policy of placating the Muslim League. The failure of C. R. propaganda and the Gandhi-Jinnah talks have not discouraged the Congress. In spite of occasional snubs, Mr. Desai continues to strive for appeasing the League, this time through its Secretary, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. In pursuing this policy of appeasement of the reactionary forces, the Congress has let the progressive Muslims badly down. A strong distrust of this one and only anti-Imperialist body is taking root among the progressive Muslims due to the of the Congress have been practically thrown to the wolves. The Congress may forgive the Muslim Leaguer, but it is certain that the League is not going to forgive their opponents just because of the fact that they are brothers-in-faith. It is now plain knowledge that the League maintains its power in Bengal and Assam through the political black-market in jobs and contracts. When normal conditions are restored and ration shops, the A.R.P., the Civil Supplies Department, war contracts and government purchases are no longer in existence. the League will soon begin to crumble. Victory in some bye-elections is no indication of popularity, it can be easily achieved by a party in power which has very large scope for the distribution of favours. The latest voting in the Bengal Assembly on the cloth famine adjournment motion shows that the Opposition still holds an almost 40 per cent strength which is no mean achievement in the midst of a deluge of jobs, favours and even hard-cash in the shape of contracts.

The Congress has made the initial blunder in their communal policy by not studying the conditions of the masses. The present-day communal rivalry and antagonism is not the whole truth, it is a mere passing phase of a dangerous policy played in the interests of British Imperialism. This antagonism is fomented and maintained with the help of the self-seeking henchmen of the Imperialist. An intensive and thorough study of the Hindu-Muslim relations during the past centuries would certainly have debarred the Congress from its policy of appeasement and surrender to the protagonists of the very power which it seeks to displace.

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Sir Frederick, in a characteristic imperialist way, boiled down his question to this: "Who is going to take delivery of India's freedom from the British and under what arrangements? A problem in practical polities for Indians to solve."

Mr. Thomas followed him and said: "In the imagination of the world India long has been the crown and symbol of Empire. It is Imperialism which holds back not only the freedom of India but the peace of the world. Divided as India may seem to be, all parties are agreed in demanding freedom. The failure of the British Government to use Indian mercenaries in the invasion of Burma is further objective proof of its fear of the people."

The third man to speak was Mr. Ahmad. In the Muslim League propagandist style, he made the most unjustified flings at the Congress, Gandhiji and Paudit Nehru. Finally he said: "The Moslems, the orthodox Hindus, the princes, the untouchables, labour, farmers, socialists, communists and various other minorities have arranged themselves against the Gandhi-Nehru Congress party. I make this bold statement that Hindu Brahmins and upper castes with the help of the British are holding back freedom for all India."

Congressman Celler, the fourth speaker, made a direct hit. He said: "Yes, there are poverty and disease in India. Agriculture and industry have not reached the highest point of development. There are divisions of

class and caste. I point these out because these are the very arguments that are advanced for keeping India a subject nation. This is how India has fared, ruled from above and from outside. An absentee-landlord sends its overseers—who must somehow manage to keep their jobs—to attend to the needs not of the inhishitants but of the employer, exact tribute, divide the interest, keep the level of living low, but remember to tell them that it is for their own good. No unbridgable chasm exists in India to keep the people divided and render them unfit for self-government. There are more minorities, more unrelated languages spoken in the United States, more variance in custom and belief in the United States that there is in India and yet out of the amalgam a mighty nation was forged."

Churchill on India's Future

Following the statements, the debate opened. Sir Frederick Puckle and Mr. Ahmad were both put to tight corners. Quoting Churchill, Congressman Celler asked a straight question:

"I want to ask our distinguish d visitor from British Embassy this question: You try to distinguish between the Cripps offer and the statement made by Mr. Churchill at Mansion House, I will give you another statement. Mr. Churchill said, "Except as an ultimate visionary goal dominion status for India would not then happen in any new foreseeable period. The loss of India would consummate the downfall of the Empire, If we lost India, two million bread-winners in Britain would be tramping the streets and queing up at the Labour Exchange."

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Congressman Celler: 1935 and 1940.

Sir Frederick Puckle: No the last one about the two million people in the breadlines.

Congressman Celler: 1935, and the other one— Sir Frederick Puckle: I have looked for it and

I can't find it, and I don't believe it.

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twenty-five years ago or in the offer made about ten years ago. They all have the same situation. It is always around the corner in India. Try to get it i

One of Mr. Ahmad's categorical statement, that the Moslems and other minority sects constituted together a majority of the population, was sternly challenged by Mr. Thomas to which Mr. Ahmad could not reply. He said: "I have not read anything anywhere to support Mr. Ahmad's figures, for instance, as to the size of the respective populations in India." He also pointed out that Mr. Ahmad had not been in India for twenty years and that "he has sources of information that no one else has."

Pakistan and Mercenary Troops

Replying to a question whether the demand of the Moslems for a separate State was the stumbling block to independence, Congressman Celler said: "There is no doubt it was a stumbling block, and that was in the Cripps offer, To my mind, the Cripps offer was naught but a gold brick. It was deliberately fashioned so as to receive a negative vote from all parties. Even your Moslem League rejected it. All parties in India rejected the Cripps offer. It was like a green apple that agreed with no one. The Cripps offer contained a provision for independence in future. Now we know offers of that sort have been made many times before. When the Indians want to grasp their independence, they always find it around the corner and they know the promises made by Imperialistic Britain are like pie cast, they break readily."

Addressing Sir Frederick, Mr. Thomas said: "It is precisely in this war that something big was needed to show you trust the Indian people, who are certainly not supporting the War. You don't use your mercenary troops on any large scale aggressively but only in defence." Sir Frederic said: "There is one thing I do want to take up at once. I can hardly sit here and hear Indian troops called mercenaries." Congressman Celler retorted: "General Stilwell said they were mercenaries." Mr. Thomas then continued: "That is what your Hindustan Times said. Mercenaries can be brave. The Swiss mercenaries were brave for the Bourbon kings. No one in India enlists out of patriotism. He enlists out of bitter poverty. Some say to get military training. I can quote you Indian papers that use the word mersenary. There was a time when that was not considered so disgraceful and if they were not mercenaries, why was General Wavell, before he became Viceroy, so exceedingly opposed to even an attempt to invade Burma and why did General Stilwell while he was in this country say if the Indian question could be settled, Burma could be rapidly conquered?"

Sir Frederick could not reply.

Anti-Indian Propaganda among British Troops

The latest sample of anti-Indian propaganda carried on among British troops by specially selected army officers is furnished by the Fighting Forces, a British army journal. In its December issue just received in India is published Lecture on India by Lt.-Col. Crocker who writes what he lectures to troops on India.

The following gems from the lecture have been quoted by the National Gall;

"Hindus are the most undemocratic people in the world and are directly opposed to the Mus-

"Indians, themselves are descended from alien races who invaded the country many centuries ago and have little more right to be there than the British.

"War has affected India in many ways and almost entirely for her good and her history tells us that she has never been able to defend herself against outside invasion until the arrival of the British.

"How will Indian government deal with internal strife without impartial British troops."

Another question which he asks his audience is "How will they deal with inroads by wild Pathan tribes from the North-West Frontier who would regard the withdrawal of British as a direct invitation to repeat their national pastime of lootine."

"I leave my audience with consideration of these problems to think over for themselves and I tell them once more that they personally will be

responsible for the future of India."

More tell-tale quotations from this lecture could be reproduced showing what sort of propaganda is being carried on against India and her political future since the lecturer mentions the Cripps offer and why it was turned down. The lecture also details blessings of the British Raj and how it eradicated famine, poverty, disease and universal ignorance which were the natural order of things and nothing was done for the people.

When it is noted that this propaganda is being carried on among troops who are reminded that they are "the men who are thus ignorant of one of the greatest countries of the British Empire and are responsible for its well-being and govern it through men whom they sent to Parliament to represent them," its obvious purpose becomes clearer. Comments are needless.

Cost of Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

In our February number, an account of the nature of anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America has been given. In reply to a question put by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum the cost of such propaganda has been revealed. Mr. Qaiyum asked if it was a fact that Rs. 25 lakhs were being spent annually on propagands there. Sir Olaf Caroe gave the figure as Rs. 4,51,245 for the current year. Mr. K. C. Neogy asked if in addition to such allowances, the Agent-General had an allotment for secret service funds at his disposal. Sir Olaf denied it But the full value of such propaganda may not be ascertained from this interpellation. The share that the India Office bears has not yet been published.

Mahasabha and the League to Send Propagandist in America?

The foregoing summary of the debate conclusively shows that the Indian case has been very ably presented in the U.S.A. and responsible and leading Americans are coming forward to defend India's demand for freedom. Any communal propaganda done there will greatly harm India's cause and will only strengthen the losing case of the British Imperialists. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Mualim League have both decided to send propagandists across the Atlantic. Even this short summary of the debate shows that the League has no gase

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trations of this mutual assimilation of customs and by the Muslim poet Alawal. thought even in the age of the great orthodox Emperor ber prepared for Lakshinder, a copy of the holy Koran politic and social structure. was kept along with other sacred charms to avert Manasa Devi's wrath. Dr. Dutt shows that this process of mutual assimilation had greatly advanced by the middle of the 18th century when the British came and began their attempt to establish political supremacy in Bengal. The Holi festival was enjoyed by Nawab Sirajuddowla and Holi festival was enjoyed by Nawab Sirejuddowla and two communities. Cow-slaughter and music other princes. In the Scir-ul-Mutakharin it has been mosque came as the first slogans of division. When recorded that on one occasion Nawab Mirjafar crossed the Ganges with all the gentry of the town and engaged more—representation on public bodies and in the himself in enjoying the Holi. Again, on his death-bed. Mirjafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation name of Mushm interests, in reality they served the over the idol of Kiriteswari. The Muslims offered puju ends of the Muslim Leaguers alone. Since 1937, the in Hindu temples, and the Hindus offered sirni at Muslim League had nursed a party grievance which Mahommedan mosques and dargals. Dr. Sen has they were quick to turn into a communal grievance. pointed out that "in Chittagong this fusion of ideas The Congress Governments were the first targets, Conand interchange of customs and usages seem to have gress provinces being largely Hindu in colour most of reached its highest point. In a Bengali poem called the the appointments naturally went to the Hindus, Mus-Behula Sundari, written by Hamidullah of Chittagong, hm members of the Congress got their share, but memwe read that the Brahmins who had assembled to find bers of the Muslim League got little or nothing. This out an auspicious day for the hero's journey abroad party grievance was quickly turned into a communal consulted the Koran for the purpose . . . Aptabuddin, one. They did not say, "Why don't you give appointanother Muhammadan poet of Chittagong, who wrote a ments to Muslim Leaguers?" but "why don't you appoem called Jamil Dilaram in 1750, writes that his hero, point Muslims?"-a far more effective battle cry. who was a Muhammadan, went to the nether worlds to Impartial political observers like Horace Alexander seek a boon from Saptarsis or the seven sages of the have seen through this political game of the League. Hindus," The numerous poems on Satya Pira illustrate In the Muslim majority provinces, this battle cry has how this interchange of ideas and curtoms had long ago now practically lost its force as the public bodies and led to the evolution of a common god.

disturbed among the Hindu and Muslim masses even at happens to be the League. The last battle cry of despair the time when bitter relations prevailed in the Court had therefore to be raised, the cry of the Pakistan-in circles. In the sphere of ordinary life, the two commu- undefined mirage. The Muslim League, a creation of nities were living side by side in harmony and mutual British Imperialism with Government support, continues attachment. This fusion continued not in Bengal alone, to serve the ends of British Imperialism, but it extended all over India. Prince Dara translated the Upanishads into Persian, This Persian translation of the Upanishads opened a new vista of Indian philosophy in Europe through an Italian translation. This Italian

losing its assimilative power and as soon as the storm celebrated German philosopher; Schopenhauer whose had subsided, it cast its influence on the followers of writings since then were imbued with Indian philo-Islam. Similarly, the influence of Islam also affected sophical ideas. Faisi, a poet in the Moghul Court, the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual translated the Mahabharata into Persian, The Bhagaincrease in the number of Hindu converts and with vad-gita was also translated into Persian, Malik Muhamthe disappearance of the feelings of bigotry from the mad Jaisi, a Muslim poet of the United Provinces. minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and wrote an epic poem on the Rajput princess Padmini, interchange of customs and thoughts drew the two in Hindi written in Persian characters. It was this poem communities closer. Dr. Dutt has cited some illustra- which, as stated before, had been translated into Bengali

This condition of mutual trust and confidence Aurangzeb. Alawal, a Muslim poet, translated into continued till the opening of the twentieth century. Bengali the Hindi poem Padmavat and wrote several The masses had their differences in religion and sects no poems on Radha and Krishna in the 17th century. Dr. doubt, but that did not stand in the way of the enjoy-Dinesh Chandra Sen writes in his History of Bengali ment of a peaceful and friendly common life. They Language and Literature: "The manuscripts of Padmo- had the same language and the same script. Urduisation vat hitherto obtained, all belong to the border lands of the Bengali language in the name of the protection of Aracan in the backwoods of Chittagong, copied in of Muslim culture is of a very recent growth, a develop-Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muham- ment of the twentieth century Impenalist need. In madan folk of those localities." This certainly indicates the economic field, the masses, in spite of their apparent how far the taste of the Muslims was imbued with differences in religion, found that conditions for the Hindu culture. Dr. Sen tells us that this book with earning of their livelihood were the same. Mutual assislengthy disquisitions on Hindu theology and Sanskrit tance between the two communities in the pursuit of rhetoric has been strangely preserved, ever since their vocations were necessary and did in fact prevail. Aurangzeh's time, by Muslims who copied, read and An unbiassed and intensive study of the masses would, admired this poem. In Kshemananda's Manasamangala, therefore, convince anybody with an open mind that written towards the latter part of the 17th century, the two-nation theory is a myth, a dangerous cancer there is a passage which tells us that in the steel cham-imported from outside and injected into our body

First Breach in the British Period

It was the British Imperialist policy of divide and rule that created the first effective breach between the these two lost their force, they were replaced by two services. Although these slogans were raised in the services have already been surcharged with the sup-This fusion of ideas and cultures continued un- porters of the party in power, which just for the present

India a Vast Prison-house

Mr. Amery voiced Imperialist sentiments when he translittion of the Cuponekhat fell into the hunds of the expressed disagreement with Mrs. Pandit's statement NOTES

differences did not substantially exist in India. The coal are not obtainable at the open counter. Black-Imperialist idea of a paradise may not always be in marketeers continue to thrive under the protecting. keeping with the common people's view-point. The Andamans were once described by an astute Home Member of the Government of India as an "earthly paradise" when there were claims for the repatriation of political prisoners from that penal island. Mrs. Pandit was more than justified in describing India as a vast concentration camp. It was an English poet who wrote "Stone walls do not a prison make" and it needed an English Government to prove the bitter truth of this poetic statement. In a concentration camp, a prisoner has no freedom of person, no right of property and no liberty of communication. In India, all over the country to-day, freedom of person is completely nonexistent -anybody and everybody may be arrested and imprisoned at the sweet will of the authorities on the report of a police spy. Not even the semblance of a trial is needed to deprive a person of his liberty and nobody knows when he is going to be so deprived. Hundreds of innocent people are being trampled to death by special types of lorries and even the Indian types of distributors have been created only to prey Legislative Assembly is helpless to stop this slaughter. Freedom of movement, an essential corollary of the freedom of person, is now an impossibility owing to the acquisition of the means of transport by the agents of an absentce landlord. Right to property has been blown to pieces. Villages are asked to quit their ancestral homes on a few hours' notice. Thousands and lakhs of small traders like boat-men and fisher-men are deprived of the only means of their livelihood at the orders of a panicky Governor. Defence of India Rules prevent new entrants in trade and industry in most of the fields thus depriving the coming generation of their means of livelihood, Privacy of correspondence has been completely taken away. The concentration camp type of censorship has been imposed practically all over the country. The recent debate in the Central Assembly on the sale of Savings Certificates shows that concentration camp brand of torture is widely in application in many of the provinces. Just as in a concentration camp the prisoners' supplies are at the mercy of the official contractors, similarly people all over India are completely at the mercy of black marketeers thriving under the wings of the Government.

Mrs. Pandit's second assertion that no religious differences existed in India is also equally true. We have already shown that Hindu and Muslim masses lived side by side for centuries together in peace and unity. Neither the Hindu nor the Muslim Governments had ever imposed any political or educational disability on members of the different religion as England had done on her Catholic population. It required an Act of Parliament to emancipate the Catholics. No crusade of the Christian type has ever been fought in India, Hindus and Muslims differed from each other in religion but not as human beings dubbing each other as heretics.

Cloth Famine in Bengal

With the continuous expansion in the cost and establishment of the Civil Supplies Department of Bengal, miseries of the people continue to grow. Price of rice rules at a level four to five times higher than the normal, while thousands of tons of valuable food- rehabilitation expenditure but has remained completely stuff not in Government godowns under the supervision silent about the detailing of any programme. Of a total of highly paid officials. Drug famine, coal famine and of Rs. 169 lakhs for rehabilitation, Rs. 155 lakhs have

that India was a vast prison-house and that religious cloth famine continue with unabated fury. Cloth; and wings of the Government.

An adjournment motion brought in the Bengal Legislative Assembly to discuss the cloth famine has been defeated. The Opposition mustered by votes which shows that in the midst of the political black marketing there are at least five dozen honest men in the Bengal Legislature who had the honesty and courage to record their votes against a Ministry which thrives on jobbery. black-marketeering and corruption. The Civil Supplies Minister miserably failed to convince the House or the public outside that the famine was not due to their fault. The fact remains unchallenged that this Ministry failed to secure adequate quota for clothing in Bengal which falls far short of other provinces. It is certain that Bengal's case was not pressed home. Distribution through novices and a favoured class has proved an absolute curse. At every step of distribution of essential commodities, the present Ministry has interfered with the normal channels of trade and transport. Special upon the people of this no-man's land like so many special types of lorries crushing the Calcutta pedestrians to death. It is high time that these blood-sucking leeches on Bengal's body politic should be torn away.

The Bengal Budget

The Bengal Budget has been presented with a huge deficit, Rs. 134 crores alone account for loss in food transactions. Rs. 5 crores have been budgeted for the construction of boats under two careerist Hungarian Jews who have had no experience or knowledge of boat construction or boat trade.

Had the boat constructions been made by the village carpenters with some financial aid from the Government, there would surely have been much less wastage and better work would certainly have been done.

Rs. 4 crores have been provided for the A.R.P. while the masters of the Ministry, the European Group, have expressed the belief that the blackout in Calcutta should immediately go.

Confusion of accounts in regard to Government transactions in foodstuff is apparent. Great pains have been taken to make them as vague as possible. In the original budget estimate for rice transactions we find an estimated surplus of Rs. 13 crores but in a Revised Estimate for the same year this surplus has been converted into a loss of more than Rs. 30 crores! Salcproceeds of rice have not been clearly shown; a vague item 'other receipts' cover the receipt side. Such gross discrepancy between the original and the revised estimates indicates that either the persons in charge of preparing the estimates are completely unworthy of the job allotted to them or that there is reason for a grave suspicion of a cooking of accounts. The revelations recently made by the Auditor-General of India about the keeping of Accounts in Bengal under the direct superintendence of the Governor must give the public cause for suspicion. The tendency to evade original budgets by placing a supplementary at suitable moments is highly condemnable and thoroughly undemocratic.

The Finance Minister has waxed eloquent on

been left completely undefined under the head Famine. In the famine expenditure itself one finds that Rs. 90 lakhs have been provided towards meeting salaries and expenditures of the establishment which will distribute only Rs. 50 lakhs as gratuitious relief. One wonders what portion of Rs. 155 lakhs will go to the actual needy if it is spent on the same proportion, i.e., if 65 per cent of the total is reserved for salaries and establishments.

An impartial scrutiny of the budget taking into account its receipts and the normal heads of expenditure will convince any sensible man that this budget could be immensely improved only if the reins of Government are taken out from the present set of incapables—and worse—and handed over to a set of honest men with drive and imagination.

Yalta

As the war drags on to the end of its orbit, the veiled under-currents of Power Politics are slowly eddying on to the surface. The "Big Three" have met and held conclave beyond the range of the public's eye. As on previous occasions, this time too we have been told that the conclusions arrived at, were settled in mutual harmonious accord, and for all we know that may be the truth. For the ways of the Great, like that of an eagle in the air or a screent on a rock, are beyond the ken of the average mind. Our own ancients advised us not to put any faith on the words of kings, and now it seems to kings we should add dictators and presidents. A poem, addressed "To the Leaders of the Allied Nations," by Edna St. Vincent Millay that has appeared in The New York Times Magazine of January 21, 1945, seems so cogent that we make no apologies to our

readers for quoting it substantially in these columns:

Do you deceive us? Do you? Yes? No?

Speak. It is time to speak, You have talked
enough.

This was a war for Freedom; so we thought it; And so we fought it. You knew this, all of you. You promised us a new World—a decent one this time, a world a man

might live in without shame. How is it going forward, this great enterprise this plot

To outwit Evil?—Are the blueprints done? And may we see them? No? Why not?

"The time is not yet ripe," you state.
We say: "The time is ripening fast."
We say: "Before the time is ripe, the time will rot
At the core, too late
For harvesting, the proper moment passed."—

What do you plot
In camers, behind closed doors?—
Something that we,
Your loyal citizens and subjects, doing our
distasteful chores,
Not without, here and there, some bravery,
Would work, would die (for so you have concluded) more contentedly
If we do not,

For I have heard soft footfalls here and there Busing along beside the deeds you do,

Than if we should know?

Of some most furtive thing.
What can this creature be?—
Expediency?
Steel? Iron? Oil-Wells?
Intrigue? Cartels?
Come, fetch us forth its name!
We have a mighty, nagging wish to know.

But you have said soft words, to put to sleep
The minds of people that were thinking deep
Of what great issues This War must decide
If it, in any way, be justified.
Have you some pattern, you,
Our private sacrifice, our love, to halt, or to
undo?—
We who at this war's end
Not only hope, but yes, by God, intend
To see our dreams come true!
Do you deceive us? Do you? If you do,
The more incautious you.
Come gentlemen, the plan!—
Produce it. Spread it out before us. Show,
Though it be intricate, its prime simplicity:

Namely, that men and nations, shall be free.

* * *

Out with it now. We have the right to know
What you are up to—we
Who placed you where you are, and pay your

salary; Who, for your waste, your blunders—broken crockery

By truck-loads carted off—do dearly pay; And for vast ovens, in their size and number every day increased,

Where sits and sulks a bread that does not rise, for you forget the yeast.

Unfold it, spread it out, the plan:
We have the right to see,
To bend above in study, question, scan;
Yes, we the people; we, the undistinguished man;
The Demos in the word Democracy.

We say the poem is appropriate because we do believe that the sowing of the Dragon's teeth is being proceeded with in silence, while brave words are being uttered by those in power to lull the suspicions of this war-weary world. Indeed the words do not sound so brave now, since some parts of the real blue-print have been exposed to the public eye for a fluttering moment. But the glance has sufficed us to appraise the plans for the future which these Autocrats have been formulating in disjointed and self-contradictory fashion. The Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the U.N.R.R.A. these were real great plans and they brought comfort and hope and promise for the future in the hearts of hundreds of millions of the silently suffering. Bengal and Madras, and now France, Italy and Greece, have shown what the U.N.R.R.A. is worth and now with Yalta the scrapping of the Atlantic Charter is complete. As for the Four Freedoms, they seem to us to be in reality a huge, though rather cruel, joke. With the complete Balkanisation of the whole of the Continent of Europe between the borders of France and Russia and the virtual enslavement of all Asia, the only freedoms that the Nations of the Earth will possess would be to plot and to prepare for the Third World War, which by all signs would be due about 1960, by which time fresh harvests of cannon-fodder would have been garnered and fresh shibboleths formulated.

The Candhian Plan

All Post-War plans have certain points of similarity specially in their conditions-precedent. It is self-evident that for a Post-War Plan to succeed, there must be a Post-War period, that is to say there must be a period of peace with no strife of any kind to divert the energies or the resources of a nation to war or the immediate possibilities of war. Even if the people concerned are not aggression-minded, that is even if they are inclined to observe the Ten Commandments where other nations and peoples are concerned, this favourable condition may not exist. For if they are nations, then with all their eagerness to keep their war conditions, a keen popular interest in Astronomy energies confined to their own work and their desires to their own possessions, they are more than likely to be obliged to divert their time, treasure and energies to the purposes of war-which means destruction-to a much more degree than to that of construction of a national life based on Peace. Even though there be no actual hostilities with arms, there might be economic warfare, which is equally destructive of a weaker nation's national economic structure as India has experienced to her bitter cost during a hundred and fifty years of British Rule.

To a war-weary world, bleeding at every poic through the results of the terrible strifes and stresses that this mechanized civilisation has caused, the Gandhian Plan gives real glimpses of Heaven, with peace, contentment and above all leisure. Leisure for contemplation and for enjoyment of the blessings of a life of easy self-sufficiency. The Plan as formulated is selfcontradictory in places as the planner has had perforce to provide for certain incompatibles which happen to be indispensables in the event of war and strife. The planner does not seem to realise that those incompatibles—namely, mechanisation, key industries, etc. -are prone to induce conditions that lead to alteration of the economic structure to the whole gamut. Industrialisation to an extreme degree is the inevitable corollary to the establishment of Key Industries and large-scale Power-Projects, if they are to stand up to foreign and bounty-fed competition, and under such conditions it is difficult to visualize the success of a plan of decentralization on the basis of village economy. If such a compromise were possible, that would indeed be ideal, despite all that Economics Pandits might say about setting the Wheel of Time back. Indeed it is about time that such Pundits realize that their theories have proved to be the greatest failures of all time, and that the proof has been given in strife and suffering and in the destruction of all that is held as being of any value in Life. This latest plan contains really much that is of the essence, but all the same there is that atmosphere of Utopia about it, which will remain until it be proved that the incompatibles can be made into constructive-or at least not destructive-factors in the scheme. The crux of the problem therein is, can Ahimsa act as a shield against aggression, economic or war-like?

A Plea for More Astronomical Observatories

Immense possibilities exist in India for Astronomical Observatories. Virtually for nine months in the year the sky is clear and very suitable for telescopic observations and photography of heavenly bodies. But fact that theory has helped a lot in finding out devices

unfortunately there are only two observatories worthmentioning, viz., the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal and the Nizamiah Observatory at Hyderabad. Great Britain has at least 17 observatories maintained by Government, Universities and private endowments. In the United States of America and in Russia the number of observatories is much larger. On the same scale as that of Great Britain, India should have at least 180 observatories.

Popular exposition of the functions of Astronomy on an extensive scale and wide publication of the results of Astronomy are two important problems which should be satisfactorily tackled in our scheme of post-war surrounded or subjected to the action of predatory reconstruction on Education. In Britain, due partly to has been awakened recently. Mr. D. S. Evans writes in the Observatory, October, 1944: "The present time is most propitious for the consideration of plans for the popularisation of Astronomy. The black-out and military. air force, homeguard, observer corps and fire-watching duties have stimulated an extraordinary increase in popular interest in Astronomy. There is a considerable demand for good books on the subject. Over nine;y per cent of the scientific questions sent in from the Forces to the B.B.C. are either definitely Astronomical or closely related to Astronomy and there are other evidences of a lively popular interest."

In Sargent's Report we have a comprehensive scheme for Post-War Reconstruction of Education in India. In any such scheme the need for the establishment and planning of a number of Observatories in India should also be considered. As mentioned before, we have at present only two Observatories worth the name. India is a vast country, and to begin with, we should have at least ten more Observatories at suitable places in this country. In Northern India there is no modern Astronomical Observatory as yet.

In Delhi, Allahabad, and Calcutta, research work has been done in Astrophysics during the last few years, which has received recognition outside. But the research work and teaching in Astronomy have been purely theoretical, on account of lack of suitable observational material and equipment. So properly equipped Observatories attached to these Universities are very necessary. In these Universities, effective collaboration of observational astronomers, theoretical workers, and laboratory physicists would be possible.

A fairly well-equipped Observatory with research facilities will cost about 5 lakhs of rupees. Ten such observatories would cost about half a crore of rup sos, which is a small fraction of the total amount proposed to be spent on items of education in the Post-War period.

A. C. B.

A Plea for Teaching Aerodynamics in Indian Universities

The knowledge of aerodynamics is essential for a proper appreciation of the fundamental principles of the Sciences of Aviation and Meteorology. A thorough grasp of these principles is a sine qua non for any original work in the theory and practice of these sciences. In post-war India aviation is bound to become one of the chief means of transport. For proper designs of machines and their handling a good grounding in Aerodynamics is necessary. It is an acknowledged rapid development which has recently taken place in aviation has been the result of close collaboration between the theoretical and practical workers in the field.

In the domain of Meteorology, knowledge of weather conditions is very necessary for agriculture, aviation and shipping. Weather forecasting has been very helpful in minimising loss to life and property by giving timely warnings of impending storms, floods, etc. partment has also been very helpful in making timely forecasts of tropical cyclones. As the science of forecasting is still in its infancy there is much scope here for theoretical work in aerodynamics, to collate the observational data, to indicate the lines of further research and to make proper deductions.

It is expected that there will be considerable expansion of the Departments of Aviation and Meteorology in Post-War India. A band of fully-trained young men with special knowledge of Aerodynamics would be required by these Depa tments. So Aerodynamics should be introduced as a special subject in the Mathematics curriculum of our Universities which are evidently the proper places for imparting instruction to our young men in the theory of the subject.

A. C. B.

An Australian for the Taxila School of Archaeology

Mr. Dermont Casev, brother of the Governor of Bengal, has been appointed head of the Taxila School of Archaeology. At the time of his appointment Mr. Richard Casey is reported to have expressed the hope that more big posts should go to the Australians, So. one more big job goes not only to Australia but to the Casey family itself. We are opposed to the import of Australians in our administrative posts at least so long as Australia does not lift the ban on Indians for entry into their land. So far as the department of Archaeology is concerned, we disapprove the appointment of any foreigner on it who has not demonstrated his knowledge and love for the traditions and culture of this country as Cunningham or Sir John Marshall did. There is no dearth of archæological talents in India, but they have not been encouraged. Indeed if the truth were to be stated the greatest names in Indology are predominantly Indian and so at least in this sphere there is no cali whatsoever for imported talent, which at the best has been of doubtful quality of late.

Exactions by Provincial Officers

A censure motion has been passed in the Central Legislative Assembly which was initiated by a backbencher of the Muslim League concerning unfair and illegal exactions in the National Savings campaign spread over the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and other provinces. The mover Mr. Abdul Ghani concentrated his charge against the officials o: Bihar, But Mr. K. C. Neogy lifted the debate to an all-India level by fastening the responsibility on the

for giving stability to the machines and overcoming the suggested a "Mudie touch" behind them. From the Puniab resistance of air while flymg. In fact every step in the Sardar Sant Singh gave his own personal experience. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Sir Cowasjee Jahangir spoke about exactions in Bombay. The Assembly refused to admit Sir Jeremy Raisman's claim that there had been no use of force. The Finance Member gave a lecture on benefits of anti-inflationary measures which, he suggested, were based on "high degree of perfection," to which the Assembly retorted with a cry "third degree methods." All sorts of third degree methods employed The United States Weather Bureau has done signal in the sale of Savings Certificates were instanced on service by predicting times of occurrences of devastating the floor of the House, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali, Deputy floods in the Mississippi valley and the dreadfil Leader of the Muslim League, brought home the truth American tornadoes. The Indian Meteorological De- to the Finance Member by mentioning the case of an orphanage in Delhi which was denied ration cards for three days in an effort to compel the manager to contribute. He declared that the allegations made in the motion were true throughout the country. The Home Member had given reasons why the scheme put forward by the Finance Department was not acceptable to the provinces. Sir Francis had said it would have been difficult for Provincial Governments to exercise supervision over Central Government agents if the latter started monkeying with the business. But in fact the main consideration that agitated those concerned amongst these provincial officers was that any perquisites that might be there should go into their pockets and not in the pockets of central officers. That was the reason for rejecting the central scheme.

The Nawabzada voiced the opinion of the country when he asserted that "75 per cent of the inflated money was with contractors, bribe-takers and blackmarketers working under the protection of the Govern-ment of India." Those were the three sources which should have been tapped for getting money and only then could a large portion of inflated money have been

War Allowance Claim by the I. C. S.

It took five long years for the I.C.S. to overcome their delicacy and to apply for a war allowance. The Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government had been to Delhi pleading for the proposals of his Government that the I.C.S. men should be given war allowances. The I.C.S. is the highest paid service in the world and if any reconsideration about its salary be made it ought to be the other way. The present high scale had been proposed first by Lord Clive in order to make the Civil Service bribeproof. His proposal was accepted but his hopes have not been quite fulfilled. The Congress had acted up to its claim, during its tenure in office, that the highest salary for administrative pos's need not be more than Rs. 500. In a poor country of cheap living, this amount ought to be sufficient.

The present I.C.S. enjoys, besides salary, a number of allowances. During the depression of 1930 when there was a salary cut in all the services, the I.C.S. was spared from the cut. Now at the close of the war when prices are wavering towards a fall, their claim for war allowances should certainly be judged carefully. The I.C.S. men have not starved on account of the War. As an Indian contemporary puts it, their margin of expenditure on luxuries might have been reduced as it should be because in a war in which others have sacrificed their lives it is not a great sacrifice for the Finance Member. He instanced cases in the U. P. and steel frame "to do without genuine Scotch,"

Draft Hindu Code and Sacramental Marriage

Recluse, the writer of the Bandra Diary in the Indian Social Reformer, has very ably discussed the case for and against sacramental marriage. The Rau Committee has concluded its sittings in Bombay and is now in Calcutta. In view of the importance of the subject and the sanity of the argument, we quote his views at some length :

CONTROL OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY

The part of Hindu Code relating to marriago reform bulked more largely in the Committee's proceedings than the part relating to intestate succession. This is natural as the latter is only of academic interest to the vast majority of the population Monogramy and divorce were opposed by the representative of the All-India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh, which is an Association standing or the autonomy of Hindu castes, Mr. Jayak r. consequence that the very valuable oral evidence of whom the Committee co-opted for the Bombay either in support or against the Code goes unree province, asked the spokesman of the Caste Assortion whether he knew that hundreds of Hindu notes, but such notes can hardly replace the que nomen, either young widows or those not happyly put to and answers elicited from the witnesses. married, changed their faith every year, and that depletion of the Hindus in that way amount of to about two per cent in ten years. A Hindu wife could obtain divorce by changing her religion. As a Hindu trying to consolidate Hinduism would not the witness rather prefer the woman to remain in the fold? Would he not provide for a straight and honest method of divorce rather than the circuitous method of conversion?

The witness replied that he would certainly detest the idea of any Hindu woman leaving the fold, but he would not under any circumstances give up the high ideal of sacramental marriage referred to in Manu Smriti. A few women were likely to suffer in the process but it could not be helped.

The witness wants the sacramental character of the Hindu marriage to be preserved. But is it preserved when husband and wife are unable to get on together and when the wife in a desperate effort to free herself from the sacrament becomes a convert to Christianity or Islam without in the least believing in any religion? In a recent case which obtained much publicity, a Hindu woman had become a Muslim and back again a Hindu all within a few months. It is true that she could not have secured divorce even if the Hindu law provided for it. But there are genuine cases of hardship, cruel hardship, driving women to insanity and suicide and, surely, the sacramental marriage does not contemplate such a catastrophic state of things. This particular witness and others of his view are no doubt influenced by a fervent regard for the letter of the law. But they are honest in their fanaticism. Quite recently I came to know, to my intense surprise, of another reason which some opponents of the reform who by no stretch of language can be called orthodox. have in mind though they do not openly state it. It is that they do not wish to marry under a law which gives their wives the right to claim divorce, while themselves retaining the freedom to marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first. These men also profess to be anxious about the sacramental . marriage though the word sacrament on their lips is a sacrilege. There are persons of the highest is a sacrilege. There are persons of the highest moral calibre who want marriage to be irrevocable

to commonsense. The representative of women's organisations supported the provisions both for monogamy and divorce in the draft code.

The second secon

What is actually the case is that, all idea of the sacrament has vanished except such as are detrimental to women. To that extent, there is no real sacrament. Polyandry is a criminal offence but polygamy is not. Those who believe in the sacramental marriage should make Hindu marriage monogamous to both men and women. The draft Code does this and nothing

The Rau Committee

The Hindu Law Committee popularly known as the Rau Committee has begun to take evidence in Calcutta. It is very unfortunate that the committee has not been provided with short-hand writers with the consequence that the very valuable oral evidence offered either in support or against the Code goes unrecorded. The members of the Committee are no doubt taking notes, but such notes can hardly replace the questions

Increment in Governors' Allowances

Soon after the I.C.S. men's claim for war allowances, Mr. Amery has pleaded in the House of Commons for a 25 per cent increase in Governors' allowances, all except three of whom are members of the I.C.S. This news did not have a savoury taste even in British members whose spokesman in Calcutta has voiced disagreement. In Bengal, the Governor's salary is Rs. 1,20,000 and his allowances this year have been budgeted for Rs. 8,43,100. His allowances actually spent in the famine year 1943-44 was Rs. 6,57,312. In the budget estimate for 1944-45 it was increased to Rs. 8.22,000 which again was reduced to Rs. 7,57,400 in the Revised Estimate for that year.

Expenses for gubernatorial austerity have always been considered in this country as unnecessarily high. Governors' salary and allowances are charged on the public revenues, not subject to the vote of the Legislature like the Civil List of the British King. Even a discussion in this head of public expenditure is forbidden under the Indian "constitution."

Mechanisation of Agriculture

Attention is now being directed to the dehumanising effect of the machine, especially on farm populations; the destruction of the soil by chemical fertilisers, power implements and commercialised methods, and the disappearance of folk art and a sound rural culture as the result of industrialisation. Among the unwholesome tendencies resulting from these trends are firstly over specialisation and monoculture. The one crop farmer is more at the mercy of weather and the market than the more diversified farmer. Monoculture has also a destructive effect upon the soil. Secondly, the farmer's foods are often processed at great distances from his farm to the detriment of his family's health. In the western countries with mechanised agriculture, the farmer sells his wheat on the open market and buys it back in the form of flour. He does not realise that on but they want this not only of women but also of back in the form of flour. He does not realise that on men. If the sacramentalists are honest they should so doing he is paying the carriage charges to the grastrongly support the monogamous principle which nary or mill, paying the expenses of processing the whoat the witness opposed on grounds which run counter into flour, and then paying the carrying charges back

soil fertility, of soil erosion and of diseases in plants of farm industrialisation. Sir Albert Howard writes: "In 1937 the conditions and needs of the U.S.A, were appraised. No less than 25,30,00,000 acres or 61 per cent of the total area under crops, had either been completely destroyed or had lost most of its fertility. Only 16 10,00,000 acres or 39 per cent of the cultivated area could be safely farmed by the present methods. In less than a century the United States has therefore lost nearly three-fifths of its agricultural capital. The roof of this soil erosion trouble is misuse of the land." Comparing the crop yields in wheat and corn in highly mechanised Russia for the years 1930-34, it has been shown to be lower than in any other European country. Holland with very little mechanisation had the highest yields. These experiences ought to be considered before mechanised agriculture in India is put forward as the only panacea. The possible evil consequences have to be guarded against first.

Restoration of Burma, Malay and Hongkong

The New York Daily News editorially demands "clarification of the extent of support to defeat Japan which America can expect from Russia and Britain." The paper says that the capture of the Philippines will wind up all the Pacific War that strictly concerns U.S.A as a nation and which affects American national honour and pride,

The paper observes that the American factories are producing more synthetic rubber than its consumption during peace time. Therefore Malaya is not important to the United States. It writes: "If the British feel that that we must be restored to the British Empire, it is difficult to see why we should furnish all the blood and material which such a restoration of Malaya will cost. The time seems to be ripe to request the British to begin doing their share of work."

The same holds true in regard to the restoration of Burma to the Empire and Hongkong, adds the paper.

Asia will be the acid test of the Three Powers' declarations about freedom and democracy. With the end of the War drawing nearer the frequency of professions for human rights and liberties is lessening and the century-old Imperialist land-grabbing tactics is growing more and more pronounced.

Fifty Years of the Lee Memorial

The Lee Memorial Missioin has completed in 1944 fifty years of its service to suffering humanity in India. The Mission was founded in 1894 by Dr. and Mrs. Lec of America. At a grave disaster in Darjeeling, they lost a stepping stone to nobler and more self-sacrificing restored to complete usefulness.

again. The quality of mill-made white flour cannot service. Work in Calcutta was opened with three Beabe equal to the whole meal flour he can have ground gali girls, two of whom were destitutes. The work at home. In India, with our primitive agriculture, both continued to grow and by 1899, there were over a the rice-cating and wheat-eating people retain food hundred girls in the school founded by the Mission. crops needed for their own consumption and have them The present buildings at the Wellington Square, Calprocessed at home. Thirdly, the problems of lessening cutta, were erected and the plant finally completed in 1909. The Lee Memorial has always been active in and animals have greatly increased since the advent times of need and want. It has rendered sterling services during years of finance and pestilence. During the post five months almost one thousand children have been receiving a daily glass of milk. This has come from America, the powdered and canned types, provided by the American people for the poor of India. Over 100,000 M-Vitamin perles have gone to children through the Lee Memorial centres.

Banks for Human Spare Parts

The Readers' Digest has given an account of how banks for human spare parts are developing in the modern world. Inspired by the life-saving feats of the blood banks, medical science has begun developing banks in which to store other "spare parts" of the human body for surgical use in emergencies.

Thousands of persons-estimates run as high as 100,000—whose sight has been dimmed or lost through damage to the cornea, the clear, transparent membrane that covers the mis of the eye, have been waiting patiently for the promised operation that will enable them to see again. This operation is extremely delicate; there are perhaps 20 surgeons in the United States qualified to perform it. A clear piece of cornea taken from another eye is skilfully stitched in place of the damaged membrane.

The difficulty has been to obtain eyes Rarely, an eye would be sacrificed by a living donor; occasionally some person would execute a will leaving his eyes to science. But there never have been enough eyes to supply the demand; surgeons could perform the operation only occasionally.

Now the hospitals of New York City have established the world's first eye bank. Nineteen hospitals have agreed to supply eyes. They deal with would-be donors, furnish the necessary legal papers to be signed (in New York State the consent of the next of kin must he obtained), and remove the eye from the donor's body immediately after death.

The American Red Cross Motor Corps rushes the eye to the New York Hospital where it is stored in the plasma bank at proper temperature until needed.

The eyes of stillborn babies can be used, but he chief source of supply is expected to be adult donors.

Similar banks have been developed for storing dehydrated nerves. Dr. R. M. Klemme and his associates of the St. Louis University School of Medicine have done outstanding pioneer work in nerve grafting to replace missing sections. The Russians have used preserved nerve fragments, removed from the bodies of their own battle casualties, for repair surgery. According six of their lovely children, this terrible calamity became to Russian reports, war-torn arms and legs are thus

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

On the Eastern front in Europe the battle for Germany thrown in vast masses of infantry, artillery and air bye-passed and very large groups of German defending forces were also left in the rear. During its rapid drive head formations, the Fanning-out and the Cauldron manœuvres being left for a later date when the thrust had travelled deep enough into the vitals of the German defenders. So when the check, due to climatic change, occurred the Germans were enabled to envelop the spearheads with large masses of anti-tank artillery supported by small groups of mechanized forces which were accompanied by hurriedly organized volunteer groups. This was followed by the moving up of Soviets' infantry divisions and heavy artillery but the German defenders in the rear started fighting their way back to the new battle-line too and in the meanwhile large reserves drawn from the central pool started moving into position to defend vulnerable sectors and a hurried re-arrangement of the defence-plan was started.

The Wehrmacht had been out-manœuvred at the first assault. Its defences had been breached and extremely powerful thrusts delivered deep into the main territory which contained the central reservoirs of man-power and material. But evidently they were weight and direction of the thrusts were ascertained a ports, to Berlin and to the great armament production moves were started, firstly to show down the Soviets' to achieve the second part.

through the sudden change in the weather, has now Germany, then Russia will have to take a long breath

is fast approaching its climax. After the blitz advance forces, and started a gigantic assault on a front extendover the frozen fields and marshes the Soviets' spear- ing from Libau to the Slovakian border. Over three heads were halted by a sudden thaw that overtook them hundred. Soviets' divisions with colossal artiflety when they were within forty miles of Berlin at one formations in support are now battering at the newly point. The enforced halt gave the Germans the first organised German defence structure. That the changebreathing space after nearly three weeks of strenuous over in the strategy has not been rapid enough to take but fruitless efforts at stopping the rapid advance of the advantage of the disorganisement subsequent on the Soviets' armour corps. Indeed the assault was of such blitz campaign is apparent. The Wehrmacht still moves momentum that the infantry divisions of the Soviets rapidly and is quick at taking decisions and in carrying were left far behind as were the heavy artillery, while them out in detail. But the Soviets have a tremendous the mechanized divisions, and the brigades of self-advantage in numbers and in the weight of armour and propelled artillery barely kept up with fast-moving artillery, almost five to one. And so in the battle that panzer spearheads that had torn gaps in the German is now raging in full fury the handicaps on the defenders defence lines and had thrust far into the rear of the are tremendous. The battles that are now in progress enemy formations that had been bye-passed. The halt with extreme violence are rapidly approaching a climax caused by the thaw held up the Russian advance and great decisions may be attained within the course approximately along the line of the Oder and the Lower of a few weeks, if not days, on which will depend the Vistula. Several strong German fortifications had been whole course of the War, not only in Europe but Asia as well.

If the German defence structure be disrupted within into the home-land of the Reich the Soviets' armour the next few weeks, then the war in Europe may indeed and mechanized formations had kept up their spear- be over before the year has progressed beyond the summer. Germany cannot have much reserves to spare even now, though the quantity as it is seems to be far in excess of what Mr. Churchill estimated it to be. and these battles that are now assuming the form of a 400-mile long and miles deep blaze must be draining the life-blood of the German army fast. The Germans are staking all to prevent another wide break-through in great force, as occurred near Warsaw, and the vital centres threatened are many. If the break-through occurs in spite of all the efforts of the Wehrmacht then there would be little to stop the Russian tidal wave from engulfing the main regions of armament production and re-fitting. If that happens then the defence plan of Germany will crumple up in the East which will be rapidly followed by the break-up of all organised resistance inside Germany proper. Indeed the morale of the people may well crack up even before the Wehrmacht loses its grip on the Nazi War-machine and in that eventuality the end may come close. If. on the other hand, the new defence structure stands prepared for such eventualities, for directly the page, together till the Spring thaws have set in all over the front, even if instead of being shattered it is merely new structure of defence began to take shape all along pushed back yard by yard by tremendous blows with the line from the Baltic to the Carpathians and into great masses of men, guns and armour—as it is being Hungary and the Balkans. The threat to the Baltic now—then the position might well change towards a prolongation of the war. For it must not be forgotten centres of Upper Silesia were assessed and rapid counter- that great as the German losses must be in the present campaign—though the recent Russian estimates are pentrating moves, and secondly, to stabilize the defences evidently, shots with a long-bow-the Soviets' losses along the line that provided the most favourable terrain must be bigger still. And it must be remembered that in for the defence. The first part of this manœuvre was a Winter campaign of the present magnitude Russia must successful in the main, as the Soviets' advance lost its have scraped its man-power barrel to the wood and that blitz character, and the Wehrmacht is now attempting in guns and armour it must be throwing in all it has for a quick decision. If that decision be not obtained The Soviets' Supreme Command on its part, having before the Spring has progressed well into the marshes been baulked of its main objectives of its blitz assault, of East Prussia and in the riverine tracts of Eastern in co-ordination with its allies.

On the Western Front the Siegfried Lines are still proving a barrier against the Allied progress. Major assaults have been delivered by the Canadians near Cleve and by the Americans from Aschen and near Luxembourg but the progress is as yet slow and halting, and the resistance shows no signs as yet of slackening. The latest developments on the American sectors are promising according to the news just received (24.2.45) but as yet there is no sign that anything in the nature of a decision can be quickly attained on this front. The Germans have evidently obtained some very valuable time, through Rundstedt's strategic move of December last, for further augmenting their defences at the weak points indicated by American thrusts in the latter part of last year's autumn. On the Italian Front the Germans seem to have temporarily stabilized their defence lines, though Spring may bring in a change with the coming of less inclement weather. For the present, therefore, the only prospect of a quick end of the War in Europe can be seen in the battles in the Eastern marches of the Reich. If the Soviets can obtain a quick and comprehensive decision on those battle-fronts where the struggle is rapidly mounting to a climax, then the war may be over by the summer in Europe.

In Asia Japan is now being hard-pressed. The American War-machine is gearing up for the uphill journey to decision. Japan has had much valuable time presented to her through the famous "Asia must wait" dictum of Winston Churchill. But Japan still needs some more time to complete her tooling up and to organise her transport system. It is all the more promising therefore to see that the U.S.A. has evidently come to a different conclusion regarding the needs of the Asiatic front. After stepping up the campaign in the Philippines the U.S.A. forces now have struck at the last barriers before the home-land of the Japanese. Indeed in a sense Iwojima is a part of the main defensive structure of the Japanese islands, and fierceness of the fight that is raging day and night on that volcanic island of a few square miles is a good index of the issues at stake for the Japanese. battle for the Philippines is not over by any means as vet, indeed there are indications to show that the major struggle there is still ahead. That the Pacific Command has decided to extend the scope of its actim without waiting for the final break-up of the Japanese resistance in Philippines shows that the U.S.A. is now well-aware of the grave results that may come if Japan is allowed much more time.

Japan is a long way off from being beaten as yet, despite all over-optimistic opinions regarding the end of the War that are cabled to India every now and then. She is not yet ready to meet the Allies on even terms in the technical sphere But she is not losing any time and has already made progress. The growing ferocity of Japanese defence shows that there is no chance of an early collapse of Japanese morale and it is also a clear indication of the magnitude of the task that lies ahead of the Allies on the Continent of China and on the home-soil of the Japanese. Japan is preparing as fast as the can to meet the threat of a landing in force on the South Coast of China by the U.S.A. forces, and she is not letting any grass grow under her feet in the attempt at completing the railway communications between Korea and the Malay peninsula—and

before it can start a fresh campaign on different lines, beyond. The re-opening of the Burms Road is the most promising event on the Asiatic mainland fronts. as there might be yet time to resusciste the armies of Free China and to re-equip and refit the wonderful gueralia organisations that have kept the Japanese at bay for years now even in the vast tracts of the occupied areas.

The campaigning season in North Burma has still over ten weeks ahead of it. But in Lower Burma and in the Arakans the time is getting short. But with Akyab in re-occupation and Ramree island well in the grip of the Allied forces the monsoons may cause only a temporary stoppage and not a total break in the campaign as happened in the previous years. Progress is slow in Burma and the Japanese defence plan still obscure. Of course, the difficulties in the way of transport and communications are great and are likely to remain so until some part of Lower Burma comes into the hands of the Allies. It is to be hoped that the "Asia must wait" theory has been scrapped for good The possession of the Irrawaddy and the main line to Lashio would count a great deal in the campaign in China for once those channels are clear the "back-door to China" would be wide open in reality and the Japanese in China would then have to face assaults on two fronts. Otherwise the battle for China might be indeed long.

The sixth year of the War passes its meridian with the coming of March. Of the three "Have-not" nations that formed themselves into the "Axis" group two a.c still fighting though the odds against them are now as six to one in men, machines and arms. The two that are fighting are the two that have caused the greatest damage to their opponents, Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia. In European Russia the havoc caused by German arms is unparalleled in history, though the slaughter of the Chinese by the Japanese probably surpasses even that record in the destruction of human life. These two are still fighting with the same ruthlessness and with the same fury, Germany in the sixth year of the European War and Japan in the closing mon'hs of the Eighth year of the Asiatic War. In man-power and resources. Russia, France with colonies and Britain had at least a fourfold advantage over Germany and of these Russia alone had two and a half times the weight of armament and trained reserves as Germany. The potential of America and the British Empire against Japan was similarly nearly fourfold even if China be left out of the calculation. With all these odds in favour the United Nations have taken these long years to bring Germany at bay and to start the preliminaries against Japan. And even with all the tremendous potentialities of power, treasure and technical equipment of the United Nations utilized to the full this war-weary world does not know as yet when the end will come. Therefore, the entry of Turkey nto the War is not likely to sway the balance to any appreciable extent. Turkey's entry into the War on the side of the United Nations might have been of great military consequence at the end of 1942. Even in 1943 it would have been of great assistance to the Russians. Now it is in reality merely a diplomatic event in Europe. In Asia it means the complete merger of the Sandabad Treaty group of Moslem States into the European power complex. The South American States are of even less consequence so far as the War is

A REVIVALIST

Our Debt To The Swami Shradananda* By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I received, the other day, a letter that had been written by a man I greatly esteem. The house in Lahore from which he sent it is in Rattigan Road.

The sight of that street's name awakened memories that were imprinted upon my mind when it had hardly been formed. "Ratee-geen." as I called the lawyer it honours, then was much mouthed by the youngsters of that day-say 55 years ago. One fellow, questioning the wisdom of another, would mockingly shout:

"Have you set yourself up as a Ratee-geen?"
This paragon of wisdom was an English barrister— Mr. (later Sir William) Rattigan. Briefs came to hun unsought: they were, in some cases, actually thrust upon him. His was the most lucrative practice in the capital of the Punjab-or so, at least, it was reputed to be

Whether he was supremely sagacious or not, I cannot say at this date. This much, however, is certain : he was worldly wise. Being such, he was in the good books of the provincial government. The Lieutenant-Governor (as the member of the Indian Civil Service who ran the administration without being burdened by any executive councillor or minister, was styled) had nominated him as the chairman of the council created to manage the Khalsa College. He was also appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. At some Stage of his life that I cannot place with any precision he was knighted.

П

Three, or possibly only two years prior to the interment of the nineteenth century, my father said to me:

"You boys are constantly flinging 'Ratee-geen' at one another. A man is coming here tomorrow who, not long ago, defeated Mr. Rattigan. A smashing defeat it was, I should say."

"Who is this defeater of Rattee-geen, Father?" I asked. "To have won a victory against Rattee-geen he

"Whether he is far, far wiser," it is not for me to say." Father replied. "He is, as I.t. you, coming we." Would you like to have a darshan of him? Would you like to meet him?"

With these words he stopped talking. My curiosity, therefore, had the opportunity to over-work itself. Cutting a stone from the quarry of my fancy, I imm >diately started carving it with speed that no sculptor in any clime—in any age—has ever been able to approach, much less excel.

The hero in actual life failed, however, to bear any similitude to the demigod of my imagination. I had given him the sort of features and figure that I then deemed as intellectual-a massive head, "arched forehead" (Father's phrase), short-sighted eyes with

spectacles in front of them, a short, slight person with the stoop that I associated with scholarship.

He was, on the contrary, a mountain of a man. Tall and broad-shouldered, he stood erect like the haulder (Punjabi for havildar-a corporal) who drilled me in the school ground. He strode along and talked loudly, even for a Puniabi.

He must be a Jut, I said to myself. In those days we of the Khatri (Kahatriya, martial) castes used that term for a yokel, whether he was a Jut by social sub-division or not. Women, men and boys went about shouting: Jut ki janan longan da bha—how can a Jut (clod of earth) know the rate at which cloves sell? I had no idea that I should live to see Juts spoken of as Jats; and the Jats in concert with Muslims. some descendants of Jat converts to that faith, would, in virtue of arrangements devised in London, be ruling the Punjab.

This man may, I thought, be a pahalwan (wrestler). He certainly would give a good account of himself in wrestling match.

He would, however, it seemed to my callow mind, cut a sorry figure in a joust of wits. Had father been joking when he told me that this friend of his had bested the man who was regarded, at least by us youngsters as the wisest person in the Punjab?

No. That account proved to be true enough. The most eminent lawyer in the town-Hoshiarpur-who was my confident, confirmed it.

There had been a legal battle, Lala Sham Das, the Government Advocate, said. On one side was engaged Mr. Rattigan. On the other appeared Lala Munshi Ram (the giant whom I had just met). The two made their pleas. Munshi Ram won.

"Some day," the lawyer said to me, "you will be visiting Suket. It is not far from here. Just over there."

He pointed towards the Kangra Hills. Invisible. they were not so very far from where we were sitting, could we but wend our way like the bee conveying to the hive the nector it has gathered.

Itselid not occur to me to ask if Lala Munshi Ram had had a better case than Rattee-geen. I jumped. instead to the conclusion that, being more brilliant, he had work Thereaster I made up my mind that a Jut's body may carry a head-piece in which a brilliant mind might function.

Within a few minutes after meeting Lala Munshi Ram I was to find that, in his ways, he was no Jut. His voice was loud but not raucous—certainly not unkind. He called me to his side as he sat near my father in a manner so gentle that I unhesitatingly went to him. A question of two and we were on friendly terms. Without the slightest shyness I was telling him that I meant to be a writer-that all my leisure even then was being devoted to mastering shorthand (Pitman's Phonography).

"A worthy ambition," he said, patting me on the back. "If you wish to succeed," he went on, "you must persevere and work hard."

^{*} Named in infancy, with due coremony, Munshi Ram. This so he here till, in his citties, he entered the sens-sforest-the Binds way of ridding enceols of worldly to exceed whelly to the cultivities derthe Swant (Master) Sha

I loved him for encouraging me. Seeing that I had to me. I already knew his brother-in-law-the Raizada dearer. Bhagat Ram-a barrister in Jullundar, who came to to appear in cases considered too important to be "Uncle,"

"You see," explained father, "Lala Munshi Ram is married to Raizada Bhagat Ram's sister. You, therefore, should also call him 'Uncle'."

commented. "He is, like ourselves, a Khatri."

"Certainly. Who told you he was a Jut?"

I then told father how at the sight of Lala Munchi Ram's giant frame, I had set him down in my mind as a vokel.

Events that have been or were soon to be matters of comment and even heated discussion among the grown-ups amidst whom my life, more by choice that by accident, was cast, served to impress my new uncle upon my mind. He was represented as being a member of a band that was upsetting the social order.

They were credited with good intentions. They meant, to be sure, to put "spirit" into the Hindus-to plead. make the Hindus stand up like men. More than this, they were desirous of opening up for them economic that was dishonest. Crooked. Downright crooked. He opportunities by addressing themseves to certain Hing- warning for example—which were largely left to non-Hindus.

Their agitation, however, was of a disturbing nature. They caused contention, They brought Hindus the business altogether. much ill-will.

As if this were not enough, they engaged in debates and discussions that roused considerable acrimony. Christians and Muslims alike waxed wroth.

The officials detested the Aryas even more than did the Hindus. They regarded them as Satan's spawu. in a peaceful population. No ji hazoors ("yes-men") themselves, they stirred others to walk erect, with head held high in the air.

Much of this talk was not fully intelligible to me till later years. I fully understood, however, that no one was more actively engaged in furthering this social revolution than my new-found "uncle." Contention was the breath of his nostrils. One of his companions-Pandit That fact stood out above all talk.

The more I saw of Uncle Munshi Ram, the better I liked him. Whenever he met me when I happened to go to Jullundar, where he then lived and practised, or when he came to Hoshiarpur, he would quietly ask me how I was getting on with my writing. Did my father frown upon my giving time to it instead of studying my school books? Did my masters (the word "teacher" was not used in the Puniab of that day) object?

On one occasion when he and I chanced to be by ourselves, he turned the pages of his own life-story backwards, "There was a time in my student days," he told me, in his forthright way, "when I did not study as hard as I should have. The result was that I failed to pass the examination. I disappointed my father. That it, was to enter the Indian Civil Service. I was otherwise pained me more than the humiliation I suffered in my to be called to the bar. own sight.

"Now, my boy, you see to it that you do not make taken to him, father told me that though I had met the the mistake that I did. It cost me dearly. Be sure that gentleman only then, he should not really be a stranger neglect of a similar nature does not cost you even

"After all, you have plenty of time ahead of you. Hoshiarpur (only 25 miles distant) every now and again After you get through with the school—and college books, you can devote your whole self to writing. Then trusted to the local lawyers. I called him, in fact, no one will—at least legitimately can—object. You can get ahead with writing as much as you please. All you please."

He had a way of repeating words and phrases. They emphasized what he said. At that point in my life's "So he is not Jut," I, knowing the Raizada's caste, journey that method was to me of immense importance of great value.

VIII

Either at this juncture or a short time later. Uncle Munshi Ram confided in me that in one respect he was something like me (just note the delicacy with which he paid this compliment!). He wished to do nothing so much as to write-as to speak. But-

But the law interfered. He had to study the cases (I had not yet learnt the word "brief") that he had to conduct. Files had to be examined in court, in addition to the papers his clients had entrusted him with. He had to appear before the judge, who, at times, sat with assessors. He had to ask searching questions-he had to

How he disliked it all! There was so much in it wished to be rid of it all. He would get rid of it. He had already given up much of the work. He accepted only a few cases. Seldom did he appear in court. He longed for the time to come when he could give up

"And then, Uncle, what will you do?"

"I will write-write-preach-preach."

I saw that the conversation was veering towards the region that I had been told endangered the faith-Sikhism-in which I was being brought up.

"Talk all you wish with Uncle Munshi Ram." father This because of the discord that their contention roused had admonished me, "only do not let him make an Arya of you."

> The way father said this implied that no worse disaster could befall me, With one exception, My being influenced by the Reverend Doctor Chatterjee.

That missioner lived in the Mission Compound. near the playground. To it I went every evening, While on my way thither or back I sometimes chanced upon him. Now and again I even contrived to meet him. He Lekh Ram-had been done to death by some fanatic, used to give me papers and magazines to read and encouraged me to write.

IX

Something that Uncle Munshi Ram had written in one of the papers he conducted must have upset father about this time. Or more likely the offending article had emanated from the pen of some lieutenant of his. Some of these worthics were Sikh in appearance. They let their zeal in the Arya Samaj cause drag them into regions that made them, in father's sight, devils incarnate.

Or it may have been that his talks with me he had caused annoyance. Their trend cut across father's ambition for me.

I was to be sent to England and, if I could manage

Uncle Munshi Ram hated the idea of my entering

be. He hated legal chicanery even more.

Whatever caused annovance, father said to me one day . Munshi Ram is like the cat that, after devouring

99,000 mice, proceeded upon pilgrimage.

In view of all that had gone before, I was astonished at the taunt so wryly flung by him at one whom he had taught me to call-and to treat-as uncle. Knowing his ways. I kept silence. That silence encouraged him to pour out the vials of wrath that had accumulated in his system.

"To-day he is acclaimed a Mahasha (high-souled one)," father said, the acid of irony dripping from his accents "What was he yesterday, though-and the day

before?

"I will tell you. He was a drunkard, Worse, He consorted with women of evil repute. As for eating meat, he, before he turned (an) Arya consumed so much that you would be lucky if you came within a hundred miles of the quantity, even if you live to be a thousand years of age.

"You see, he was ushered into the world by a police duroga You know what that means. He himself was in the police' service for some years. What need to say

Father could—and did—dramatize events when his imagination was stirred. Divested of the twists and turns he gave, however, he was telling only the truth. What I learnt, from time to time, from Uncle Munshi Ram and from other sources, confirmed his statements.

 \mathbf{x} A year or so prior to the outbreak of the Indian Sepov Mutiny, Munshi Ram was born in 1856, at Talwan in the Jullundar district. His father-Lala Nanak Chand-a Khatri of that small village near Jullundar, was, at the time, a daroga (Sub-Inspector of Police) in the Northwest Province (now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh). He bowed to the Lordover-dissolution (Siva) as his god of gods and was credited with being honest. His wife was, if anything, even more devout in worshipping that deity and particularly in the adoration of his shakti (energy) now personified as Uma, the Himslyan tapesvi (anchorite), now as Durga, the white-faced, beneficent One, and now as Kalı, black-visaged with blood-red, thick, long tongue lolling out of her gaping mouth and a garland of skulis depending from her neck.

Munshi Ram-had begun his student career exceedingly well. Powerfully built, he assiduously cultivated his body by exercise that had not yet been displaced, to any large extent, by foreign importations. His intelligence, bright by nature, he polished with equal diligence.

Once, however, out of his mother's sight, upon entering the college at Benares (his father was then au inspector at Bareilly), he went to pieces. Riotous living played havoc with his body and mind alike. Failure in the First in Arts examination was inevitable. Without graduation, the entered public service. High officials pleased with his father made all arrangements for him to put his foot upon the first rung of the ladder (a Naib Tehsildarship). By that means he may have climbed to executive heights: but, through his own volition, that was not to be.

XI

Illumination had come to Munchi Ram. That prospect, so bright in his fellows' eyes, lost for him any

any service, however highly esteemed that service might attraction it might ever had had. No, He would go back to his studies. He would secure from the University the title that, confirmed by the Chief Court. would enable him to engage in (what was then deemed to be) an independent, honourable profession.

This light had fallen upon his mind from a Hindu sage. Named as an infant Mulshankar, he was to become illustrious. That word meant the primal shankar: and shankar was an appellation given to the lord over all the agencies that make for disintegration.

Suitably named was Mulshankar till the night of nights in his life. He then realised that the deity of his adoration was only a "stock"-a "stone." It would vouchsafe him no solution of the problems that at the

moment perplexed his votary.

That realization directed his mind towards the Veda (literally knowledge) and particularly the oldest portion of it—the Rik and the Upanishads containing the essence of our ancient culture. With the wisdom derived from these studies, he prepared a work that he named the Satyarth Prakash—guide to the true nath. According to him, this was the path that our forbears the Aryans or Aryas (to use his term)-trod in the Golden Age.

With the scholar-teacher's danda (staff) in hand, he-now acclaimed as the Swami' Dayanand Sarasvati'travelled from town to town, province to province, everywhere preaching. Wherever he toured, he exhorted the people to come off from the tangent upon which they had flown in this degenerate age. They must get back on to the main track-the Arvan track.

His preaching threw into nervous convulsions priests who battened upon the men and (especially the) women caught in their toils. They sought to humiliate him by proving that his exposition of the writings held sacred was unwarranted. An erudite Sanskrit scholar, he, however, confounded the best of them, even at so important a religious centre as Benares—the Varanashi of the Buddha's day and Kashi of the Kassikas.

Dayananda wandered into Bareilly (now in 'he United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), in 1882, Munshi Ram's father was set by the authorities, in whose pay he was, to keep an eye over the meeting that the revivalist was to address. He took his son along, little dreaming that this was to be a red-letter day in the young man's calendar.

Of this meeting I had an account from Munshi Ram's own lips. The sight of the sage," he said, astonished him.

Tall and broad-shouldered, the Smami stood erect like a giant of the forest. His body was lithe as if each muscle -each tendon-was wrought of the finest steel and worked on ball-bearings. His voice, though strong and penetrating, was mellifluous. His chanting of the Vedic texts, with which his speech was interlarded, lifted the listeners from the shabby little town and deposited them in some primeval forest. There, in a

² Not strictly accurate. See later.

³ Then the highest tribunal in the Punjab. It has long since ren raised to the status of a High Court of Indicature.

⁴ See my article on the Swami (Maharishi) Dayunand Sarasvati in the Dayanaud Commemoration Valume, Dayanaud's Legacy to the Punjab, p. 60. Edited by Har Bilas Sarda, M.A., Ajmer, 1988.

⁵ Also spelled as Rig. 6 Also the riski (sage) and Meharishi (great sage).

⁷ Dedicated to Sarasvati---the goddens of learning---a title horne persons learned to the ancient Sanskritic lore.

⁸ For a personal impression of the Swamiji, see my Memoir of the iges Lakehman Singh, now in propazation.

clearing, the rishi, who had composed those words, was, may hap, instructing the pupils who had entered the and obtained the opportunity for heart to heart talks. guru's (teacher's) kula (clan, sept).

The men who heard the Swami chant hymns were struck not only by the perfect intonation of the ancient words, but also by their appositeness to the theme that he was developing at the moment. They were even more impressed by the ease with which he pulverised the contentious questioner-be he Eastern or Western-Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

Moved to the depth of his soul, Munshi Ram sought They lifted him out of the slough in which he had been sinking.

He resolved to take the road re-discovered by the sage. His resolve shook the domestic circle. Despite the emotional storm he had raised, he stuck to his decision.

(To be concluded)

GANDHIJI'S CONCEPTION OF NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL, MA. (Cal.), M.A. (Alld.), F.R. Econ. S. (Lond.), Principal, Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha

which we shudder to visualise.

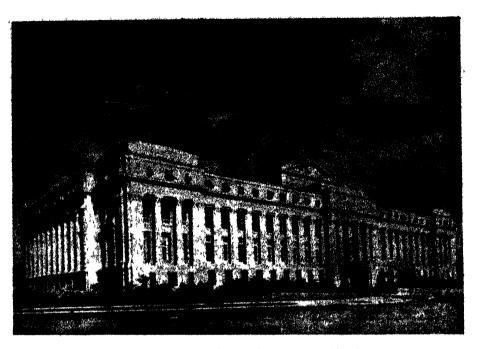
What is the root-cause of this violence and bloodis psychologically inevitable because of the human unusual significance at a time when other economic instincts of pugnacity and self-preservation is again a theories and experiments have led us to a blind and perversion of truth. It is to wadmitted on all hands that dangerous alley. There was a time when Gandhiji's the basic cause of all wars the excessive and unfettered economics was scoffed at as chimerical, faddy and ungreed for economic gains to pugh the inhuman spoliation practical. But subsequent experience not only in this of weaker nations. As Bern if Shaw puts it, "Capitalism country but all over the world has compelled careful has no conscience," and its to be nothing but Gold. It study of the economic implications and potentialities of can afford to be gentle and heave so long as its supremacy is not challenged and breatened. But in face of imminent danger it does not all to raise its fierce and ugly head in the shape of Fas ism or Nasism. Vain and thought is non-violence. Gandhiji holds that violence, diagraceful attempts are made to drape Capitalism in in any form, cannot succeed in establishing an economic than feather and provider which will bring peace and harminess. conceals the iron fist.

and gover-trodden humanity and as a great land-mark violence because in a planned society economic re-

THE last World War was fought with the sublime in the history of economic reconstruction. It is true that intention of making the world safe for Democracy and the U.S.S.R. did succeed to a considerable extent in to establish enduring peace among the warring coun-raising the standard of living of the masses by eliminattries. It was fervently hoped that the League of Nations ing the Capitalist class with an iron hand. It was also would pave the way for a World Federation on the firm believed that, with the spread of Socialism in other foundations of Collective Security and international countries, international wars will cease. But the reaction co-operation. But the Treaty of Versailles, instead of has now set in, and the erstwhile supporters and ushering in an era of peace and good-will, sowed the admirers of Soviet Economy are feeling disillusioned, seeds of the present globe-shaking holocaust which is and sadly disappointed. The Socialist Society, which unparalleled in its callousness, ferocity and totalitarian was, originally, meant to be classless, democratic and destruction. The violent suppression of Germany gave international, is now dominated by a new bureaucracy, birth to Hitler, and if Hitler is overwhelmed by force, and 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' instead of a Super-Hitler is sure to be born in the wake of violent 'withering away' has culminated in the regimentation peace. "I know nothing more terrible than a victory of the masses. The international ideal has also been except defeat," remarked the Duke of Wellington who thrown to the winds. With a return to Nationalism, it earned the unique honour of crushing Napoleon. The is almost impossible to resist the natural sequence-United Nations, cannot afford to forget these prophetic return to Imperialism, even though it be of the Socialist words of the Iron Duke in their determination to bring brand. With the progress of the present war, there are Hitler to his knees. One must confess that the prospects now ample facts to indicate that Soviet Russia is fast of winning a lasting peace even after this world-wide developing into a huge and haughty Socialist Empire, carnage do not appear to be any the brighter, and if or, to use a sweeter and milder expression. Socialist history repeats itself in the form of another Treaty of Commonwealth.' The pivotal cause of this transforma-Versailles, the world shall once again rush headlong tion is not far to seek. With centralized control and into another catastrophe the disastrous consequences of large-scale Planning, individual liberty is bound to be crushed under the iron heel of violence.

What, then, is the alternative? How to save the shed? It was once thought that war is a biological world from violence, blood-shed and totalitarian con-necessity and the world must continue to be 'red in trol? The solution lies in simplicity, decentralization tooth and claw.' But that theory has long since been and cottage industrialism. And it is from this point of rejected as fallacious and mischievous. To say that war view that Gandhian economic ideas have assumed is psychologically inevitable because of the human unusual significance at a time when other economic

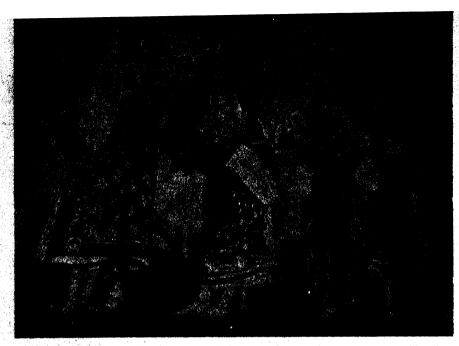
the fashionable garb of democracy and freedom; but and social order which will bring peace and happiness. we all now know only too well that the velvet glove True democracy and real growth of human personality are conceivable only in a non-violent society. Violence In view of these calamitous tendencies of the breeds greater violence and whatever is gained by force Capitalist economy, it was fervidly hoped that Socialism needs to be preserved by superior force. For all they will put an end to all our ills. The Soviet experiment that take the sword shall perish with the swo-i.'
was, consequently, halled as the saviour of exploited Gandhiji will, therefore, have nothing to do with



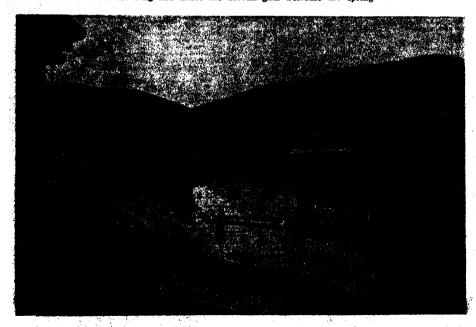
The Legislative building at Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, stand as a massive symbol of the growing strength of the Philippine Islands



This is how the Escolts, main business street of Manila, looked before the war



With song and dance the Slovak girls welcome the spring



Helps in Central Slovakia. The Slovak mountain villages hold firmly to their traditional architecture, costume and beliefs

construction is only a Means and not an End. In order of a bloody revolution.

individual or nation should be the increasing accumula- means a complete renunciation of everything that and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge our and fed and clothed them." passions, the more unbridled they become. Our ancestheir satisfaction.'

proved by modern psychologists and educationists. lopsided industrialism, because without maximum selfdependence by virtue of our manual labour we are results in the regimentation of the people in a Socialist into con-wheels and automatons.

The third ideal is the recognition of human values. to preserve the purity of the End, the Means employed Orthodox economies has been laying undue emphasis in towards its attainment must be equally pure. That is Money and Profits. To Gandhiji Man is the supreme why he maintains that even a Socialist society should consideration, and Life is more than Money." "Khaddar be established through non-violence, and not by means Economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of the human factor. The fermer concerns itself with the human." The economic law Gandhian conception of a non-violent State or concerns itself with the human." The economic law society is based on three important ideals. The first that man must buy in the cheapest market and sell in ideal is "simple living and high thinking." The Western the dearest is, in Gandhijl's opinion, the most inhuman civilisation attaches supreme importance to material among the maxims laid down by modern economists." welfare and maintains that the goal of a progressive "True economics cannot be divorced from ethics; it tion of physical comforts and luxuries. To the western likely to harm our fellow creatures." From this principle mind, the fullness of life necessarily implies the abun- of Humanism, Gandhiji derives has ideal of Swadeshidance of material goods. That is why all his economic the practice of buying from one's immediate neighbours planning is in terms of a rise in the "standard of living." rather than from distant markets. "It is sinful for me But Gandhiji is fundamentally concerned with the to wear the latest finery of Regent Street when I know "standard of life." "We notice" says he, "that the mind that, if I had worn the things woven by the neighbouris a restless bird; the more it gets, the more it wants, ing spinners and weavers, that would have clothed on,

A non-violent society based on these three 'deals tors therefore set a limit to our indulgences. They saw of simplicity, dignity of labour, and human values will, that happiness was largely a mental condition." Like necessarily, be a federal net-work of decentralised Capitalism. Russian Socialism is also based on the village communities which will be to a very great principle of material welfare; the ideology of both is extent self-governing and self-sufficient. Like the ancient essentially identical. But Gandhiji detests 'this mad Gram Sanghas or the Greek City States, these village desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal communities will have maximum political autonomy appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of for their internal organisation, Real democracy based on adult suffrage will be possible in these small Republica The second ideal is the dignity and sanctity of because there will be intimate contact among the "bread labour," it naturally follows from the first ideal citizens who shall govern their colony with joint and of simplicity. "It was not that we did not know how co-operative effort. The only government which can to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is one we set our minds after such needs, we would become in which the whole people participate, wrote James slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after Stuart Mill. The non-violent Republics of Gandhiji's due consideration, decided that we should only do conception will fulfil this test of true democracy. These what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that village communities or Panchayats will, of course, be our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use linked federally to the Taluka, District, Division, Proof our hands and feet." Gandhiji thinks that our mental vince and the whole country for the purposes of and moral development is dependent on our physical common and co-ordinated policy. But, so far as heir work. The Wardha Scheme of Basic Education adum- own internal administration and economy are concerned. brated originally by him is based on this very principle they shall enjoy the largest measure of autonomy and of 'learning through doing.' The correlation of hand- independence. Economically, they will try their best to culture and mind-culture has been now scientifically produce all the necessaries of life through the manual labour of their citizens. They will export only their Apart from the moral and mental values of simple life, surplus produce, and import only those commodities Gandhiji discourages, to use Plato's phrase, 'this reckless which they cannot manufacture. There will, thus, be pursuit of wealth' through excessive mechanization and minimum internal trade between the different selfsufficient village units, and the need for the means of transport and communication will be reduced to a liable to get inextricably involved in the chain of considerable extent. The farm crops will be for imeconomic serfdom and exploitation. He contends that mediate consumption and not for distant markets. the aim of all our activities should be the natural The present practice of raising money or commercial development and unfoldment of our personality in an crops, will disappear. Cloth will be spun and woven in atmosphere of freedom and economic independence at the villages for the villagers. The economic units would least so far as the minimum necessities of life are con-manufacture their own paper, oil, gur, soap, shoes and cerned. The present industrialism exploits the 'surplus other necessities of life; they will grow their own value' of human labour in a Capitalist society and registration and allowed the companies of human labour in a Capitalist society and registration of human labour in a Capitalist society and registration of the people in a Socialist and run other village industries on a co-operative basis. society. It has its foundations in violence and rigid For their recreation, these Republics will develop their State Control. In his non-violent society, therefore, own indigenous theatre and folk dance; they will cele-Gandhiji has no place for the modern industrial brate their, festivals artistically and establish bhalan civilisation. He is not against machinery as such, for, mandals for evolving their community-music. For eight after all, this human body or the spinning wheel is also hours, the able-bodied citizens will work hard for their an exquisite piece of machinery.' But he has set his living; their labour shall not be dull, monotonous and face against modern industrialism which concentrates soul-killing as in modern factories; it will be joyful, wealth in the hands of a few and reduces human beings pleasant and conducive to their mental and moral growth. The citizens of those non-violent village units

shall not exploit the labour of others; nor shall they silow others to exploit them. Their economic organisation will strike at the very root of unholy spolistion which is the predominant characteristic of the capitalist order. They shall lead a quiet, peaceful and contented life instead of the hectic, crasy and nerve-racking life of the modern towns. To the citizens of these states, mooney, shall be only a means, and not an end. Most of their transactions will be in kind and not in cash. The makenesus will be conspicuous by its absence. The people will be in a position to understand the implications and consequences of their economic activities; they shall not be the helpless spectators of a complicated financial system in which even the Governor of the Bank of England is forced to confess: 'I do not understand it.'

Internal trade in the non-violent state may be left to private individuals, of course, under State control. Gandhiii is not in favour of stiffing private initiative and enterprise altogether. But its scope and margin of profit should be regulated by the State authorities. For purposes of International Trade, the National State and not private persons, should be the sole authority. The country should try to be as self-sufficient as possible; but international transactions need not be tabooed. A non-violent society will not hesitate to import those articles which are impossible to be produced inside the country; but these articles must be absolutely essential for the well-being of the nation. Luxury goods from outside will not be encouraged. The country could also export to other countries those commodities which are indispensably required by them and which could be spared by it, Thus, in a non-violent World State, international trade will satisfy the real and felt needs of

shall not exploit the labour of others; nor shall they various countries with their mutual free consent, withallow others to exploit them. Their economic organisa- out being involved in the 'whirl-pool of Economic tion will strike at the very root of unboly two listical Imperialism.'

Gandhiji's State will run the least risk of fore'gn invasion and aggression because it will provide hardly any scope for economic exploitation which is the root of Imperialism. 'Simple homes from which there is nothing to take away require no policing.' If the citizens of the non-violent society refuse to be exploited by foreign nations by being self-sufficient in regard to their necessaries of life, the motive for colonial conquest will largely disappear. If they firmly determine to use only hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, neither the internal nor foreign capitalists can compel them to wear fashionable mill-cloth which is a source of exploitation. Similarly with regard to other commodities. A society which is based on decentralized and cottage production can, thus, preserve its liberty and economic independence without any violence,

It is wrong to think that Gandhiji is medieval and antediluvian in his outlook and is trying to put the hands of the clock back. He is instinctively a realist, and has been successful in laying his finger on the pivotal cause of our economic and political malaise and disorder. I can invoke the testimony of many western thinkers in support of Gandhiji's ideals. But it will suffice here to say that Gandhiji is a man of vision, and his bold conception of a non-violent state may prove to be the harbinger of a new era of world peace and good-will. I am convinced that the Mahatma, instead of being medieval, is a century ahead of our times. We may not realise the intrinsic worth of his economic ideals at present; but time will recognise Gandhiji as the Prophet of future World Order.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER The Two-nations Theory of Mr. Jinnah—II

By D. N. BANERJEE.

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Fifthly, Mr. Jinnah has referred to the "history and traditions" of the Muslims of India. The only comment I should like to make here is—although it may not be palatable to many-that, as by far the largest proportion of the Muslims of India today are, historically speaking, the descendants of converts-willing or forced-from Hinduism and other religions existing in this country before the Muslim invasion, and not the descendants of the Muslim invaders of India, their past history and traditions, whatever they might be, are the same as those of the Hindus and the followers of other preexisting indigenous religions. If there is anything of glory or pride in that history, it is as much theirs as of the Hindus, etc., today. And if there is anything disgraceful in that history, the diagrace also is as much theirs as of those Hindus, etc. It is no use disowning one's ancestry. History does not permit this.

Sixthly, in connexion with the question of the "names and nomenclature" of the Muslims of India referred to by Mr. Jinnah, it may, for example, be pointed out that the "names and nomenclature" of the Hisdus of Bengal, the Hindus of Northern or Cautral India, and of the Hindus of South India do in many memorate differ. That does not man that them different

groups of Hindus constitute different nations in India, and are, therefore, entitled to have separate, independent sovereign States of their own. Again, the names and nomenclature of the Muslims of India are in many respects identical with those of the Muslims of Arabia or of many other Islamic countries outside of India. That does not imply that all these Muslims constitute one nation and are, therefore, entitled to form a separate, sovereign State for themselves. Further, the names and nomenclature of Anglo-Indians in India, and even of many Indian Christians, are the same, in many cases, as those of Britishers in Great Britain. No one will, therefore, contend that these Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Britishers constitute one nation, and must, therefore, have a separate, independent State for themselves. Lastly, the names and nomenclature of many Britishers in Great Britain—and even their language, hiterature, and religion—are the same as those of many Americans in the U.S.A. No one will, therefore, maintain that these Britishers and Americans constitute one nation and, therefore, must have a separate, sovereign independent State of their own.

adis, and of the Hindus of South India do in many On the other hand, the names and nomenclature specie differ. That does not mean that these different and also the religious—of the Germans, the French and

the Italians in Switzerland differ. prevented them from becoming a single nation, namely, thing the Swiss Nation. The names and nomenclature and also the religions, languages and pustoms—of the same area often follow the same ralendar; whereas the various nationalities in the U.S.A. differ. Yet that has Therefore, Mr. Jinnah's reference to the question not prevented these various nationalities from being welded into a single nation, namely, the American establish anything. Nation. The question of names and nomenclature, Ninthly, in reg therefore, does not establish anything."

of India have distinctive legal (sic) laws, customs, and moral codes of their own. Perhaps the expression "legal laws" is a misprint for "personal laws"; otherwise it sometimes, from one area to another. Much depends becomes an uncouth tautology. My comment is that the upon physical environment. There is nothing Hindu or personal laws," customs, and even moral codes of the Muslim in them. Hindus of Bengal differ in many respects, for instance, from those of the Hindus of South India. This does not life and of life" mentioned by Mr. Jinnah, it may, I mean that the Hindus of Bengal and the Hindus of South India are separate nations, Secondly, the personal laws of the Sunni Muslims of Northern India are essentially the same as the personal laws of the Sunni Muslims of Arabia and of Egypt. No one will, therefore, contend that all these Muslims constitute one nation and must, therefore, have one independent, sovereign State of their own. On the other hand, it is often a fact that the customs and moral ideas of the Hindus and the Muslims living in the same area, are, as a result of their long, intimate association and cultural affinities, more or less identical; whereas the Sunnis and the Shias differ in many respects in regard to their customs and personal laws. And I also find that, even after the enactment of what is known as the Shariat Act of 1937, Khojas and Cutchi Memons in the Bombay Presidency than religion. Often these non-religious interests have are, in the absence of any proof of special usage to the contrary, still governed, in matters of succession and inheritance, at least to some extent, not by the Mahomedan, but by the Hindu law." Further, according to the Census of India, 1931, there are groups of people in India "who have drawn on both Hindu and Muslim partly due to misrepresentations and misunderstandings, sources for their religious tenets;" or "who worship the partly due to the machinations of designing men or Christian Trinity plus a Hindu-Muslim Trinity consisting of Allah the Creator, Parameshwar the Preserver, and Khuda the Destroyer"; or "who share in equal degree the Muslim and Hindu religious beliefs, worshipping Ganesh as well as Allah, using Hindu names and dress and observing Hindu festivals"; or, again, who "take Muslim names and even utilise the services of mullahs" in one area, but who "follow Hindu customs Parliamentary Joint Select Committee, on 18th August, and use Hindu names" in another area. "There is thus a very real difficulty sometimes in deciding whether a particular body is Muslim or Hindu." The question

Yet that has not of personal laws, etc., does not therefore, establish enga-

Eighthly, the Hindus and the Muslims living in the French and the English in Canada differ. Still they Hindus themselves in different parts of ladia do not constitute a single nation, namely, the Canadian Nation, follow the same calendar. And the same thing can be The names and nomenclature of the members of the said also of the Muslims in different parts of India, calendar in his statement does not also prove

Ninthly, in regard to the question of "aptitudes and ambitions" alluded to by Mr. Jinhah, it may be pointed Seventhly, Mr. Jinnah has stated that the Muslims out that these are purely personal matters, depending upon the mental and the physical constitution of individuals. They vary from person to person and also,

Finally, with regard to the question of "outlook on believe, be enough to point out here that, although they differ in respect of their religion and some religious rites and ceremonies, yet the "outlook on life and of life" of, say, the Muslim peasantry and the Hindu peasantry in Bengal, or, for instance, of the Muslim labourers and Hindu labourers in an industry-and these peasantries and labourers, and not the parasitical classes who exploit them and their name, constitute the real backbone of the Indian people—is more or less identical because their interests and problems also are identical. And their "outlook on life and of life" is materially different from that of men who belong to the status and social position to which Mr. Jinnah himself belongs. As I have already stated, man is not merely a religious being. He has other interests, too, which no less vitally affect him a greater urgency and insistence than even religion itself. Any other view is sheer propaganda, and nothing else. It may be argued against this view why then Hindu-Muslim riots occur from time to time. As I have shown befores in another connexion, these riots are communal fanatics on either side, and, often, largely due to the fact that law is not enforced, at their initial stage, with the utmost vigour and with the strictest impartiality. Sometimes local officials allow themselves to be guided by mean "political" considerations, and a wicked spirit of vendetta against one community or another. And Mr. Jinnah himself admitted, before the

³⁵ It may be noted here that "the use of combined Muslim and Hindu names is not unusual in more than one part of Bengal." See the Canesa of India, 1981, Valume V, Bangal and Silvim, Part I. Report, p. 390.

³⁴ Take, for instance, the question of the law of inheritance. 25 The position was far different before the seactment of the relat Act of 1937. See Mulla, Principles of Mahomedan Law, 11th

Edition. pp. 17-18. 36 Vol. I. India, Part I. Report, 1988, pp. 380-81.

^{\$7} I also find in the Course of Songal and Sikkim, 1961,... "In many parts of the country the Muslim peasant join o name extent in Rindu worship . . . In Jesseys, it is reported that Muslims revers the sain plant and del true and observe the vals of James Suchtic and Phrystridwittys. In Bogra, in some terose

the Muslime observe the Rindu period of veremonial uncle (assuch) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the head and beard; the women wear the vermilion mark of Hinds wives and the wombip of Durgs is frequent . . . It is even reported that there the necessar peremony is universal . . . whilst at Mahasthen Muslime as well as Hindus mark their iron sales with vermillion on the Dazers day and perform the Satyapir puje with offerings of sinal . . . In Pabia, Manasa or Bischari is often worshipped by them (Muslims) and they contribute towards the Kali puja particularly in time of epidemics, whilst the worskip of Situle, the gold of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of discuss, calling themselve Kariraj, though Muslim, will admit taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goldens. Practices such as the use of surmeric (goys helad), at the marriage commony have also been horrowed from the Hindus." .- See the Consus of India, 1931. Vol. 5, Bengal and Sikkim, Part 1, Report, p. 200; also see p. 102 thereof. 32 See The Medica Review of June, 1963, p. 460.

Bennet, a member of the Committee": "If you ask me, decade to decade and that of the Muslims gradually side or the other, and that has enraged one side or the other, I know very well that in the Indian states you etc."

I have analysed above the grounds on which Mr. Juneh has based his two-nations theory. These grounds cannot, as I have shown, stand the scrutiny of reason. And I have also shown that Mr. Jinnah held a different view in 1919. I do not deny that there are some differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of India. But we should not unduly emphasize and exaggerate those differences when Providence has brought us together and when we have nolens volens got to live together. That way does not lie the solution of the Indian problem. There are many differences, particularly in the religious sphere, between the English and the French in Canada; between the Germans, the French and the Italians in Switzerland; between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in Germany; and among the diverse nationalities in the United States of America, Yet, in each one of these cases a nation has emerged, thanks to the growth of the modern spirit of religious toleration. I do not see any reason why it should be otherwise in India. As Dr. Hutton, Census Commissioner for India, 1931-33, has rightly observed, after a very careful survey of the position of different religious communities in this country, "Generally speaking, there would seem to be no insuperable reason why the Muslim and the Hindu should not dwell together in harmony." It is, therefore, very painful to see some responsible leaders of public opinion in India advancing with seal and warmth the specious argument of "homelands". If that argument is seriously put forward, then it may be legitimately asked, who have lived longer in those areas which are proposed to be included in the State of Pakistan—the Hindus and the other indigenous non-Muslims, or the Muslims? The former had lived in those areas long, long before Mohammedanism itself was founded, not to speak of the Muslims of India; and they have been living there ever since. Have they not, therefore, a greater right to claim those areas as their "homelands"? The question is one of principle and not of numerical strength. Some people, however, appear to lay stress on the question of number. But they forget that the number is a variable factor, variation being due, apart from the questions of emigration and immigration, to the presence or absence of such causes in a community as "the practices of polygamy, of widow remarriage and, on the whole, of later consummation of marriage," etc. For instance, for every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal in 1881, the number of Hindus was 4882—the number might have been larger earlier-, and that of the Muslims 4969. Thus the number of Hindus was practically equal to that of the Muslims, But, largely owing to the causes mentioned

1919, in reply to Question 8854 put to him by Mr. above, the number of Hindus steadily declined from very often these riots are based on some misunder- increased. As a result, the corresponding numbers for standing, and it is because the police have taken one Hindus and Muslims were 4348 and 5444 in 1981." Even then, the number of adults (aged 20 and over) in 1931 was 52 per cent in the case of Muslims and 46 per cent hardly ever hear of any Hindu-Mohammedan riots, in the case of Hindus, although the general percentages (all ages being considered) in that year were 55 in the case of Muslims and 43 in that of Hindus." And in a democracy, the percentage of adults in a community is an important factor.

The only view, therefore, which can stand the scrutiny of logic, reason, and justice is that no part of India is the homeland of any particular community. India being the common motherland of all the communities that live within its boundary today, every part of it is the common homeland of all those communities. A contrary view is sure to lead to inter-communal bitterness and, ultimately, to a civil war in this country. A parrot-like repetition of an irrational view or slogan ad nauseam will not help anybody's cause, notwithstanding the philosophy of propaganda taught by Hitler and Goebbels. No one can befool all the people all the time

It may also be pointed out here to the Muslim separationists that insistence on the view that the Muslims of India constitute a separate nation distinct from the rest of the population of India will ultimately act as a boomerang to themselves. Either the Muslims of India form a part of the population of India-and, therefore, form a part of the Indian people-or they do not. If they insist that they do not so form a part, while living within the geographic boundary of India, then the rest of the people of India cannot be blamed if they begin to look upon the Muslims as foreigners and aliens in India-at best domiciled aliens, to use a term of International Law. And such a view on their part is sure to have far-reaching economic and political consequences. The question is not one of sentiment, but of logic and reason. These non-Muslim Indians have been fighting and suffering during the last sixty years for the ending of one alien rule, namely, the rule of the British people over them. The Muslim separationists would be in a dreamland if they thought now that these non-Muslims would ever agree or submit, having regard to the record of Muslim rule in the past in relation to their culture, religion, temples, deities, art, and architecture, etc., to the imposition over them of another alien rule, namely, the rule of the Muslims in the proposed State of Pakistan. It would be too much to expect

We have already in India many absurdities. We should not multiply them and make ourselves a laughing-stock of the whole civilised world, by creating a Hindu national State of India, a Muslim National State of India, a Sikh National State of India, etc.

In conclusion, I should like to say-although may not be very palatable to many—that, not to speak of two or more nations in India today, there is as yet no nation in India today. The Indian nation is still in the making and Indian nationalism is passing through a period of travail. A community or group of people is not recognised by modern Political Science as a nation unless it has become politically organized, and unless it is free from foreign control. It is in this sense that

³⁹ See the Minutes of Evidence before the Joint Select Commisses a the Covernment of India Bill, Vol. II, 1919, p. 227; also Ambedr. Thoughts on Pakistus, 1941, p. 317.

⁴⁹ Sen the Centus of India, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Report.

^{\$1} See the Consus of India, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Report,

⁴² See the Consus of India, 1981, Vol. V. Part 1, Report, p. 490. 49 See the Course of India, 1931, Vil. 1, Part 1, Report, p. 886.

nationality," or, as is usually the case, more than one both derived from the same root. This has naturally term nation has since acquired, as I have indicated which is very different" from its etymological meaning. Professor J. Holland Rose," for instance, has used the term nation to mean "a people which has attained to State organization", and the term nationality (in the concrete sense) to mean "a people which has not yet term nation to the different constituent elements, say, of the Swiss or of the American nation. The only term that can properly be applied to these elements is nationality which is used nowadays to mean an ethnic.

the British, the Americans (U.S.A.), the Swiss, and "oberish common historical traditions, and who come the Canadians, for instance, are each a nation. And tute or think they constitute a distinct cultural sometry." a nation may comprise, if it is so lucky, only one No political signification is now attached to this term nationality. At best, although it is very doubtful, the nationality. Unfortunately, in the past the two terms different religious communities in India may 'nation' and 'nationality' have often been used by many be regarded as constituting different nationalities writers as synonyms, the reason being that they were in this country in the same way as there are, for example, different nationalities in Great Britain. Switzerled to a confusion of thought and reasoning. But the land, Canada, South Africa, and in the United States of America. Given mutual goodwill, charity, toleration, above, "both a scientific and a popular signification and forbearance, and with a deepening sense of the essential unity of Indian life and economy. I see no valid reason why these different religious communities in India cannot be welded into a free, powerful Indian Nation. If, in spite of the memories of Bannockburn, Flodden Field, and Culloden Moor, Scotsmen and attained to it." No scientific writer today will apply the Englishmen could form, together with Welshmen, a strong, united British nation, then why should not, notwithstanding what might have happened in the past, the great religious communities of India be able to form a strong, free, united Indian Nation? This ideal or a linguistic, or a religious, group of people who may can certainly be realised only through the mechanism of a properly devised All-India Federation. Any division of India will inevitably lead to a civil war and chaos, and, utimately, to the perpetuity of foreign rule in this country. We must, therefore, all banish from our minds counsels of unreason and ideas of power politics in the larger interests of our common Motherland.

ALDOUS HUXLEY A Natural Historian of Humanity

By ALEXANDER HENDERSON*

ONCE a sceptic and materialist, but now a believer in may well be considered as examples of inherited principles derived from Indian religious philosophy, characteristics and ability, for he counts among his for-Aldous Huxley has, throughout his novels, essays and bears some of the best intellects of 19th century poems, displayed a subtle and complex personality, the England. conflicting tendencies of which are held in balance by a vigorous and speculative mind.

"If I had to define my position," he wrote 18 years ago in Proper Studies (1927), "I should say that I was a moderately extroverted intellectual . . . I understand the materialist interpretation of inward life."

But, in 1944, he stated as the basis of his belief: "That there is a Godhead, Ground, Brahman, Clear Light of the Void, which is the unmanifested principle of all manifestations. That the Ground is at once transcendent and immanent. That it is possible for human beings to love, know, and, from virtually, to become actually identical with the divine Ground. That to achieve this unitive knowledge of the Godhead is the final end and purpose of human existence."

Huxley has always been well aware of the contradictory strains in his own personality and, in the volume of essays entitled Do What You Will (1929), sketched out a philosophy of "life worship," of "balanced excess," which was based on the acceptance, as fundamental of the diversity within each individual.

Aldous Huxley's complex personality, the scientific cast of his mind and his clear and brilliant prose style,

He was born on July 26, 1894, the third son of Leonard Huxley and Julia Arnold. His father, born in 1860, was the son of Thomas Henry Huxley, the scientist who did perhaps more than anyone else to make Darwinism understood by the general public. Aldous Huxley's mother was the niece of Matthew Arnold, the author of Sohrab and Rustum and many other poems, of Culture and Anarchy and several fine volumes of literary criticism. She was, too, the granddaughter of Thomas Arnold, the clergyman and famous Headmaster of Rugby High School who, by his example, stimulated many changes in the English Public School

The environment in which Aldous Huxley grew up as a child was as cultivated and intellectual as were his ancestors. His father, appointed assistant Professor of Greek at St. Andrews' University, Scotland, at the age of 23, subsequently became editor of The Cornhill Magazine, one of the most distinguished of English reviews—a post which he held for many years—and literary advises to the publishing firm Smith, Elder and Co. His sunt, Mary Augusta Arnold, who, in 1872, married the critic and editor Thomas Humphry Ward, was the most eminent woman novelist of her time; her

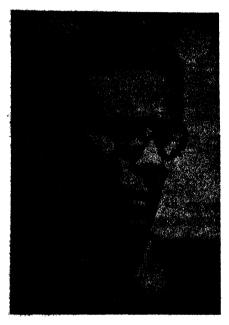
⁴⁴ In the concrete sense. In the abstract sense the term nationality is used "to indicate citizenship."

⁴⁵ Nationality in Modern History, pp. vill-ix.

⁴⁶ In the concrete sense.

Robert Elemere published in 1883, was famous throughout Europe and U.S.A. of high moral seriousness in which he was brought up.

With this rich inheritance of science from his father's and literature from his mother's family, it is not sufficient and literature from his mother's family, it is not sufficient that Aldous Huxley should have become a man of letters, nor that his writing should, in many ways, exhibit the scientific temper. As a boy, indeed, he wanted to make his career in science—like his elder brother Julian, the distinguished biologist—but an effection of the eyes (which almost deprived him of sight for three years) made scientific work impossible. Those three years gave him that detached outlook on life which is noticeable in much of his work.



Aldous Huxley

Aldous Huxley was educated at Eton and, like his father, at Balliol Cöllege, Oxford. He enjoyed both. "I have the kind of mind," he says, "to which an academic training is thoroughly acceptable. Congenitally an intellectual, with a taste for ideas and an aversion from practical activities. I was always quite at home among the academic shades." Cuford especially he appreciated because there he was left at liberty to work in his own way which, for him, meant omnivorous reading rather than note-taking at lectures. "I myself," he says, "never attended more than, at the outside, two lectures a week."

At home he was brought up to admire the poetry and philosophy of Wordsworth, the seathetics of Ruskin. Muxdey's early sardonic and farcical stories—Limbo (1989), Mortal Colls (1983), and his first novel Chrome

Yellow (1921), show how he reacted to the attrabathere of high moral seriousness in which he was brought up. As a young man he was intellectually cautious, sceptical, disinclined to moral enthusiasms. But underneath the ironic manner he has always retained an essential seriousness as grave as that of Matthew Arnold himself. "In my early stories," he told me once, "I am also reacting against the pedantic part of myself."

In the development of his early style the most important influences were the French writers of the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th, especially Rimbaud, Laforgue and Anatole France. He was attracted, too, by the work of Remy de Gourmont chiefly on account of the latter's interest in natural history, an interest which Huxley has always shared and which manifests itself most strongly in Point Counter Point (1928).

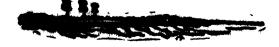
At Oxford, Huxley wrote a good deal of poetry; of minor importance in comparison with his prose works, it is, none the less, interesting for the light it throws on his temperament. It reveals a romantic and idealistic sensibility, already preoccupied with the conflict between passion and reason, self-division's cause which he later developed in Point Counter Point and Brave New World (1932). The early poems show, too, a man shy of contact with other men and women, and glad to take refuge from the realities of the human struggle in the impalpable world of ideas.

His present investigations into mysticism and religious philosophy represent a return to this deep-rooted preference for the inner life which was for a time, obscured, if we may judge by the sceptical works published during the decade of the 1920's—a period that, as it happened, was generally, in England, one of widespread cynicism and materialism.

For a few years one of the outstanding personal influences on Huxley's thought was that of the late D. H. Lawrence, the author of Sons and Lovers and many other striking novels. They first met in 1915, but did not see much of each other till the years from 1926 until Lawrence's death. "Laurence," wrote Huxley in 1927, "is one of the few people I feel real respect and admiration for. Of most other eminent people I have met I feel that, at any rate, I belong to the same species as they do. But this man has something different and superior in kind, not degree."

In 1919, Huxley married Maria Nys, a Belgian; Le has one son. A good deal of his life has been spent outside England; he has lived in France and Italy and travelled widely in India and Burma, of which he wrote a fascinating account in Jesting Pilate (1926), in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and the West Indies (see Beyond the Mexique Bay, (1934). Since shortly before the war he has been living in the U.S.A., chieffy in California.

In appearance, Huxley is characteristically English; tall, grey-eyed, the thick hair brushed back from the forebead. He has great charm of manner. In his company one notices first of all his fine voice and long and supple hands; he is fond of clasping them round his knee as he site and talks. Now and then his mouth softens into a quiet, ironic smile, but usually it has an expression of melancholy.



By AUSTIN COATES

Is civilization, or an age of great culture, in spits of great Reformation, the fabric was decaying; dust was being a blessing to mankind, also a poison to the posterity of that country in which it has thrivet? It is one of the problems which confronts one most forcibly from the pages of history. Else how the extraordinary decay the menfolk, and gradually breaking the political strucimpotence for hundreds of years? What of the pathetic history of Greece since the Age of Pericles, or of the recent terrible fall which France suffered after her great Italy or Spain or others, where only recently we have and sounding the drum of an imaginary renaissance, it. while around them lay the white bones of a glorious civilization? If indeed these things are caused by culture itself, then it were better, so it would seem, to ensure that civilization in its highest sense should not arise among us, if we think that our way of living is in the least worthy of permanence.

After the glories of Marathon. Thermopylae and Salamis, when the Greek nation rose to its height as a military, political, and thus, in time, as an economic power (which is, after all, what a nation is—the rest is in the imagination of sentimentalists and builders of empires) there followed the age of Socrates, Plato, Aeschylus and Sophocies. As soon as the nation reached its highest point of power (what Aristotle would perhaps call its teleological conclusion) it entered into a decline. All nations do this; at first the decline is hidden, inconspicuous, undreamed-of, and then it rears its head; when you see it for the first time it is obvious to you that it has been going on for years, gradually gathering momentum. Upon the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians—their establishment as a free nation—and from the fruit of the decay which set in immediately upon the day of their greatest glory, grew the flower of the Periclean age of tolerance and enlightenment. And after it, the deluge! Greece rapidly declined as a power, and was swallowed up by the Romans, and later by the Turks. The Acropolis at Athens is a memorial, but it is also a burial-stone.

And what of another great age of European culture, the Renaissance of the Italian cities, in the days when Christendom was the power uniting Europe, and the supreme master of this Christendom was the Pope, before whom great emperors stood barefoot in the snow and begged admission to the house of him who the Christians believed to be the Vicegerent and spokesman of God? Today it is difficult to imagine what it must have been like for a Christian when he heard the news that there had been an uprising in Rome because of the Pope's continual absence in the beautiful French city of Avignon, and that as a result of this there were now two Popes, one in Avignon, one in Rome. What an unutterable catastrophe to the organized Christian religion which had built up its power so carefully and cleverly throughout the centuries, perverting the teachings of Jesus to suit its own ends! The whole fabric of Christendom rested in the descendant of Saint Peter, the Vicegerent of God. And new there were two Vicemental Although it was many years before the

blowing of the stones of the great cathedrals of the West. And in the time of that decay, when the breath of freedom stirred again in Europe, there bloomed first of all, at the first puff of that sweet breath of decay. which follows in the wake of culture, corrupting the the primitive French art and music of Provence, with leaders, producing effeminacy and ineffectualness among its centres at Avignon and Aix-en-Provence, and later the glory of Italy, the age of Botticelli, Michaelangelo, ture upon which the great days had been lived? Does Giotto and Leonardo da Vinci, the cities of Varona, civilization so sap a country that it is reduced to Firense, Venuce and Rome. With the summons to freedom of thought (which is what such great art always produces) the fabric of Christendom collapsed. Martin Luther finally shattered, it, and since his day, the centuries of enlightenment? What of many another land, organized Christian religion has dwindled until our time, when its power is solely economic it owns land and seen a puny band of militarists beating on their chests in some countries even this has been taken away from

> The fall of France-and few great nations have had to suffer such a disaster as this was!- was the result of antiquated military leadership and the supped morale of the people. France was the shadow of its former greatness, and over it, as over all countries of Europe. had fallen the strange reverence for the past-its teachers, artists and philosophers which prevented the flowering of any future greatness, which damped the ardour of youth, and which made of great peoples nothing more than an idle mirror of the past. Still this feeling persists. It seems as if Western culture has created so much, in so many different forms, that the sheer weight of its past achievement has killed the creative spirit.

> France arose as a nation from a collection of medieval states without any central unity, now that the power of Christendom was declining. And in the West, Christendom and the worship of God were replaced by Empire and the worship of a nation, No nation has ever been worshipped with more love and fervour than France. Joan of Arc swoke this spirit, and it fired apace, until the nation was consolidated by the strong hand of Richelieu and built into an international power. Masarin added the finishing touches, and into this well-prepared throne stepped King Louis XIV, who by his strength of purpose, leadership and patronage of art raised France to its position as the cultural head of the Western world. Once again, as before in Greece and Italy, at the highest peak occurred a great epoch of culture which lasted unabated for two hundred years, while, through troubled times, the political power of France waned. When the twentieth century dawned it was apparent that the spirit was tired. Cultural thought had exhausted itself and resorted to inversion—as in the work of the surrealists and others. And then the deluge, withheld in 1918 by the mercy of God-till 1940, when the Germans for the second time marched down the Champs-Elysces.

> Rome died without an age of culture; it died slowly and with no rebellion within itself. For hundreds of years before its fall, Rome contemplated obliviou. But in those countries which experience a great age of culture the fall is rapid and final. It would seem therefore that, although the attainment of a cultured civilisation is not the cause of a nation's decline, it immeasurably quickens that downfall.

It is interesting to apply this interpretation to the suppose of today, Judged simply by its culture, it is

gradually becoming obvious that Europe is drawing to We desire the law which decrees that only in the cian the end of its political leadership of the world. Its art- and fall of empires and peoples can the whole of manand art is the clearest mirror of interpretation-is kind advance. We desire that civilisation of telerance sterile, turned in upon itself; and even though it may and culture, when the artist and the philosopher are set produce another age of greatness, this will be a sunset above kings, firstly because it will be a good age, but age, and will but hasten what seems to be an inevitable secondly because of our belief that such epochs hasten downfall.

Each man reads into history the pattern of his own personal interpretation of something which we all see West will die, and in their death-and in that alonedifferently. But to any who will concur with me, surely a new age of concord can arise.* the present day is one of hope and inspiration. The old world with its outworn traditions, its tyrannies and blindness, is collapsing slowly before our eyes. We President and Members of the Jana-Tathya Anusandhites Parishat in counted believe in the permanence of our way of living. Calcutta on lat October, 1944.

the destruction of ancient tyrannies.

If such an age dawns tomorrow in Europe we shall ambition, and this which I have written is only a live to see great consequences. The old nations of the

* This is a condensed version of an address delivered before the

THE SALT AGENCIES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE PRESENT REVIVAL

By Prof. JITENDRA KUMAR NAG, M.SC., BL.

THE Salt Industry of Bengal is still a problem for the according to the finding of the Salt Survey Subpeople at large as well as the Government of the Committee of Bengal's Industrial Planning Committee: Presidency. The growth of this baby industry is stunted for two reasons, first, for the British rulers' apathy towards its development, and secondly, for the manufacturers' inadvertence. This industry could have been built, successfully by this time on a commercial basis as the ban on the manufacture has long been raised. But unfortunately it has not yet got any foothold on account of the long prevailing pessimism about its MICCOME.

It is however gratifying to note that after a century of its raination, Bengal has revived her cottage industry in salt along the coastal region on the bay, from Jaleswar to Cox Basar due to the Central Government's relaxation under the memorable Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The villagers of Sunderbans, Contai, Noakhali and Chittagong now prepare salt in their homes by boiling concentrated brine, obtained from saliniferous earth, by a process of limiviation. It will be shewn afterwards in this article, that the same method of filtering saline soil was followed by the 'molunghees' from time immemorial and also when special agencies were set up by Lord Clive or Warren Hastings in their monopoly trade in salt, during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Before describing the working of the Salt Agencies of the East India Company, I would like to write shortly about the present enterprise of the constal people in reviving their cottage industry, which was once one of the main sources of the country's salt supply. In 1942, when acute dearth of common salt, as one of the important commodities of Bengal, was felt, the Local Government introduced, with the consent of the Central Government, several storehouses in salt producing areas, to collect this indigeneous salt. Although the villagers are permitted to sell their home-made salt in the nearest market as a duty-free sait in small quantities. I have seen many of them carrying baskets of salt to a neighbouring warehouse.

There are now warehouses at Kakdwip, Chimnaguri Baser 34-Parganae, Garchakrabaria Tambuk, Dadanpatra, Rasulpur-Contai at Tekhali, Pampua, etc., and a several places in Chittagong. The intest figures for the recent collections are very estimatory. They are,

	The The Three Total Total T	Turning Com	TITTORGG .
District	Area	Quantity in	maunds
Midnapore	Contai & Tamluk	About	2,50,000
Chittagong	' Along the coast	,,	2,00,000
Khulna	Satkhıra & Bageri	at "	1,70,000
24-Parganas	Barasat & Sadar	,,	1,50,000
Noakhalı	Sadar	,,	1,00,009
		_	

Total 8,70,000

Thus about 9 lakhs of maunds of salt were collected from these people last year (1943-44). Very small quantities were produced by the manufacturing companies of Bengal. The amount of production by the villagers is expected to increase this year, but authorities, establishing warehouses should see to it that adequate fuel supply is made to these people. And also they should be given some advance as dadan as had been done by the old Salt Agencies each year before the salt producing season began so that the ground work might be laid by the 'molunghees' in their salt farms.

Of the average dumping of 140 lakhs of maunds of salt every year into the ports of Bengal, Calcutta and Chittagong, Bengal's own requirement at present is \$3 lakhs; 47 lakhs go to Assam and Behar. The huge quantity of 84 lakhs of maunds of salt is now coming from the west Indian ports, Karachi, Okha, Morvi, Porbander and Bombay and from Madras and Aden. Aden of course was dumping before the present war more than ninety per cent of our demand. Before this war we were also getting salt from Cheshire, Hamburg, Rumania, Mussowah, Port Said, etc.

As the manufacturing companies are lagging behind, we should see, that every endeavour is made to increase the production from the revived cottage industry and I am certain that, if all sorte of facilities are offered to the coastal people, they would be able to meet in future at least one-third of our requirement. The Salt Agencies of Bengal in the past were producing annually 35 to 38 lakhs of maunds, the entire demand of the province at that time.

India's total yearly requirement is about 20 lakh tons of salt, whereas, she produces 15 lakk tons from her ma counts and malt mines—the balance of 5 lakh tons is imported from the above-mentioned foreign countries. Most of this foreign export is dumped into Bengal. The earliest account of the working of these Sait Agencies can be found in Agent Hamilton's Report on the Tamluk Agency, 1852, and the Report on Manufacture and Sale of and Tax on Salt in British India by G. Plowden, 1856.

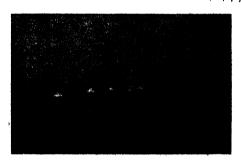
The Agencies were divided into several manufacturing districts—Arungs, which were as follows:

Hiddles—1 Beercool (Digha), 2 Bahirsemootali, 3 Naranmootah, 4 Errinch, 5 Majuamootah, 6 Baghrai. Tamlook—1 Tamlook, 2 Mahisadal, 3 Jellamootah.

4 Goomghur, 5 Aurungnagar, 24-Parganas—1 Desec, 2 Baheerbong, etc.

CHITTAGONG—I Jooldeah, 2 Barchur, etc.

Balasone—1 Ruttai, 2 Sartha, 3 Chenuna, 4 Dasmalang, 5 Panchmalang, 6 Ankura, 7 Churamoni, 8 Dhamara.



The salt-producing centre of the Bengal Salt Company

At Jessore (Khulna) salt was manufactured in Raimangal, Sibpur, Rampur, Malai and Jamira. According to Pargitter, salt manufacture in Jessore appears to have been given up in 1826*

The capacity of the principal Bengal Agencies were in favourable seasons, as follows:

Hidglee	11	lacs	of	mds.	of	salt
Tamlook	9	**		\$1		22
Chittagong 24-Parganas Noakhali	9	27	н	,,		#
	5	**				N
	_	**		*		*
	22					

The Arange were also, for manufacturing convenience, subdivided into many 'Hoodahe' or independent jurisdictions. There were 63 Hoodahe in Ridgiee, 37 in Tamluk, 8 in 24-Parganae and more than 50 in Chittagong.

An Arway was under the control of a Pokhtan or Manufacturing Darogah and a Hoodah was placed under the immediate charge of a Mohuri, who was assisted by a Zilladar, Anduldar, Barkandai, peens and bearers. The Mohuris were nothing but Assistant Darogaha to look after the hoodaha, The number of the Theodahs were 4 in Tamluk arung, 7 in Mahisedal, 9 in Jellamootah, 8 in Goomghar and 9 in Aurungangar.

Bel Seles D. M. Meldietl's Report

In a 'hondah' there were several 'khalaris'-fields, appropriated by a 'molunghes' or manufecturer of saft for his salt preparing purposes. A khalari generally comprised one to three acres of land and it was driving like a paddy-field into several 'chatters' or areas. To start with, the molunghess used to clear the khalaris,



Salt is being weighed

after the rains, of every particle of jungle and grass and after weeding, used to remove the upper layer of the soil. Then he erected bund around and between chatturs, to confine in ebb-tide for several days the salt-water that entered the field The land was ploughed and puddled by the coches and finally levelled by a 'moye' or lump-orusher drawn by bullocks; and in the working season salt-water entering the chatturs repeatedly made the soil saliniferous.

The fields were left to the sun for 5/6 days, by which time the saline components of the earth used to rise on the surface and were easily visible to the procised eye of the molunghee in the shape of blisters—this was called to be the ripening of the crop.

Now-a-days the coastal villagers of Contai neither plough their salt farms, nor make the plot plain by a moys or ladder. They have not yet taken up the old practice for they do not know what procedure was followed by their forefathers.

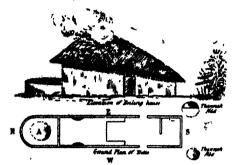


Maidah (a primitive filter)

The saliniferous surface earth of the soil thus prepared or pared was scraped and charged in quantities on the nearing filter plant for lixivisation. The primitive filter was and construction of the plant, now made at Contai, although the working principle is the same. The present name current in Contai, is dabari. The maidsh' was larger than a dabari and was, according to Hamilton's description, composed of a circular mud wall 49 cubits high, 79 cubits broad at the top, 194 subits at its basel at he same was subject to the heads.

bamboo to connect the basin with a receiving vessel, the Northern half of the building.

The modern filter measures 14 cubits high, 24 cubits



bottom of this pit several channels are cut to drain off the percolated brine to a pipe hole at a point of the wall and the brine collects in a small pit, I cubit lower in level, but whose depth is 2 ft. or more. The frame-work of the filter is made of date palm leaves, palm leaves, bamboo chips or twigs.

Not very far from Calcutta, near the rivers Piyali or Matla, people lixiviate the saline earth, placing it on an earthen pot, at whose base a puncture is made and on that hole twigs and leaves are laid. The pot is kept on a vessel for receiving the brine that drops. In each of the cases, water is poured on the saline earth to dissolve the salt-stuff existing in that earth.

"After the saline earth is deprived of the saline matters, the molunghee takes it out in his hands and throws outside, around the 'maidah' and this refuse earth is used as manure afterwards and is scattered by



the molunghee over his 'chattur' to increase its fecundity as a salt producing field."

A boiling house or "bhoonree ghur" was generally stuated close to the sait fields and was built North and jouth. It was usually 25/26 cubits long, 7 to 9 cubits mad, the South wall being 24 cubits high and North

pierced a hole from which passed a hollow reed or wall 6 cubits high so that the furnace may be built in

The panga salt, obtained by boiling the brine was broad (diameter) and the same at its base. In the to be kept in baskets, which were placed on the side of the choolah (just like what Cheshire manufacturers do in placing the salt on hurdles attached to the boiling pan on a side) to drive away the water remaining with the salt and to dry it.

The baskets were brought out of the boiling house and put on bamboo stands or frames about a cubit high and kept for the whole day in sun for final drying.

After sufficient quantity of salt had been made it was stored in the khutta golahs.

The process of preparing the panga salt, as summarised by the writer, from the description left by Mr. Hamilton, was practically the same everywhere, but Rai Bahadur D. N. Mukherji says in his



The land is levelled by a 'moye' or lump-crusher

report that kurkutch or solar salt was made in Chittagong. In 1827-28 an experimental manufacture of -all by solar heat for consumption in the districts of Chittagong and Bhoolooah, in lieu of Madras salt, was attempted in the Chittagong Agency. The experiment was continued for five years (until 1831-82), when it was abandoned as uneconomical. As regards the old practive of salt culture in the district of Noakhali, Mr. Duncan, according to the District Gasetteer, states in his report on Sandwip, that down to 1728, salt was manufactured there for the benefit of the Chaudhuris, by the local inhabitants; but it became, during Murshid Kuli's regime, a private monopoly of the Naib of Subah. In 1765, the E. I. Co. created a monopoly trade in this commodity along with beteinut and tobacco but three years later monopoly was withdrawn. From 1772 the salt-producing areas of Sandwip came under the agency system of the E. I. Co. It is found in records that from 1772 to 1776 over 1.30,000 mds, of salt were produced annually on the lands of Sandwip parganah, The Noskhali agency being the 5th agency of the E. I. Co. was then in charge of an agent living at Bhulus. In 1780 this gency was controlling salt manufacturing of the bees at Sandwip, Dakshin Sahabajpur, Ha

Ramni, "In the year 1819 Mr. Walters found, the the local product on account of its superior quality, and average annual production of salt to be a lakh of mids. in Hatia, rather more in Mankura, 20,000 mds, in Saudwip, 21,000 mds. in Mamni and 60,000 mds. in other islands of the Meghna. Altogether the production was over 3 lakhe of mds."-District Gazetteer of Noakhali.

All the Agencies worked up to about 1825, after which in 1826, the Jessore Agency stopped working and in 1848, the 24-Parganas Agency was closed for increase in expenses and falling in profit. The Chittagong agency was suspended in 1852. The other two agencies at Hidglee and Tamluk were abolished in 1863.

Foreign salt first imposed in 1818 gradually ousted

cheapness; till about 1863, the national industry in salt (of Bengal) almost died. Queen Vistoria's Government abandoned the monopoly trade in salt enjoyed by the E. I. Co. in 1863 and left manufacture free but subject to excise duty-which was hardly profitable as it could not compete with the imported Cheshire salt.

In 1897 local manufacture was prohibited altogether, the cost of production being higher than the selling price of the imported salt owing to the weakness of the brine supply, the lack of fuel and natural disadventages.

THE ASTRONOMER-ROYAL AND GREENWICH OBSERVATORY

By ALAN HUNTER

Great Britain has had an Astronomer-Royal (and a part of 300 years—ever since, as a martime nation, our as well as iron and lead from Tilbury Fort. Part of the sailors first felt an urgent need to find their exact cost was defrayed by selling some gunpowder that had position at sea.

One of the most important functions of the perfecting of the art of navigation."

And so the history of the Astronomer-Royal is nothing more nor less than the history of Britain's ever-expanding navigation of the world.

The theory of finding a ship's position by the moon and the stars had, of course, been well understood for thousands of years.

The trouble was that this theory could not be put to practical use because the position of what might be called the guiding lights of the firmament could not be accurately plotted.

It was to compile this "stellar time-table" that the first Astronomer-Royal was appointed.

The honour fell to a young scientist, the 28-year-old Rev. John Flamsteed, and his name is perpetuated in the name of the Astronomer-Royal's official resi-dence near the Observatory— Flamsteed House, Greenwich.

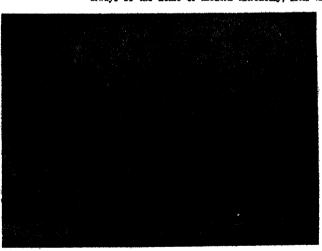
Greenwich-now a crowded part of London-was in those days a Thames-side hamlet in the coun-

try that then surrounded the capital. Sir Christopher Wren himself-who recommended the the observatory's delicate instruments will not it might well have been put up in one of central Lon- industries. don's great parks-Hyde Park,

course of a year, that here the Observatory grew up. .

Down the Thames to Greenwich they transported Royal Observatory for him to work in) for the best wood from an old gate-house in the Tower of London, been spoilt.

When King Charles and his advisors built their Astronomer-Royal is still what it was in the days of observatory at Greenwich, they little realised that King Charles II—who, in the Charter he drew up in London would spread to this little village, and that 1675, called upon the newly created official stargard modern industrial developments would hamper socurate to "find the so-much desired longitude at sea, for the astronomical observation. Although Greenwich will always be the home of modern estronomy, after the



Greenwich Observatory, with the great dome which houses the astronomical telescopes, was founded in 1675 and computed in 1899

war the observatory is to be moved to a more suitable It was the great architect of St. Paul's Cathedral - site outside London where the air is clearer and where King to build the Observatory at Greenwich. Otherwise, affected by the electrical fields of London's modern

The first Astronomer-Royal took up his work in the It so happened that the Crown owned a small newly built Observatory in July, 1676—just a year after building on a hill at Greenwich—and it was in the the foundation stone had been laid.

Flamstead was the right man for the job. He knew

a great that about astronomy, saving should drawn up a satilizing of the store, as well as having worked out tables of the motions of the moon and the planets.



The interior of the dome at Greenwich Observatory. An essistant is aligning the giant telescope for observations

It was fortunate, too, that Flamsteed was an expert mechanic, Aithough he was provided with an Observators, he had himself to equip it with instrumentssome of which he made himself.

In the next 12 years or so, Flamsteed painstakingly made no fewer than 20,000 observations—and alone re-vised the tables of the heavenly bodies then in use.

Plannsteed provided the great Sir Isaac Newton with much of the data that led to the discovery of the Law of Gravitation.

Flamateed's successor. Halley, persuaded Newton to publish the famous "Principia", which might otherwise never have seen the light of day.

When Malley became the second Astronomer-Rayel, in \$720, he had to re-equip the Observatory entirely. Plansteed's widow had, quite within her rights, removed all the instruments.

Halley will always be most popularly remembered for what might be called "his" Comet. He predicted the return of the comet that has ever since been known as Halley's Comet-perhaps the best known comet in the firmament.

But Halley-of whom it was said when young : "If a star were displaced in the globe he would find it out" was over 60 when he began a far greater work than

the prediction of a county return.

This was nothing less than the observation of the d through an entire 18-year period—or Serce, as the Analysis Chaldeans had called it.

fifth Markelyne was able at long last to dull the terms of the original Charter, which was to perfect the art of navigation.

Maskelyne's greatest work was his Nautical Almanac. But almost as important was his decision to ; , do the one thing those before him had been so reluctant to do as to publish regular lists of observations.

It was in Maskelyne's time that an Englishman named Harrison won an award of £20,000 for his Time Keeper, a chronometer that would keep perfect time at

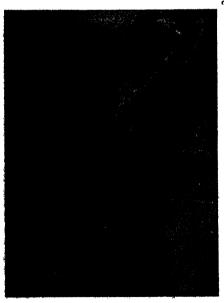
The Royal Observatory itself is, of course, the home of what's now known all over the world as Greenwich Mean Time.

Through Greenwich runs what, by international consent in 1883, is known as Longitude Nought—the fundamental line by which distances east and west are measured, just as distances north and south are measured from that other imaginary line, the Equator.

The modern world's system of time-sones of time. that is are all related to the fundamental or Mean Time of Greenwich.

In 1880, Greenwich Mean Time was first made legal time in Britain and in more recent years the B. B. C. has vastly extended the time service with its world-wide broadcasts of the six pips.

The mechanism that broadcasts these famous pips is directly connected' with the clocks at Greenwich, where the present Astronomer-Royal, Sir Harold Spencer Jones, had done a great deal of work to improve the already high standard of accuracy.



The Astronomer-Royal, Doctor Harold Spencer . Jones, F.R.S., who has held his office since 1933

Sir Harold is an astronomer with a formidable list of achievements. He has been Astronomer-Royal at "Shooseding Astronomers-Royal gradually raised the Greenwish for ten years, coming from a similar post at antidad of the Royal Chairmanny's work until the the Royal Chairmanny's work until the the Royal Chairmanny Cape of Good Hope. Assocs his granty contributions to the toismos of astronomy, he one of its main tasks has always been the accurate plat-is responsible for this most precise distermination yet ting of the position of the sun, the moon, the plants obtained of the sun's distance from the earth, the and the fixed stars. fundamental upit of distances in astronomy, known the Solar Parallax.

The sun, he found, was 98,006,000 miles from the earth, with what astronomers call a degree of uncertainty

of some 10,000 miles.

It was for this work that our present Astronomer-Royal earned the coveted gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society.

This achievement serves to remind us that. throughout the long history of the Royal Observatory,

It has been long, hard and—to ordinary people perhaps unexciting work, but there is not a single ship that sails the seven sees today that does not own something of its safety to the painstaking observations of Britain's long and illustrious line of Astronomers-Royal.

Charles II built better than he knew-and, as a King who always took a keen interest in science, gave the lie to the cruelly untrue saying : "He never said a

foolish thing and never did a wise one."

POLITICAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BENGAL AND CHINA

(Translated from Chinese Records)

By Prof. SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA AND Prof. HSIAO LING WU. Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

[In Chinese literature, we find many records of political intercourse between Bengal and China, which took place during 1408-38 A.D. In these records, we find descriptions of Bengal, of its social customs, its public

life, its native productions—trade, wealth etc.

As those political officers who came from China, stayed only for a short time, and put up amongst high officials (who were Mohammedans), their descriptions of the social customs and public life of Bengal are not duite correct; nay, sometimes they are amusing; from these, however, we get glimpses of Bengal of the 15th century. Moreover, we find new materials for the history of Bengal.

A similar record was translated fifty years ago, by George Phillips, who published it in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1895, pp. 529-33.]

Bengal is about 7,000 h (2333 1/3 miles) away from Nikobar and is situated north-west of it. It is also called Eastern India. It has got quite a large area.

If one starts from Sumatra, one has to go first towards "Cap-hill" (Pulo Weh) and Nikobar and then in a north-westerly direction. If the wind is favourable, then within twenty days, one arrives at Chittagong. From Chittagons, sailing in a small boat and after travelling 1662/3 miles, one reaches Sonargaon. This port-town is surrounded with walls and fortified with ditches. It is a big town with streets and markets.

After passing twenty stations from this town, one reaches Pandua (in Malda), the Capital of Rengal. This city with its suburds is grand and magnificent. The King has got a white-washed palace, large in size, and rectangular in shape. It is divided into nine sections and has got three gates. The pillars in the buildings are plated with brass and decorated with engravings of flowers and arrivale. flowers and animals.

The crown and the dress of the king, as well as the aps and the clothes of the higher officials, are in

Mohammedan style.

All are Muslims. Their marriage and funeral cere-monies are observed in accordance with the Moham-

medan rites.

The people of Bengal are rich, honest and generous. They are well-acquainted with commerce. They shave They wear a long gown with round collar, was the twee part of the body with round collar, was the lower part of the body with a colcured cloth, and put on leather shees. Women have a peg-like knot of plated hair on their head. They wear short garments on the upper part of the body and was the lower part with

coloured clothes, made of cotton or silk. They put golden earrings with precious stones in their ears and precious necklaces round their necks. They put golden bracelets and anklets on their hands and feet and rings on their fingers and toes.

The climate of Bengal is constantly hot. The Calendar current there is of twelve months without any intercalary month (malamas). There the highest intercalary month (malamas). There the highest punishment to an accused is only transportation, All officials have their despatch-seals. The commander of the army is called Sipasalar.

There are physicians, astrologers, astronomers, and all kinds of artisans.

Everything is available in the market. The language of Bengal is Bengali. People are also well-versed in Persian. Musicians are called ken heiao (so) ou hi nai (.....sura-nayaka?). Early in the morning, in the houses of rich and high class people, they start music. One of them beats a small drum, the other beats a big one, while another plays on a flute. The time-beating begins slowly and afterwards becomes rapid. When it is finished, the musicians are given food and drink, as well

as tanka (rupee) by the owner of the house. Bengalees usually entertain guests with pane. During feasts, they engage music-girls to entertain the guests by singing and dancing. The dress of the music-girls, on the upper part of their body, is made of a light red coloured cloth with designs. Over the lower part they put on a coloured silk gown. Round the neck, they put on necklaces, made of precious stones, such as coral, amber, pearls, with various colours (ht. five colours). On the wrist, they put on bracelets, made of precious stones of red and green colour.

The Bengaless are accustomed to have tigers' play. The Bengalese are accustomed to have figers play. The player pulls the tiger with an iron chain and walks. At the time of play, the chain is removed. The tiger squats and waits. The man undresses himself, in order to fight with the tiger. The tiger then roars and gets excited. Then they fight with each other. The man sometimes puts his arm into the mouth of the tiger. When the play is over, the tiger lies down on the ground. The trails that are the play dead the time. ground. The family that enjoys the play, feeds the tiger with flesh and gives tanka to the player.

There are two kinds of exchanges in Bengal. One incre my two kinds of extensions in period. One is a silver cosh which is called tanks, the other is seasified which is known as kard. The weight of the silver coin, according to the standard weight, is three fen. Its diameter, according to the standard measurement, to one inch and two fen. The silver coin is discreted on

The soil is suitable for all kinds (lit., five kinds) of corn. There are two crops during the year. The climate is favourable for kaeping all (lit., six) kinds of domestic

There are four kinds of wine in Bengal. One is made from coconut, the other from rice, another from modhuka (Bassia Latifolia) and the fourth one from

palm trees. There are six kinds of cloth in Bengal. The first one is called perp'o (baf?). It is two feet broad and fifty-six feet long. It is white, fine and evenly made. The second one is yellow (or red?) in colour. It is called man cho ti (manjistha). It is four feet broad and called man one is (manuscul). It is four feet broad and fifty feet long. It is closely woven and is very strong. The third one is a gause-cloth, named sha na pa ju (sahan-baff). It is five feet broad and thirty feet long. Its shape is similar to the Chinese "raw plain gause" (sheng pu lo). The fourth one is a crape called hein paint ch'n ta h' (panch tolia, ch'nit?). It is three feet broad and sixty feet long. The cloth for dressing the head (turban cloth) is similar to "three shuttles" (san suo). It is called sha tar (jutar or ch'utar). It is two and half feet broad and forty feet long. The Chinese to lo mien is called mal mal in Bengal. It is four feet broad and twenty feet long. On the reverse side of it there are naps which are half an inch long.

In Benzal there are pearls, corals, crystals, corne-lans, king-fishers' feathers, plenty of bananas, pine-apples, pomegranates, tamarinds (?) (lit., sour-seeds), sugar-cance, plenty of curds (or butter), plenty of gourds, cucumbers, melons, onions, gingers, mustards, brinials, garlies.

Camels are also to be found there. There are papers made from the bark of mulberry trees. There is a tree with slender branches and green leaves which spread themselves in the morning and close at night. It is like the Chinese "night-closing" trees. Its fruits are like phims. It is called amla (amlaki). It is used for curing constipation (or purging).

On the day when they received our emperor's mandate more than a thousand armed troops on horse were assembled. They were posted on the left and right sides of the long verandah. Gigantic figures with shining armours, holding double-edged swords and bow and arrows, were in attendance. Hundred umbrellas made of There were troops of a hundred elephants in the audience hall The king sat on a throne, decorated with all (lit., eight) kinds of precious stones. He had a sword on his lan. Two men holding silver staffs in their hands, on ha can. As again nothing silver statis in their haugs, were leading us. Every five steps, they shouted (a slogan). When we came to the central place, they stopned. Then two men holding golden staffs in their hands were to lead us. We proceeded just as before. The king solemnly and nollitely saluted (putting the hand on the foreheid) and received the imperial mandate. When the ambassedor read out the list of gifts, a carriet was spread on the audience hall, to entertain him with a feast. There were different dishes of goats' flesh and beef. Sweet drinks of different kinds, some mixed with rose juice and others with various kinds of perfunes, were served to the party.

The kings of Bengal do not send ambassadors

Chinese measurement was of various kinds at various times. Now for international trade purposes it is fixed by the Treaty as follows:

Chin (Chinese pound) is equal to 11/8 lihe. Sixteen thing (Chinese ounce) make one chin; ten chien (mace) make one chin; ten chien (mace) make one chien.

A Chinese foot is equal to 14-1 inches (English).

Ten fen make one inch (Chinese); ten inches (Chinese)

make one foot (Chiness).

cas side. The value of the sea-shell is counted by its regularly to China. In 1408 A.D., in the sixth year of weight.*

The chief merchandise of Benzal is cotton and silk. dynasty, king Giasuddin (Ajam Sah) sent an ambasof this emperor of China, the ambassador reached Tai Ts'ang (near Shanghai).* The emperor of China ordered the officer in the ministry of foreign affairs to receive (lit., to give a feast and a place for rest) him there warmly. In the twelfth year of the same Chinese emperor (in 1414 A.D.) King Giasuddin sent his minister Pa yi chi (Bayazid) and some others with gifts (lit., revenue) of Chi-lin i.e., giraffe, and other things. Also in 1438 A.D. in the time of emperor Cheng Tong, gifts were sent from Bengal. Thin gold-plates were used for the official letters and for the list of presentation. The gifts were horses, saddles of horses, silver and gold ornaments, were notes, saddles of notes, saver and goth organization, unwrought gold, furnitures made of cat's-eye gems, white porcelain, with designs of blue flowers, sh ha ta (shawl), ch fu (kapu?), he ta lai (?), extremely white muslin—malmal, crystallized sugar, head of crane, home of rhinoceros, peacock-feathers, parrots, frankincense, musk, manufactured incense, gray-incense, hemp, catechu, violet glue, gamboge, ebony wood, sapon wood peppers.

Bengal is indeed a rich and generous country. Look at the gifts given to the Chinese ambassadors. A golden helmet, a golden belt with a pot and bottle in it all golden, were presented to the chief ambassador. A silver helmet, a silver belt with a pot and bottle in it all silver, were given to the assistant ambassador. The interpreter (who was also a Chinese) was given the gifts of a golden bell and a long robe made of fine silk. Soldiers were given silver coins

If Bengal were not a rich and generous country. how could it do so?

2. There is something wrong here. Regarding the dates of political intercourse between these two countries (viz., Bengal and China), we have got very authentic records in the history of the Ming dynasty. We have translated such a record. We quote below a passage from it :--

In the sixth year of the emperor Yung-lo (i.e., 1408 A.D.) king Gasuddin of Bengal sent an ambassador to China with tributes of native products. The Chinese emperor entertained him with feasts and gave him presents of various things. In the 7th year of the same emperor (in 1409 A.D.) an ambassador of Bengal came again. He was accompanied by 230 officers. Just at that time, the emperor Yung-lo was eager to establish relations with foreign countries. He presented them with from Bengal came to pay tributes. In the tenth year of this emperor (in 1412) before the ambassador of of this emperor un 1412) before the ampassaulur of Bengal came (to the capital) the emperor sent officers to Chen Chiang (near Yang-Chous to reterve him with feasts etc. When all such arrangements were ready, the ambassador announced the death of their king (i.e., Giasuddin Ajam Sah). The emperor sent an officer to bengal to offer the last offerings to the dead, as well as to coronate the prince Saifuddin. In the 12th year of Yung-lo (in 1414 A.D.) the second king (i.e., Saifuddin) sent an ambassador with an official letter, expressing his thanks, with tributes of Ch'i-lin i.e., giraffe, beautiful horses and some other native products...... The next year the emperor sent Hou Hsian, as an ambassador to Bengal with an official letter, as well as ambiasador to bengai with an omeral setter, as well as presents. The king, the queen, and the high officials all received presents. In the third year of the emperor Cheng Tung (in 1438, i.s., when Samsuddin Ahmad Sah was the king of Bengal) Bengal again paid tributes of Chi-lin (Giraffe) to the Chieses emperor. The next year also, tributes came from Bengal, after that they

came no more.

3. The fieshy kneb of a kind of orang's head which is used as strong poison.

MENTAL HYGIENE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By BEJOYKETU BOSE, MR. B.S.

America, Its founder Mr. Clifford Beers has narrated the origin of the movement in a fascinating autobiography, A Mind That Found Itself. Mr. Beers, who was himself a victim of a severe type of mental sickness, vividly portrays his mental condition during the illness in this book and discloses the nature of treatment meted out to patients in mental hospitals at that time. Want of sympathy, which he felt so keenly as a patient in almost every person who came to take care of the mentally sick, moved him most. On his recovery, therefore, he was the most ardent and impatient worker to bring about a hygienic reform, from the mental standpoint, in the conditions of the American asylums and hospitals for mental patients. His efforts succeeded in founding the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene in New Haven on May 6, 1908. Mr. Adolph Meyers christened this young movement with the term Mental Hygiene. At the outset the movement had only two objectives:

(i) Improvement in the condition of patients in

mental hospitals.

(ii) Improvement in the technique of treatment for the insane, epileptics and mentally defectives.

The mental hygiene movement gradually found worldwide encouragement. In its course of growth .t developed into a great applied science and came to include a wide range of social and individual aspects of human life, viz,

(a) Study of psychopathic criminals and prevention

of crime. (b) Study of the pathology of mental disorders and the prevention of mental disorders.

(c) Mental welfare clinics for (i) Child guidance, (ii) College students, (iii) Industrial workers, General public, and (v) Parents' guidance.

(d) Training of physicians, nurses, attendants, social workers and teachers.

This movement spread to India in about 20 years' time.

The Indian Association for Mental Hygiene was founded in Simla in August 23, 1928, mainly through the efforts of Captain H. Stedman, M.C. Lieut.-Colonel Owen Berkeley-Hill was its first President. The Ass> ciation was affiliated with the National Council for Mental Hygiene, Great Britain. The objects of Association, as stated in the Memorandum, were:

(a) To encourage the study of the mental health of the community with a view to (i) removing those factors which militate against good mental health, (ii) combating the prevailing ignorance regarding mental disorders, and (iii) improving the psychological environment of both children and adults.

(b) We propose to employ ourselves and what funds we raise in the following ways: (i) holding of meetings in order to afford an opportunity for the exchange of ideas, (ii) the reading of papers by members, or by experts in any branch of mental hygiene, (iii) propaganda work by urging the needs for the establishment of special clinics and the provision of facilities for reflectial measures for children and adults of abnormal mentality, (iv) the gradual formation, as funds permit, of a central library of mental hygiene, the books of which may be distributed by post to members It began with 4 pupils; at the end of a yest it had 8

Two movement of mental hygiene originated firstly in wherever they are situated, (v) the arrangement, as circumstances permit, of popular lectures to the general public to be given under the suspices of the Association, either by members or by experts whose assistance can be obtained.

The pioneers of this movement in India were all Europeans although subsequently many Indians joined it. The Association had a short but very distinguished period of existence. Its progress towards the realisation of its objects was fair and steady. Three months after its formation, it began publishing a quarterly Bulletin from Simla, Captain Stedman was its first editor. This Bulletin was richly contributed to by eminent workers in the field of psychiatry and social psychology in India.

In 1939 Lieut.-Colonel Berkeley-Hill took over the responsibilities of editing and publishing the bull-rin from Captain Stedman. In March 1932 sub-committees under the Association existed in the following places: Delhi, Simla, Lahore, Calcutta, Southern India and Ceylon. The Calcutta Committee became an independent branch under the presidentship of Sir George Raukin, the then Chief Justice of Bengal, in 1931. On the lat May 1933 a psychiatric Clinic was opened at Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia, under the patronage of the Calcutta Sub-Committee and under the guidance of Dr. G. Bose.

So far the progress of the Association was really gratifying. Unfortunately from the beginning of 1933 we find the editor sounding warning notes. In the bulletin of 1st March 1933 he comments, "During 1932 no reports were received from any sub-committee throughout India. This is disappointing." In spite of the repeated appeals by the editor, the response from the different sub-committees and members did not improve. In July 1939 the editorship of the bulletin was taken over from Lt.-Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill by Dr. Banarsi Das, Superintendent, Mental Hospital, Agra. In October 1937, he writes, "The editor regrets to say he received practically no response to his appeal for the renewal of subscription (a sum of Rs. 2, only) of old members and for the enrolment of new members. It will be a real pity if it is allowed to die out from apathy just when the whole country is pulsating with a new surge of enthusiasm for progress in all directions."

The last appeal also fell flat. A vestige of this humanitarian movement however, still persists in the psychiatric clinic at Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia. This clinic in its humble way has been doing valuable work in the field of mental hygiene for the last 11 years. It opens on Tuesday and Thursday of every week from 8 to 10 a.m. Besides diagnosis and treatment the clinic also provides for the training of medical practitioners and clinical lectures for advanced medical students and post-graduate students of psychology are held regularly.

Although the general movement as started by Captain Stedman closed down, still there were other workers whose persistent efforts would not die out so easily. One of them, Mr. Girija Bhusan Mukherii. founder of the Bodhana Samity, is still carrying on his special task, On the 1st of July 1933 the Bodhana Niketen or the home for the feeble-minded was started. institution is Thereram in the district of Midnapore, objects it mentions the following: Baia Namingh Deo Bahadur made a gift of about 80 acres of virgin land for establishing this home to the among the public. authorities of Bodhana Niketan.

children at Kurssong. European and Anglo-Indian of these diseases as also of the less well-defined children only are admitted. There is accommodation for character and personality maladjustments. about 20 pupils. It is managed by Miss Silvia de Laplaco.

It also receives Government aid,

Bengal is the "Mental Hospital." It was started in 1931 shifted to Mankundu in Hooghly district in 1940, where department and observation ward in Calcutta, It receives grants from both the Corporation of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal. The existing account he Department of Psychology. modation is for about 60 patients.

In the year 1940 Indian Psychoanalytical Society started under its auspices Lumbini Park Mental Hospital with only three beds. The institution has been mental diseases is comparable only to the total incidences very popular and at present it can accommodate 25 of all the bodily diseases taken together. The actual mental patients. It has an outdoor section also where number for India figures something like 1,500,000 for patients receive advice free of charge. An important cases requiring institutional treatment alone. In confeature of this institution is that it aims at the training trast with this figure the total accommodation for more of technical personnel and the providing of facilities tal patients existing in the whole of India numbers only for research. Unfortunately it receives no support either 12,680 beds for Government institutions only. There are from the Government of Bengal or from the Corpora- 16 mental hospitals in British India, excluding Burma, tion of Calcutta by way of grants. It is registered under managed by the Government, distributed in the fclthe Societies' Act of 1861 and aims at making, as many lowing way : beds as possible, free as soon as funds permit. Up to now it has not received any donation big enough to enable it to have free beds for deserving patients. It practically depends entirely on the charges realisad from the patients for its maintenance. Consequently the charges for treatment are high and beyond the reach of many. Mental diseases often require prolonged institutional treatment. Bo for even ordinary middle class people, not to speak of the poorer masses this form of treatment is beyond their means. Lumbini Hospital is fortunate however in one respect at least that its technical staff consists of many experts who render their services practically in honorary capacity. The reports of this hospital are regularly published in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis.

Besides these two hospitals Bengal has also at least two more mental hospitals run on Ayurvedic lines of treatment. There are also outdoor clinics for mental

couple and the existing number in February 1944 was institution for training psychiatric social workers and 14. There is, however, accommodation for about 50 a child guidance clinic managed by Sir Dorabjee Tata pupils. It admits pupils of both sexes, irrespective of Foundation. In Bombay under the able guidance of caste, creed or nationality. Enquiries for admission have Dr. K. R. Masani the Indian Council of Mental some from different provinces of India. The site of this Hygiene has recently been started. Among its aims and

(1) Conservation and promotion of mental health

(2) Prevention and treatment of mental and There is another institution for feeble-minded nervous diseases and the early and scientific treatment

The Bombay University is the only University in India that has a diploma course in Psychological The first mental indoor institution to be started in Medicine. Calcutta University is also alert to the aurrent trends. It is at present considering a scheme for in Calcutta. The male department of the hospital was instituting a D.P.M. course and it is expected that the scheme to train technical personnel in the fields of Mesers Scoraimuli Nagarmuli made over to the Hos- Psychiatry will soon be given effect to. The latter scheme pital authorities a spacious garden house with extensive proposes to train (i) Teachers for the mentally deficompound as a gift. The hospital also has a female cients, (ii) Psychiatric social workers, (iii) Industrial Psychologists.

Training will be conducted by the Applied Section of

MENTAL HEALTH SURVEY

According to competent authorities, the incidence of

Province		To al accommodation
Assam	1	748
Bengal	Nil	Annin
Bihar and Orissa	2	1781
Bombay and Sind	5	3733
C.P	1	613
Madras	3	2920
Punjab	1	1299
U.P	8	1550
	-	
	16	12690

It will thus be seen that in Bengal, where the number of mental patients is the largest, the facilities for their institutional treatment are practically nil. In India the consciousness of the public of the assessity for mental sanitation is alarmingly poor. The misery and suffering consequent on this backwardness is appalling diseases at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital and but part of this misery is preventible and curable. Un-Shambhunath Pandit Hospital maintained by Govern-fortunately our general economic backwardness usually ment. There is also an outdoor for mental patients in masks the importance of all specific problems but it Madras. The Applied Section of the Department of would be dangerous to let that happen in the field of Paychology, Calcutta University, also examines and mental health, too, for an indefinite period. Some efforts gives free advice to persons presenting themselves for at least have been made for mitigating our suffering mental abnormalities. In the past, the Department of from the diseases of our body in the different general Psychology of Calcutta University used to organize hospitals for the treatment of medical and surgical aducational stalls in the Realth Exhibitions held an affections. There are also special hospitals for tubermustly at the Indian Museum building. This stall used outcoin, tropical discuss, obstetrical and symposispical it considerable interest from the public and cases in Bengal but although the worst sufferer, Bengal tool greatly towards arousing the montal health has practically no provision for treatment of montal making among the public. Bencher has got em dissection. It is high time now that some matigmal effects for the promotion of mental health were made. We nucleus institutions for the treatment of mental know we are handicapped. Financial and legislative diseases, by making arrangements for the training of difficulties will stand on the way of our efforts apart technical personnel and for research concerning the from the resistance of an ignorant mass, still we can different aspects of mental diseases so that when the do much useful work and prepare the ground for our problem of finance is solved, these can be immediately future social and individual happiness by starting expanded to meet our national needs adoquately.

AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AND DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE TO THE CULTIVATORS

By S. DATTA, p.sc. (London),

Principal, Rajshahi College and Administrative Control of B. K. Agricultural Institute, Rajshahi.

THESE are the days of planning. Ever since the news of selected at random. The Union Board farm belongs to the bewildering success of Russian planning systems an ordinary cultivator but he is made to work under released for the improvement of agriculture, their however the money may be mis-spent, some substant al improvement is bound to follow.

Or this big sum, it is not known how much will fall to Bengal's lot, but as Bengal is one of the major provinces of India, it is not unreasonable to assume that a tenth part of this sum, i.e., 100 crores as Capital and 2 crores annually-will be spent for Bengal. In whatever form the expert committee may decide to spend this money-whether by making liberal grants to the University Professors for their 'fundamental' researches, or on Experts' at Regional or Provincial Research stations-for solution of special problems, there is no comment to offer. The object of the present article is. to lay stress upon the expenditure of a modest sum of 1 crore and 20 lacs recurring (i.e., 1/100th of Bengal's quota) for the following purpose, which in my opinion is the most urgent step required for the education of the cultivator in agricultural methods on scientific lines, without which there will hardly be any practical development of improvement of crop production.

It is well-known, and the special committee itself has recognised it that there are big gaps between scientific knowledge and its dissemination. This is particularly so with the cultivators in India, who a.e uneducated, unreceptive, conservative in mental outlook and extremely suspicious due to ignorance. Every province has its department of agriculture; however lasily the department may have spent their times, it is not untrue that they have made many improvements of various seeds, achieved much success in their district demonstration farms. But how much benefit has the cultivator derived out of these improvements? Vary little. Why? Because, the method of dissemination of knowledge has been extremely faulty. Because, the method has not taken into consideration the peculiar psychology of the Indian, particularly Bengali, cultivator. Hitherto the method in Bengal has been somewhat like this :--

1. For the dissemination of knowledge in each district of Bengal there are on average about five agricultural demonstrators who are given charge of one Union Board farm and three demonstration centres can be achieved, If it was possible to organise a scheme

spread far and wide every country in the world has been a cropping scheme laid down by the District Agrispeaking of long and short term plans. One such is the re- cultural Omeer and works like a seed multiplicat on cently published plan for the improvement of agriculture centre. A demonstration centre has no such obligation of in linus by a special committee of the I.C.A.R., which seed multiplications otherwise it works more or less like aims at a Capital expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores at a Union Bould tarm according to a dennite cropping pre-war rates and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 20 crores scheme. The centre of demonstration in the village is annually. Well and good! If all that money could be kept fixed for three years but the cultivators are changed every year.

2. On paper the scheme is an excellent one but every one familiar with the condition of agriculture in Bengal knows that practically the scheme is a failure. Somehow the crop does not grow well, or the yield is not satisfactory, and the cultivator becomes shy and refuses to be persuaded next time. Not merely that; his fellow cultivators get the news of failure and as the proverbial bad coins gain in circulation so do the news of failure, and the conviction grows that the farm seeds are not so good or the methods suggested by the demonstrators are unsatisfactory. No improvement takes place, the cultivator sticks to his traditional method more firmly, and the money that is spent on the experimental farm is thereby wasted.

3. What are the causes of failures? They are chiefly three:-(i) the selection of seed, (ii) defective supervision of the demonstrator, (iii) conservatism on the part of the cultivator.

As regards (1), the seed is selected on the knowledge gained in the district experimental farm, the soil of which place can not be taken as a representative one; and as there are wide variations in the character of the soil within each district, it is haidly any wonder that the selected seed does not give proper response,

Regarding (ii), an ill-paid demonstrator, with little or no interest in the actual production of crops, can hardly be expected to work enthusiastically. Like the majority of paid officers he will surely do the minimum of work required for earning his pay. And as to (iii), the conservatism of illiterate cultivators is natural and can only be shaken off by giving him opportunities of seeing practical results of improved cultivation. The committee has suggested the training of workers by every village having a guide who will act as a "link between the technical experts and cultivators" . . . "The village guide will have to be in knowledge, status and equipment something more than the village chowkidar. Will the guide contemplated in the above recommendations be any better than the agricultural demonstrators? No. The guide will be a very weak link between tho experts and cultivators and if the underlying causes of the present failures are not eradicated no real programs

by which responsible pseudo-experts themselves would go round and give frequent advice to the cultivators it would have been very good, but such a scheme would be financially unworkable. Hence my suggestion is that instead of having any ill-paid, irresponsible intermediary, why not evolve a scheme in which, by rotation, every big cultivator will master the technique directly under the guidance of the farm experts and also increase the number of farms by locating them after a soil survey so that the soils of these experimental farms are closely representative of the soil in the neighbourhood? By this arrangement the cultivators themselves will have opportunities of acquiring the technique of scientific agriculture, of seeing for himself the wonderful results of improved cultivation. During the course of training they may also be given some ideas of agricultural marketing. He may also be given a knowledge of the selection of right kind of seeds which will be suitable reasonable period of time sufficient to master the technique of scientific agriculture including ideas of rotation of crops in an experimental farm where the soil condition is similar to that of his own. The cumulative great way in achieving solid progress. For this a five- the scheme. year plan somewhat on these lines is (tentatively) suggested:-

In Bengal there are 28 districts having a total of about 100 subdivisions. Each subdivision has on an average 50 large villages where a post office is situated. If another 50 villages are included in each subdivision, practically all the important villages will be reckoned with. Start an experimental farm in each of these subdivisions after a soil survey. Let stipends be given to 20 cultivating owners one from each village, for one full year for work in each of these experimental farms and learn all the techniques of agricultural production, such as raising of better seeds, rotation of crops, raising of more crop in a land, manuring, etc. The stapend should be large enough

(i) to maintain himself in the farm free of all cost: (ii) to compensate the loss which he has to suffer

for leaving his cultivation;

(iii) to meet with the cost of his travelling. At the and of one year 20 villages in each subdivision will have an expert cultivator who will be an active agent for dissemination of the latest scientific knowledge to his fellow cultivators, who again by their success will stimulate others to adopt these latest methods by abandoning the traditional ones. In the 2nd year another batch of 20 cultivators from new villages will have to be recruited and in this way in course of five years every important village in Bengal will have one expert cultivator sufficiently trained to be the guide and preceptor of others not by verbal lessons but by practical demonstration of the possibilities of improvement by scientific agriculture, cattle, the method of harvesting, processing and storing.

follows: Capital cost on subdivisional experimental farma-

50,000

(1) Land (100 acres @ 500/-) (2) Building

(3) Equipment

řί,

40,000 10,000

100,000

Total on 100 subdivisions=100×100,000=1 grore. Researcher cost on maintenance of farme-

(1) One Asst. Supdt. in charge of		
the farm (average salary)	•	150 = 1800
(2) One skilled assistant	8	60 = 720
(3) Two servants	•	50 = 600
(4) Contingency	•	23 = 278
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		9 904

Total on 100 subdivisions=100×3.400=3.4 laca Recurring cost for the stipend of the 20 cultivators in each farm-

Cost of fooding, etc., in the farm mess @ 20 = 4,800 Cost of family allowance @40 = 9.600Cost of travelling expenses of the cultivators 10×20 = 20014.600

Total cost on 100 farms = $100 \times 14.600 = 14.6$ lacs. Total recurring expenses = 14.6 + 3.4 = 18 lacs.

Add supervision cost of 30 inspectors, one for each for his own lands for he will be made to work for a district at a salary of Rs. 250 (average) = 90,000 + T.A. 10,000 = 1 lac.

No provision need be made for the purchase of seeds or employment of hired labour (if required) and other expenses of the farm as those may be easily met effect of such a training will practically remove all be from the proceeds of the sale of farm products leaving defects including his natural conservatism and will go a a profit which can be capitalised for the expansion of

> If the committee really want to maintain a link between the technical experts and the cultivators, the scheme outlined above will be more effective than training a village guide and employing him permanently for guiding others. Having no interest in the land itself, in the first place he will never learn the technique mure than superficially and in the second place he will hardly be able to inspire any confidence in the mind of the cultivators in general and thirdly like the average ill paid service men will be far too lazy to be of any use to the cultivators.

It might be said, in criticism of the scheme here outlined that one year is too short a period for a farmer's training. But it must be noted that this scheme is suggested as only a part of a comprehensive agricultural planning which must, if it is to succeed, be also co-ordinated with India's Industrial planning. Agricuitural planning must include apart from higher scientific training and research, a detailed soil survey irrigation, cattle breeding and rearing, agricultural finance, marketing of crops, involving problems of transport, storage warehouses, regulated markets, standardising and grading, etc. But this scheme, as a part of planning, lays stress only on the method of dissemination of knowledge about improved seed, quality of soil needed, the suitability of soils for different crops, the method of preparing the soil and also the rotation of crops suitable to his land; the kind of manure with which the different soils and crops should be treated, the method of tending cattle, remedies of some common diseases of The incidence of the scheme may be worked out as Be it noted that a practical farmer of some experience is not entirely a novice in these matters. If carefully chosen, he will be found to possess already a fair degree of knowledge of the matters included in his course and ought to be able to finish his training in the course of a vear.

> Besides educating the cultivator in the use improved methods of farming, these subdivisional experimental farms would be expected to provide improved varieties of seed, loss of implements, bullocks, etc., and be of general help to agriculturists.

POST-WAR AIR TRANSPORTATION IN INDIA

By K. K. ROY, M.SC., ARRASS. (Lond.)

No one can doubt that the return of peace will bring that can be used most economically on these routes. But, of the war and will surely be the most dynamic instrument of peace. The technical strides that have been made under the stimulus of this life and death struggle will be reflected in commercial planes of to-morrow, carrying passengers and cargo to far-off places over land and water. All the nations are now planning for the expansion of their Civil Aviation, because the thoughtful citizens realise that not only for reasons of increased trade but for vital reasons of security, they must have commercial airlines. A "Mercantile Marine of the Air" is necessary to day for the same reasons as a "Merchant Marine" was needed in the past,

India lags in all forms of transportation-rail, road or water. There is not enough of railways, road system or water-ways to cater to the needs of a vast country like India If the country is to be industrialised even in a small but decent scale, we must discard the primitive cart, construct more and more road systems, build more railways and make a tremendous effort to modernise and enlarge the sea and river transportation system. Above all we must try to build the most modern transportation of all, the Airline.

India and China are the two backward countries of vast distances where the airplane will play a big role in the forward march of the two nations. The long and strenuous hours of journey that are required to-day to reach a remote place will be reduced to a few comfortable hours by airplane. In the near future, it will be possible to travel from one extreme point to another, the longest distance within India, in a maximum time of four hours, which would normally take days and days of hardship by the present available modes of transportation. The airplane will thus, by reducing the distances, bring the provinces closer socially, economically and culturally.

It is often argued that the Indian public is not I believe, in the course of a few years, say 7 or 8 years after the declaration of peace, air-travel can be brought within the reach of the middle-class public. There were many factors which contributed to the high rates of airtransportation in India. The costs of planes before the war were very high and hence the heavy initial outlay. The operating costs were high too, because of high prices of aviation gasoline and excessive salary rates of foreign technicians and pilots. The performance of planes was also not good enough in pre-war days to make air-transportation more economical.

To have an effective air-transport system, all the important places and industrial towns within India should be inter-connected by a network of feeder lines, running frequent non-stop flights from station to station. The big cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Rangoon, Ceylon, etc., will be served by trunk lines. Feeder lines will radiate in all directions from a few centres conveniently located all over India. All the airline companies should get together to build landing grounds and most up-to-date radio facilities at all places served by simplane. Meteorological stations should also be set up either by the Government or by the airline companies jointly.

a tremendous expansion in worldwide air-transportation. I believe, planes of the type of DC3, 21 seater for trusk The airplane has been the most dynamic instrument lines and 6-10 seater planes with a fairly high cruising speed for feeder lines will be most suitable. Smaller types of planes on feeder lines will reduce the possibilities of running trips with partial loads. The volume of traffic between important stations, say Calcutta and Bombay, will be large, so a 21 seater will be the most economical size. Immediately after the war, the U.S.A. will probably be using 50-60 passenger De-luxe, 275 miles per hour liners of the DC4 and "Constellation" type in their overseas and on the long distance inland routes. In the post-war period, say after 10 years of peace, fourengined, 624 ton, 100 passenger, 275 m.p.h. super-lines with a range of 3,000 to 3,500 miles and fourengined 35 ton, 275 mp.h. with moderate range will be used. A 25-30 ton, four-engined type will probably be used as a "Flying Freight Car." The "Age of Flight" will see super-superliners with sleeping berths, private dressing rooms, toilet facilities, of the room, cocktail-bar, ground to passenger telephone and television service and cooking facilities for long flights. But such grandiose plans and dreams will not be for us for a long time yet. The most effective and economical airplanes suitable to Indian conditions will be of the types mentioned above with higher cruising speeds and better overall performance that will definitely be available after the war.

To serve India efficiently, a fleet of about 150 planes, small and big, will be required. It will be to the advantage of Airline Companies to standardise their equipment so that the planes can be manufactured in England at a lower cost. The life of an airplane in service is about 15.000 hours, i.e., say 5 years. A life of 20,000 hours has been utilised by some companies by running their flights frequently according to rigid schedule. It is obvious that with the growth of airlines in India. there will be a constant demand for planes. As the field It is often argued that the Indian public is not of operations increases the demand will increase too. wealthy enough to take to expensive air-travel. But, Initially the Indian 'Airlines' will have, I am afraid, no other alternative but to place a standing order for planes and equipment in England or America, preferably in England as the costs will be lower. But, the wisest thing for the companies, in my opinion, would be to pool their resources to start an aircraft manufacturing concern of their own. It should be the object of this concern to design and build the 6-10 seater planes that will be needed for the feeder lines. larger planes will not be so many as to justify production in India and will no doubt have to be purchased from abroad. This manufacturing concern can also be utilised to supply the needs of the Indian Air Porce. This war has definitely proved that an airforce is an absolute necessity, the most important branch of the armed forces for the safety and protection of any country. The Robot planes in this war have shown the dangerous possibilities of the airplane. With further progress and development in the aeronautical science, one can visualise long range rocket-propelled pilotless planes and jetpropelled planes flying through the stratesphere with terrific velocity, and working havoc and distruction in distant parts of the world, in future wars. To protect our country against any such dangerous possibilities. a fairly good-sized and well-equipped airforce will have to be It would not be within the scope of this article to maintained at any costs, if the Government have the good discuss the technical points of the types of sirplanes of the people at heart. No nation can slypt's sensibly

depend on foreign supplies and equipment for the maintrim. The army of fighting men must always have an such a trip is Rs. 25-14 × 6 i.e., Rs. 154-14 (a minimum army of scientific men behind them. Just as the ordnance of six passengers per trip is assumed). Assuming an yearly factories are supplying the armed forces, the proposed service of 2,000 hrs, instead of 3,000 as mentioned before aircraft-factory will be in a position to supply the each plane will show an annual profit of Rs. 61 690. Here, Indian Airforce. The technical personnel required for we see a big margin which will enable a substantial organising airlines as well as designing and manufacturing planes are available now amongst Indians. Of course, high class foreign experts in the line and be hired at the initial stages. Should our domestic service, 150 planes will be required. These students feel that a big opportunity awaits them in the field of aeronautics, better and better brains will be Delhi. Allahabad and Madras, carrying passengers, mail forthcoming for training and can be very usefu'ly utilised in the industry. The vast number of our youths that are now being trained in the war industries will also be available to the industry.

The major items of operating costs of an airline are fuel. oil. pay of flying crews, accidental damage to flight famine and flood stricken areas. equipment, and insurance premiums. According to the statistics of American airlines these items contribute to bring it within the means of the middle class people, 28 per cent of the total costs. In India, due to the higher cost of aviation gasoline this expense will be about 10 per cent, even though the cost on flight crews be lower than American or British rates. Next to the above items will come ground operations expense, and flying equipment maintenance. The expense on flight crews, ground operators, service and maintenance crews, all with decent rates of pay according to our standard, will low enough to reduce the total operating costs. But the lowering the operations expenses substantially to enable major obstacle to cheaper air-travel will be removed. a reduction of passenger or cargo rates.

Let us now examine the rates at which an airline carried out, I believe, an average rate of 11 pice per sirline can not only operate profitably but also bring the fares on feeder lines within the reach of the public who normally uses second class railway facilities. The actual fares on feeder lines will be between first and second class railway fares. On trunk routes the fares will be slightly higher than the railway first class but yet no dearer, Consider for example, the trip from Calcutta to Bombay. The first class rail fare is Rs. 150. Add to it the costs of food, etc. The total expense will work out to be Ra 175 or so. A fare of Rs. 175 by air will be readily acceptable to the public because of the comforts and swiftness of air-travel. As regards feeder routes, let us examine a trip from Calcutta to Dacea. The air distance between the two stations is 150 miles. The fare at 11 pice per mile is Rs. 25-14. Even though this is slightly higher than the second class rail fare I am sure, the for regular maintenance of commercial planes will be service will be popular to the (railway) second class travelling public.

Let us assume that each trip of one hour covers a distance between periods of major overhaul. The cost for mich a trip for the type of plane considered. These factors will lower the maintenance and fuel costs. w'll be as follows:--

Fuel and oil

Rs. 72

May of flight crews, maintenance, depreciation and other operating costs

Total (per trip of one hour)

Ra. 124

The details of this analysis have not been shown tenance of its airforce and the armed forces in perfect here. At the rate of 11 pice per mile, the fare available for reduction in cost per mile after a few years of operations

> It has been mentioned before that for an efficient planes will operate from five centres, Calcutta, Bombay. and perishable cargo such as fruits and vegetables. Should needs arise, some of these planes can be utilised as ambulance to bring patients needing expert medical aid to places where such facilities are available, as is being done in Russia and also to send relief to

> In order to reduce further the cost of air-travel to the following steps should be taken:

1. Manufacture of aviation gasoline in India.

The minimum consumption of fuel by the 150 commercial planes will average twelve million gallors per year. This consumption alone, not considering the needs of the sirforce, will amply justify opening up a new industry. Gasoline being available in India and the neighbouring countries, it will be possible for any be far below that in America or Britain and can be kept Indian manufacturing concern to supply aviation gasoline at a cheaper rate than the imported stuff within costs of aviation gasoline will be a major obstacle in a few years. Thus by reducing the cost of fuel, the

2. Manufacture of aircraft in India,

The requirements of commercial airlines, not to can operate successfully. From personal investigations mention the Airforce, will be large enough to support a manufacturing factory. At the initial stage, it will not mile is a reasonable figure at present. At this rate an he possible to produce planes at lower costs than the imported ones, but in course of a few years it will be possible to reduce the costs of planes considerably. The existing Aluminium industry will be able to supply the materials required for the manufacture of aircrafts. It will probably be desirable to start manufacture with the help of designs from "Blue Prints" purchased from abroad but at the same time the Indian designers should work on the development of a beter and modern plane suitable to Indian conditions. As I have said before that aircraft designers are available to-day amongst Indians who will compare very favourably with the best of foreign experts, should they be given proper opportunities.

A second advantage, and a very important one too, to have a manufacturing concern is that spare par's obtainable locally at cheaper costs.

3. With the technical progress that has been made The type of planes proposed to be used on feeder under the stress of war, faster planes and better engines lines is a 6-10 seater, twin-engined each of 400 HP., that will be available during the post-war period will with a cruising speed of 220 miles per hour at 12 000 ft. enable planes to fly more hours and more mileave Better engines of 150 miles and includes one take-off and one landing, with lower fuel consumption will also be available.

4. All the Indian Airline Companies should jointly start a central school for the training of pilots and ropilots, redio operators, service and maintenance crews under able and experienced teachers. Such a school will have to incorporate all the modern equipments and facilities to impart the best of training within India. All produce and supply the best of flying and ground crews that will be needed by the industry for efficient operations.

Some mention should be made here of the safety record in air transportation. There is a strong fear m the mind of people that air-travel is very risky. It was. But, to-day, with the introduction of twicengined commercial planes, the highly developed radio navigational facilities, instrument landing facilities and with modern airports with sufficient margins of safety, the chances of accidents have been considerably reduced. One example will suffice to convince. In the period of four years before the war, in U.S.A. there were 12 fatal accidents in 430 million miles flown. Of these 12, at least 6 could have been avoided if radio facilities and other safety methods were as advanced then as it is to-day. Two cases which were due to pilot's error, could have been averted with a better espirit de corps between the pilot and co-pilot. Only in one case was there any structural failure involved.

It can be confidently asserted that, to-day with the high state of development of navigational and instrument flying facilities and their universal incorporation in modern airports with better and improved traffic control system, it is no more dangerous to travel by air than by car, rail or steamer.

The formulation of a sound national "Air Policy" will be the deciding factor in the promotion of the "Aviation Industry" in India. Today we hear a lot of talk shout "Freedom of the Air." What does "Freedom of the Air" mean? It means internationalisation of all air-space by inter-national consent. It would in practice precisely mean that commercial planes of any nation can fly with impunity over land and water, harbour and airport installations of other countries. So long, the principle of the "Sovereignty of the Air" has been practised. Under this principle, planes of foreign nations were denied the right of passage over a nation's territory and also the use of its airports. Deviations from this policy have been made in the past for economic gain or in consideration of reciprocal air-service by unilateral or bilateral agreements. The abandonment of this policy in favour of the "Freedom of the Air" policy will not be detrimental to our interests provided certain stipulations are made to help our own industry. Commercial planes of foreign nations, en route to other ports employment for thousands of our youths.

Indian airlines should be manned entirely by Indian beyond India, will be allowed to land on Indian soil personnel and it will be the object of this school to for overhaul and refuelling purposes only. They shall not be allowed to carry passengers or cargo originating in India, from one station to another within India, On routes from India to America, Great Britain, China, Russia or any other country, the passenger and cargo traffic originating from or bound for India should be shared on a fifty fifty basis, should there be any Indian concern operating to those places. The meteorological and radio facilities will also be available on a reciprocal basis. We must by all means at our command resist the formation of an "International Aviation Control Board." If such a board is formed, the attempts of the smaller and less industrialised nations to build their own Civil Aviation will be crushed by the powerful interests that will dominate such a hody. The planning and control of domestic air routes should be left in the hands of the nations concerned. The inter-national routes can be arranged by common consent on a reciprocal basis. An International Aviation Board can function only as a consultative body on safety measures, equipment, navigation, meteorology, rates, etc.

On our domestic field, the Government of India should not find a "chosen instrument" of their own. The Government should

(i) give equal privileges and facilities in matters of mail, airports, etc., to all Indian Airlines;

(ii) resist the Imperialistic tendencies of any company:

(iii) resist cut-throat competition but encourage healthy ones so that India can have an efficient airtransportation system:

(iv) acquire all the airports built by foreign nations in India, and properly maintain them; build more sirports with modern facilities all over India:

(v) set up a "Technical Board" for research and development of airports, traffic control, aeronautical equipments, and safety measures.

We are on the eve of a tremendous development of the aviation industry-both transport and manufacturing. This industry. I am confident, will flourish in our country. The airplane will give mankind greater benefits of travel and intercourse between peoples. Should this great future of the airplane be built on the solid foundation of safety and economy, air travel will no doubt become popular in India, and will also provide

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

By ROBINDRA MOHUN DATTA, M.Sc.

The Indian Science Congress held its Thirty-second Salvadoraceae by Miss Ganga, Kalyanpur and B. N. sittings at Nagpur in the first week of January, 1945. Of the numerous papers submitted and read, the following papers which were contributed and read by the women scientists of our country, are given below:-IN THE SECTION OF CHEMISTRY:

- 1. Condensation of Sulph-anilamide with Urea and some Dibasic Acids and other derivatives by P. C. Guan and Miss R. J. Irani, Bangalore.
- 2. Active principles of Skimmia Laureola, Hook by P. K. Bose and Miss A. Mookerjee, Calcutta.
- 3. Chemical examination of Datura fastuosa L by P. V. Nair and Miss P. Saradamma, Trivandrum. IN THE SECTION OF BOTANY:
 - 1. Esological and morphological observations on pling by Mrs. C. Bess, Calcutts,

Mulay, Karachi.

IN THE SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL

SCIENCE:

- 1. Certain tendencies in the rating of personality traits, by Shanta Devi and H. P. Maity, Calcutta. IN THE SECTION OF ZOOLOGY AND ENTOMOLOGY:
- 1. Corpus luteum in Chilo-scyllium griseum (Mull and Henle) by Miss M. Samuel, Madras.

IN THE SECTION OF MATHEMATICS AND STATISTICS :

- 1. Application of the "Generalised Distance" is. "D2-Statistic" on some varietal experiment of rice crop by Mrs. C. Bose, Calcutta.
- 2. Sampling error in the method of double sam-

they would not lag behind in competing with their enhance the prestige of our country.

If the women scientists of our country get sisters of the other parts of the globe. We appeal to the encouragement and proper facilities for researches from Government, the Universities and the rich of our the hands of the Goevenment and rich philanthropists country to unloose their purse strings for special in the form of special scholarships and fellowships endowments so that they can do valuable researches and

"THE GANDHIAN PLAN"

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

and to develop India, industrially and otherwise, in Non-violence, Sanctity of Labour and Human Values. such a way as to enable her to be ranked amongst the etc., for the people of their respective lands.

'economic values can no longer be divorced from human inferring a great deal. and cultural values of life, for man does not live by ness of the whole nation,' of "Democracy" as a system dynamic world. necessitating 'the least amount of state control and coercion' and "Livelihood" as the right of 'every citizen of a nation to earn his or her livelihood by just and Shriman Henryen bonourable means, is highly interesting. The Gandhian Price Ba 24.

WE have lately been presented with different "Plans" Plan advocates 'simplicity, decentralisation and cottage emanating from different groups dealing with the pro- industrialism' and as a corollary it desires 'to build an blem of raising the standard of living of the masses ideal economy on four corner-stones of Simplicity,

To the ordinary Indian it seems to be an ideal plan foremost powers of the world. The Bombay Plan (two and there are hundreds of thousands in other lands, inaltalments) and the Peoples Plan are complete so far great thinkers they, who completely agree with Mahatas the public are concerned. The Government of India maji's views on economic planning. But there is scop? Plan is still in the stage of planning. All of these plans for disagreement. We know that Mahatmaji is against are based on the modern conception of what science, industrialism because in his view "the evils (of capitalindustry and even agriculture carried on with the help ism) are inherent in industrialism and no amount of of the most up-to-date researches of science, mean in socialism can eradicate them." Mahatmaji, we know, the scale of civilization and each of them involves is not against all machinery, but his objection is directed thousands of crores of rupees for their execution. We to the 'craze for machinery' and 'its indiscriminate regret that the Planning Committee of the Indian Na-multiplication.' Today India cannot stand aloof from tional Congress could not finish its labours for reasons the rest of the world and willy-nilly has to gear up her that happen to be India's lot. And at such a time the resources, if not for anything else, to save herself from 'Gandhian Plan' by Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal is exploitation by powerful groups of foreigners. India lad welcome. It is more so because it tries to evolve a plan had her own industries the products of which reached the which has its foundation in ancient Indian traditions distant corners of the globe. But this was ruined by a and ancient Indian economy. The attempt of Shri well calculated plan supported by powerful arms, While Agarwal is highly commendable because it gives in a every other nation tries to go ahead with further indusnutshell the ideas of a man who is deemed to be of the trialisation, India cannot wait as a passive onlooker of greatest that the world has ever produced and who by the great march only to supply raw materials and cheap his mode of living has conclusively proved that people, labour and to be content with village industrialism just drunk with civilization, may, with much benefit, do to be flooded with imported articles. We have been told away with many articles that go to form part that "Gandhiji wants India to plan her national economy of their being and still live in contentment. To in terms of peace and self-sufficiency without entertain-people who have had the good fortune of going ing any ambitions of world market for her manuthrough the pages of Young India and Mahatma-factures." So far as it concerns India, under Mahatma, 's it's other writings, the 'Plan' of Shri Agarwal will be plan, it is understandable. But the point that raises its something like re-told tales, but for that simple reas in ugly head is that other nations won't respect our it has not lost its novelty of marshalling facts in a very feelings and will go on with their object more merily attractive and presentable manner. In a short volume than hitherto. I am not without support from Gandhiji we get Candhiji's views on machine, industry, distination when he advises people not to neglect development of button of wealth, exploitation and many other things basic industries. The industries mentioned in the list related to future economic planning of India. For lay (p. 79) require huge capital, great organisation with men a very lucid analysis of the Fascist and Soviet ample resources and the proper development of each Plans, the 'New Deal' of America and England's 'plan- of these industries will act as tonic to their promoters less economy and the Beveridge Plan of the United in expanding their activities further. The whole country Kingdom, is extremely helpful for understanding the will be as a result, led to industrialization with all its modern trend of planning for a high standard of living baneful effects. It may be that to Mahatmaji and men which includes food, health, education, comforts, liesure, of his way of thinking "the . . . trend of world economic thought is towards decentralisation and 'cottage com-One feels inclined to agree with Shri Agarwal that munism," but to say that it is the 'general trend' is

We all agree that "India must evolve a Plan of bread alone' and to be convinced by what he, on behalf economic organisation which shall be congenial to her of Mahatmaji, places before us in support of his case, genius and culture" but Gandhiji does not preclude all He has also discussed, in the short compass of the book considerations of change, a practical man that he is, the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and when he says that the old plans "should be revived and the author's interpretation of "Nationalism" as schemes revivified, of course with necessary changes to suit based on the indigenous culture and civilisation of the modern conditions." And this partly means, we should nation' which should 'promote the welfare and happi- adjust ourselves to the changed world conditions of a

^{*} The Condition Plan of Economic Development



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Europa, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

bay. Pp. 148.

The author, obviously a pucca nationalist, gives an account of the technique evolved by the communalminded section of our Mussalman brethren of gradually extending its demand for a larger amount of political power culminating in the demand for Pakistan. While conceding that the Muslim League is justified in having as its objectives, the protection and promotion of the legitimate interests of the community it claims to represent, he deprecates the preference it has shown for political hatred as its principal weapon. He also maintains that the responsibility for the spread of Hindu-Muslim disunity and hatred lies with the leadership of the Muslim League.

· Extensive quotations from the speeches of Mr. Jinnah and from the resolutions of the Muslim League are used to prove the viewpoint put forward. The position of the Congress is explained and sought to be justified and the hope expressed that "as education spreads wider and deeper and the middle class intelligentsia in the community grows in number and influence, the Muslims will refuse to be misled and will assert themselves." Contending that a very considerable proportion of members of the leftist parties in India are drawn from the best type of Muslim intellectuals as also that the Congress is "going left at a very fast pace," the author concludes that there is no reason to despair for the future of Indian nationalism for, with the disappearance of British imperialism which he regards as the main prop of communalism, communal organisations, whether Hindu or Muslim, will lose whatever appeal they have at present either for the classes or the masses.

In the last section except one of his book the author gives a tentative scheme of federation which he thinks should satisfy both the Congress and the Muslim League and that "without compromising the essence of their respective demands" still another proof, if proof is needed, of his genuine desire to see a rapproachment between these two political organisations.

Written in an attractive and brilliant style and with conclusions based on documentary evidence, there is present throughout the book an undercurrent of passionate love of our motherland. Even the most careless of readers must be impressed by the deep pain felt and expressed by the author at the disintegrating influence of communalism and how he would willingly pay almost any price to bring back harmony once he is convinced that it would mean the end of all differ-indeed, and although the prospects of lasting peace ences instead of becoming the starting point for a fresh would seem to rest on the achievement of this unity

work though it is probable that it would have appealed THE HOUSE THAT JINNAH BUILT: By B. G. more to members of the Muslim League if Mr. Jinnah Kaushik, Published by Padma Publications. Ltd., Bom- and his activities had been described in less outspoken language.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

SELECTIONS FROM SWAMI VIVEKANANDA: Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Publication Department at 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta, 1944. Price Rs. 6.

These selections from Swami Vivekananda's speeches and writings have an abiding place in the history of our thought, as Swamiji occupied an important, a most important place when he lived, and even now the inspired message he has left for us is full of vigour and significance. We cannot read his lines on the 4th of July, the day of American Independence, the day which was to be made memorable to all his readers by the event of his death-written in 1898-without being vividly reminded of their appositeness today, and joicing in the prayer-

Move on, O Lord, in thy resistless path! Till thy high noon o'erspreads the world. Till every land reflects thy light, Till men and women, with uplifted hand, Behold their shackles broken, and

Know, in springing joy, their life renewed ! The bright future of India of which Swamiji had a vision—is still hidden from us. The conversations, the letters, the poems and the speeches strike responsive chords deep into the soul, and set the reader thinking. These selections have not dated and they will be prized by the reader of today, and they will offer him consolation in his distress and inspire him to soar higher and higher. The printing and the general get-up leave nothing to be desired, specially in these days of control on all fronts.

P. R. Smr

WHAT PRICE NEW ORDER?: By N. J. Namporia. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 218. Price Re. 4-4.

At a time when the air is thick with an amazing variety of speculations regarding the future world order. the vision of a socialistic reconstruction of our chaons and sorry world should but evoke little enthusiasm. This vision has already been blurred by the growing insistence on the imposition of a retributive peace on the vanquished and the emergence of what might be paradoxically taxmed National Bolshevism in Stalinist, Russia. The vision of Socialist unity has receded far esties of demands. It is altogether a most impressive and working class ediclarity throughout the secial the

rivairies and jealousies which lead mevitably to war. The heart of the snow-ciad rimalayas. In the book, under author appeals to British labour to accept the leader- review, the Swami speaks about a subject for the study ship in achieving international socialist unity and and practice of which he has dedicated his life. The six pleads for a re-orientation of the socialist's attitude interesting chapters into which this nice little book is towards Soviet Russia. He argues that the fear of a Stalinist dictatorship being imposed upon post-war Europe is unreal, and that the Soviet Union should 'shed her aphinxy reserve, abandon her attitude of suspigious independence and realise that national renovation within one's own border scenainst as never thoroughly possible in a hostile capitalist world: . . . that national planning is incompatible with world chaos." I hope this appeal will not go unheed d. The author has put forward a convincing plan for world reconstruction on the basis of a socialist revolution, and it remains to be seen whether, as anticipated by the author, the foreign policy of Stalinist Russia is so transformed in post-war years as to facilitate its early achievement.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIR

WAR AND IMMORALITY. Lal Roy, M.A Published by Kitab-Mahal, Allahabid. Pages 165. Price Rs. 4-8.

While this global war is still going on and the United Nations are preparing for post-war reconstruction those who are much affected by war conditions. The last and strengthens him in every way. Great War (1914-18) taught us many lessons which we can remember with profit and utilise its experiences to the best advantage at the present hour. Although war brings out many hidden qualities and merits of mankind, its evil effects on human morals should not be lost sight of. Nobody now accepts that war is a biological necessity Evil effects of war on human morals,-individual, social and national, are tremendous and no amount of State control can stop these. Some writers even go so far as to tag war, wine and women together. Whether one agrees with such extreme views or not, it must be admitted that war conditions give a good-bve to ordinary things in life and bring about such changes which ordinarily we shall look down upon as degrad ng and immoral, Success in the war becomes the only motive of the belligerents and open prostitution is allowed to thrive or rather encouraged as a means to final victory by keeping up the morale of the soldiers Civilian morality deteriorates and even children suc-cumb to the evil effects which polute national and international atmosphere So, every attempt should be made to make war a thing of the past by all civilised nations, and as a matter of fact one of the war aims of the United Nations as to fight out the present war to a finish so as to end war altogether for the future

The author in 14 chapters has described the evil effects of war from various points of view quoting profusely from military and medical authorities of the last Great War and also from prominent authors of Continental Europe. The book reads like a novel and is certainly a welcome addition to the present day war literature. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent. A. B. DUTTA

COMMON SENSE ABOUT YOGA: By Swami Paritrananda. Published by Advaila Ashrama, Mayavaz, Almora, Himalayaz. Pp. 107. Price Be. 1.

The author, a learned monk of the Ramakrishna Order, is his President of Advaits Ashrama, that heauti- survey of the landmarks in the history of Talugu

stage is being set for the revival of old national ful hermitage founded by Swami Vivekanands in the divided are, as he acknowledges in the preface, "the outcome of a form of thinking aloud on the subject of voga." The Swami discusses herein yoga in a very simple and rational way and debunks some of the nonsease that are current about it. He rightly contends that yoga is not mys.ery-mungering as is generally believed. He takes one after another the four principal schools of yoga-Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Rajayoga, Jnanayoga and clarifies the talse notions that are said and beheved on this science. He rightly warns the aspirants to beware of pseudo-yoga that strides in the religious world and quotes Aldous Huxley who says: "Orthodox Christianity has always tended to overvalue supernormal occurrences, to identify the unusual with the divine, to confound the mere psychic with the spiritual . They are concerned less with the Kingdom of Heaven within than with external signs', less with knowledge of eternity than with power in space-time. Their religion, in a word, is not mystical but a kind of occuit-By Sudhindra ism. This is the case not only with Christianity but with all religions and particularly with yoga. Whatever therefore is misty and mysterious in yoga should be carefully discarded as it has a very weakening and enervating effect on the aspirants. True yoga is a spiritual science and has nothing to do with occultism. all round, a book of this nature is of special interest to It eliminates the weaknesses of one who practises yoga

DWAMI JAGADIST ARANAND.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE MEDIEVAL BENGALI EPICS By Asutosh Bhattzcharga, M.A., Lecturer in the Department of Bengali, University of Dacca, Calcutta Book House, 1/1, Colege Sautre, Calcutta. Royal 8vo, pp. 1-60 Price Re. 1-8.

The book deals with the character and purport of the mangalakavyas which alone in the wide field of medieval Bengali literature fulfil, as the learned author thinks, the requirements of true epics. The mangalakavyas occupy a very important place in the history of Bengah literature And an account of them will be highly welcome to all lovers of literature. To make it intelligible and interesting to readers outside Bengal, a detailed description of the important works should precede a treatment of their characteristic features. But unfortunately the present work seems to ignore this aspect of the matter. As a result, though the Bengali reader may have no difficulty in following the book, a little elaboration here and a little explanatory note there would have been highly helpful to one not familiar with Bengal, As regards the origin and primit,ve nature of the desties glorified in these works there is room for legitimate controversy. There is also scope for enough surmise about the religious and social condition represented in them. But there can be no two opinious about the present position of the deities and so one fails to understand what led the learned author to conclude that they are not worshipped by high class Hindus of the present day (p. 23).

CHINTAHARAN CHARRAVARTI

A HAND BOOK OF TELUGU LITERATURE: By K. Sitaramarya, M.A., Nizam College, Hyderavad (Dn.). Published by Hyderabad Telugu Academy. Pp. 161, Price Rs. 1-8.

The book under review gives in a nutshell a brief

Literature. It may be said that Telugu literature is mainly Sanskritic though of Dravidian origin. The period of Krishnadevarays marks the golden age. Even though the literature has suffered a good deal since then it is encouraging to find that some of the present-day tendencies point towards a bright future.

This handbook in English serves its purpose admirably well and is eminently suited to people of other to make it a remarkable treatise. K. V. SUBBA RAO provinces.

SANSKRIT

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA, VOL. I: Compiled by Raghavan Nambiyar Siromani, Nyaya-bhushana, Catalogue Assistant, Oriental Institute, tal Institute, Baroda, Price Rs. 9.

This contains short notices (consisting of titles, names of authors, indication of the extent and occasionally of the script, material and age-all arranged in a tabular form) of more than 6,000 Sanskrit manuscripts,-i.e., about half the collection of the Institute. Broadly speaking the manuscripts fall under four subjects-Veda, Dharmasastra, Darsana and Vyakarana, In the list they are arranged under 13 sections, some of which like Vedalaksana would appear to be rather unusual while a few like Dharma and Smriti a bit confusing In his brief introduction Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the learned General Editor, has drawn attention to the absence of any standard, uniform system of classification. so that different types of classification are met with in different catalogues He has therefore emphasised the need of what may be regarded as the National Scheme of Classification of MSS. This should be one of the functions of the central organisation for the study of MSS. as suggested elsewhere (Modern Review, Oct. 1941, p. 404) by the undersigned several years back,

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

KRISHI-PRABANDHA: By Baneswar Sinha.
Published by Lakshmiswar Sinha, 13, Lansdowne Terrace, Po. Rashbehari Avenue, Caloutta. Pp. 16 + 275.

bound Rs. 5-8.

This valuable treatise on agriculture is the result of the author's painstaking study and research as well as his practical experience spreading over half a century. Bengal with her neighbouring districts is universally known as a very fertile country. Here in different seasons different sorts of crops grow. The author has given an account of most of them in this book in as many as fifteen chapters. While giving in detail accounts of crops needed for daily consumption he has not negor crops needed for daily consumption he has not neg-lected the aesthetic side, and has devoted a separate chapter to the culture of flowers. He has given another chapter on the cultivation of wood, which is very useful for domestic purposes. The book will be of great use to those who will take up agriculture as a means of livelibood. If the contents of the book can be conveyed to our peasants, most of whom are innocent of general education, they will derive much benefit from it. In these days of "Grow More Food Campaign," the book should be highly appreciated by the Government. Printing is neat. JOGESH C. BAGAL

BANGLA SAHITYER EK DIK (One Aspect of Bengali Literature): By Sen Bhusan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Sri Guru Library, 204, Commillie Street, Calcutta, Price Rs. 8-5.

In this book the learned author has made a survey of the Resey Literature in Bengali. Though a pioneer

work on the subject it is free from any sign of immaturity. The author has tried first to define what an 'essay' is and then traced its course of development in Bengali literature from the earliest attempts down to the works of Pramatha Chaudhuri and Abanindra Nath Tagore. The cautious eye of an historian and the aesthetic outlook of a literary critic have combined here

D. N. MOOKERJEA

STIME

AKASH KI KATHA: By Girdharilal Sharma 'Garg'. Pustaka Bhandar, Patna. Pp. 146.

This is a story of the heavens, written expressiv Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XCVII. Orien- for children. The writer's treatment of this rather abstruse scientific theme is both facile as well as facetious. The book is adequately illustrated. The study of the solar system, together with that of the phenomena associated with it and of the relative apparatus, has been presented with the sustained interest of a romantic story. Akash Ki Katha would be a valuable addition to every school library. The publishers are, indeed, to be congratulated on placing such a finely got-up publication in the hands of the little folks.

DUNIYA KI SHASAN-PRNALIYAN (2 Vols): By Ram Chandra Varma. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, Pp. 187 + 219. Price Re. 1-8.

This cheap handy book is a free translation of the Political System of the World—portion of G. D. H. Cole's famous work, "Modern Politics." The translation is quite good and particular care has been taken to make it up-to-date in view of the post-war contin-gencies. We commend this book to the Hindi readers. M. B. SENGAR

TELUCU

PRAJA YUDDHAM: Adapted by P. Ramakotayya. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Perambur, Madras. Pp. 56. Price six annas.

Needless to say that Russia's heroic stand in the i Avenue, Calcutta. Demy Octavo. present war won the admiration of the world. For those Price paper bound Rs. 3-8 and cloth who want an inside story this translation is indispensable.

> SOVIET RUSSYALO: By K. Subbaramayya, Published by the Cultural Book Club, Perambur, Madrus. Pp. 77, Price eight annas.

> With the help of available statistics the writer has given a comprehensive account of some of the vital aspects of Soviet Russia. Chapters on Education, Foreign Policy and Unemployment are highly instruc-

Students of politics will find it useful and educative. K. V. Sussa Rao

GUJARATI

DAYARAM RAS SUDHA: By Shankarprasad Chhaganlai Raval. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Princess Street, Bombay. Card Board, Illustrated. Pp. 64 + 189. Price Rs. 5, (1948).

Dayaram, one of the greatest poets of old Gujarat, has written many works on the lines of Krishna and the Gopis, on the Vaishnava philosophy, and cognate subjects. He is most popular in Gujarat, specially with women, for his Garbis (Lyries). They all find a place in "this compilation of Dayaram"s poems, divided into several sections. It is preceded by an Introduction from the pen of his. Rawal, in which he has summarised the value of Dayaram's postic work. ably and well.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



De Valera: Eire's Man of Destiny

What is the secret of de Valera's hold on his conutrymen, which so often baffles the stranger and even puzzles many of his contemporaries in Ireland? R. M. Fox writes in The Aryan Path:

De Valera shares with Gandhi an air of calm selfconfidence, a simplicity of manner, a single-mindedness of purpose, that is undeflected by good or ill fortune.

No one since Parnell has evoked such a degree of loyalty and affection. Like Parnell he is by no means a consistently great orator. His speeches can be dull. But he always conveys the impression of passionate sincerity. Often he seems to be examining his conscience in public. He subjects everything to a moral as well as an intellectual test and does not rely on mare eleverness alone. In a country where eloquent spell-binders are three a penny, the tone of aloof authority and moral purpose will dominate.

and moral purpose will dominate.

To hear this tall, black-coated, spectacled exprofessor of mathematics talk of the national tradition is to get him in his right setting. For all his militant past he makes a conservative approach. Yet Eire is so undeveloped politically and economically that he is compelled to act as an innovator and a pioneer. Ho strives to bring about the inevitable changes in a way which will least disturb the detached mood of rural Ireland, always suspicious of the new and the strenge.

which will least disturb the detached mood of rural Ireland, always suspicious of the new and the strange. De Valera joined the Irish Volunteers before the Easter Rising of 1916 and soon became a captain in that force. He commanded a rebel poet at Bolands' Mill. One of his students described him at that time as "considerably over six feet in height, a very serious-looking young man in his early thirties, with a long nose and spectacles and a strangely foreign complexion."

As Republican Commandant of Bolands' Mill he escaped execution after the surrender only because of his American birth and he received a life sentence instead. When he came out—the following year, on a general amnesty—he was on the rising Republican wave. Nominated for Clare, he was elected as a standard-bearer for the Sinn Fein movement and was soon recognised as its natural leader.

In America, where de Valera went after escaping from Lincoln Gaol—a key had been smuggled in to him concealed in a cake—he had wordy tussies with the old Fenian leader, John Devoy and his equally powerful ally, Judge Cohalan of the New York Supreme Court.

Fenian leader, John Devoy and his equally powerful ally, Judge Cohalan of the New York Supreme Court.

This conflict culminated in a stormy meeting at the Park Avenue Hotel in New York, called by the Devoy-Cohalan faction to down de Valera. The Irish leader had been announced to speak in another city hundreds of miles away. But he heard of this meeting and was unexpectedly present. He so turned the fide that his enemies apologized abjectly.

Back in Ireland at the time of the London Treaty

Back in Ireland at the time of the London Treaty of 1921—out of which came Eire's independence—de Valera had sharp divisions with close colleagues. While de Valera concentrated on exact, literal and dialectical utterances the country drifted into civil war. His side was defeated and broken in the civil war and he himself was imprisoned for eleven months, being arrised by the failitiary on an election platform in Ennis, Country Clara, where he was standing as Republican candidate.

His steadifastness bore fruit when, in 1932, he led the side that had been defeated in battle to political victory; and he has held power in Eire ever since.

What India May Learn From Russia

Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh writes in The Indian Review:

The example of Russia should give us confidence in our ability to do likewise in India; in fact it was not lost upon the Indian leaders. The Indian National Congress set up a Planning Committee in 1938 which secured the enthusiastic co-operation of some 300 experts and collected a large amount of material and information relevant for planning. But unfortunately the Committee became defunct when the Congress Ministries resigned office. Two members of the Committee however in association with six industrial and business magnates of wide experience issued six months ago a rough outline of a 15 years' plan for the economic development of the country.

The real and basic need of India is not so much to reconstruct as to construct. The average pre-war per capita income is Rs. 65 and even if the well-to-do class disappeared from the land, the average income would not have exceeded Rs. 70, "Here therefore," as Mr. J. R. D. Tata recently said, "we have to create enough wealth to go round before we can ensure that every one gets a fair share of it. To-day that share for most of our long-suffering people is a share of poverty and

The National Planning Committee aimed at securing for our people certain bare requirements as human beings. This includes a balanced diet, which will provide 2800 calories per day and also the protective foods like milk, vegetables, etc., clothing at 30 yards per person per year, housing of 100 square feet per person, sanitary and public health measures at Rs. 5 per head and educational expenses at 2½ rupees per head per year which will liquidate illiteracy in 15 years. The minimum per capita income which will be necessary for this purpose will be Rs. 80 at pre-war prices. If to that, we add Rs. 20 as savings, Rs. 10 as cost of amenities, and Rs. 20 as miscellaneous expenses such as social ceremonies, travels, taxation, defence charges, etc., the least

AT ALL TIMES BANK OF COMMERCE IS A GOOD PLACE FOR SAVINGS

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per cent. per year, the national income will have to be trebled in 15 years, in order that per capita income may be doubled during that period. The authors believe that this can be done by well-planned investment of 1400 erores in the first five years, 2900 crores of rupees in the next five years, and 5,700 crores in the third period of five years—the grand total for the whole period being 10,000 crores of rupees.

This three-fold increase in the total national income will be realised according to Bombay Planning by increasing the income from Industries by 500 per cent., the income from agriculture by 130 per cent., and from

services by 200 per cent.

It is intended to find 4,000 crores for saving, 3,500 crores by creating paper currency, and balance of Rs. 2,500 crores from existing and potential capital resources. The proposal to inflate currency by 3,500 crores, cirates a good deal of uneasiness. It would be wiser to be more modest about the provisions of housing accommodation and bring down expenditure under that head from 2,200 crores to 1,200 crores; it would be also wise to demand an annual saving of 10 per cent as against the contemplated rate of 6 per cent, which would bring into the hands of the Planning Authority another Rs. in The Indian Review: 2.500 crores.

Amphibious Warfare

The New Review observes:

 The repeated successes of the Allies in the Philippines culminating in the invasion of Luzon are ultimately due to the Allied truer intuition of a global war. The Nazi High Command visualised the war as mainly a land war; they fancied they could reduce Britain without invitation and the could reduce Britain without invitation. without invading her, and subsequently they were not given the opportunity to build up an invasion technique and an invading force. Japan herself, though an island, took her strategy from Berlin and overdeveloped her land power. Both were hypnotized by the fact that the last step to victory will necessarily be a land battle as long as men choose to live on terra firma; but they failed to see that a country situated across the sea cannot be beaten unless it is first invaded and that, if its coasts are defended, it cannot be successfully invaded except in the process of a battle. It is a battle of a special type, half on sea and half on land : the amphibious battle. All this looks obvious enough, but occasionally the obvious is overlooked by intelligent people On the other hand, conditions, geographical and military, forced British and American strategists to contemplate and prepare amphibious warfare.

This is a tactical development of the present war. In the last war and in the early months of the present one (British landings in France during 1939 and 1940, Japanese landings in China, Malaya, Dutch East Indies), troops were taken across the sea as Spartan tourists, and supplies were carried as ordinary cargo; once landed, they were sorted out, convoyed to a base where they could be made ready for the front. The Normandy landing which had been prepared in commando rehear-sals, and in the North Africa, Sicily and Italy operations, was an innovation in tactics which was still improved upon in Leyte and in Luzon.

Amphibious warfare implies beginning the land battle at sea, and its fundamental problem is to deploy in marching order close to the enemy sea-cosst, to keep to battle-order when disembarking, and to articulate the supply land-base with the sea supply lines.

The problem was solved on the Allied side thanks

to inventious suggested by the difficulties which were

per capits income that we should aim at is Rs. 130. expected. Our engineers built special landing craft Hence if the population were to remain stationary, we which permitted the passage to be made in tactical should aim at doubling the national income. If, how order (scouts, motorised groups, infantry, artillery), ever, the population increases as now at the rate of 1-2 Transhipment from transport to lighters or to the shore per cent. per year, the national income will have to be was the crux of the problem: vehicles for troops and was the crux of the problem: vehicles for troops and administrative personnel were waterproofed so that they could, on their own power, span the gap between the landing-craft and the shore; finally the great unovation to solder sea and land supply lines (it was especially necessary on the Normandy coast and is said to be a Churchillian intuition), transportable harbours were prefabricated. In the Philippines the quay-craft was of smaller size and the innovation was rather the smallesize motor-hoat to land infantry sonads. The small-size motor-boat to land infantry squads. The Allies have mastered the art of amphibious warfare. Their inventiveness will stand them in good stead in this war, but it has also revolutionised sea warfare, and seriously diminished the defence value of all navies.

The Communal Problem in India

Good sense will, sooner or later, dawn upon us and we shall realise that, so long as ill-will and animosity pollute the atmosphere, nationalism cannot flourish. Sir Mirza Ismail observes

The Hindu-Muslim problem is our shameful trouble today. Judging from my own long experience, I do not regard it as by any means an insoluble pro-blem, or one that need fill us with dismay, as, I conless, it is apt to do sometimes. Time and world-conditions are factors which will tell in the end and bring about a national and cultural fusion.

Let us not forget that the present times are vastly different from those of early British rule in India.



Conditions have changed all over the world and men's ideas, too, have undergone a vast change. Adjustments are as inevitable as the change of seasons, and we have to make them, if we are to survive in such a world. English education had to come. The English language, which is fast becoming a world language, was bound to become the principal medium of communication between the educated classes.

We must see to it that the youth of the country receive the right kind of education that will make them worthy citizens of India, and which will make them think not in terms of their own community or religion, but of the country as their common motherland. Common schools, common hostels, common political ideals, common enterprises will bring the various groups of

youth together.

I attach special importance to the association of members of different communities in common industrial enterprises. Nothing so surely brings people together and keeps them together as earning money together.

Religion need not be neglected, but it should not be allowed to dominate social and political life.

Nationalism should do that,

It is a curious fact—but nothing strange in a land of inconsistencies and perplexities that communalism and sectionalism should be rampant among the intelligentsia, the English educated classes, but not among the masses. It is the former who are trying to resurrect the dead past, and creating unnecessary trouble for

Hoshangabad Rock Paintings and Their Age

Rock paintings are found in a small hill near Adamgarh village about one and threefourths of a mile to the south of Hoshangabad

town in the Central Previnces. Manchar Lal Misra writes in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University :

The existence of red coloured paintings in the rock shelters near Hoshangabad was first recorded by Mitra (1920, 3, p. 187). Ghosh (1932, pp. 21-22) was the second worker who after a lapse of 12 years described these paintings in some details. In his opinion these rock paintings belong to the 9th or 10th century after Christ. In the year 1934, two years after the publication of Ghosh's work, D'Abreu, (1934, pp. 1-7) gave a detailed description of these paintings. He is of opinion that the paintings can be divided into two distinct sets-one set being separated by the other by thousands of years. According to him the first set, which consists of figures in monochromes or in outlines, belongs to the Palseolithic period, while the head-dresses and the other accountrements of the figures of the second set suggest that it is of more recent date ie., about the 9th or 10th century A.D. Major Gordon in his article on 'Rock Paintings from Mahadeo hills,' published in 1936 made a casual reference to these paintings. But in his more recent articles published in 1939-40 he has made baseless accusations against some of the previous workers who have assigned an earlier date to such paintings and with whom, naturally, his views have not concurred. He assumes that it is their patriotic desire which has led them to assign an earlier date just to be "able to boast themselves and others. The drum-beaters of the moment of paintings ranking in antiquity with the Palæolithic are only to be found in their ranks. a desire "must not mar their work by theories which are the outcome of subjective predilection." It is indeed wrong to advance theories which are the outcome of subjective predilection but it is equally wrong to attempt to mar the work of others without advancing real scientific arguments, Under these circumstances, one is inclined to think that the above remarks made by

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Gerdon reflect his own mind as probably he finds himself in a position in which he is obliged to defend views which will deny the antiquity to a country. One of the two persons who have assigned an earlier date for these paintings under question is D'Abreu who is a European and who cannot be accused of basing his conclusions on 'Subjective Predilection' and 'Patriotic Desire' in the terms of Mr. Gordon.

The hill is composed of entirely ferruginous sand-stone of the Upper Vindhyan age and probably belongs to the Bhander series.

The drawings are found all over the cliff forming surfaces of the hill and abound in the figures of mea, women, horses, elephants, bisons, stags, fishes, monkeys, fighting and hunting scenes and warriors in costumes. All these are drawn on different surfaces some of which present, really well preserved panels. Most of these figures are done in red colours but at places they are done in white also. Besides these red coloured paintings, these rock shelters have also yielded some palgeolithic stone implements (1932, p. 22). The presence of these stone implements is enough proof of these rock shelters having been inhabited by human beings during the Palæolithic days. Amongst the drawings there are figures—especially those of bisons which bear a very close resemblance to those drawn at Cogul in Spain and figured by Sollas (1924, p. 405) and which have been proved to be of the Upper Palæolithic age. The fact that there is at least one set of paintings which is of the Palæolithic age is supported not only by the resemblance of these figures with those at Cogul but also due to the fact of their being "boldly drawn in thok out-Jines or in monochromes" and also that these figures underlie the figures which have been drawn afterwards and which are definitely of later date. Amongst these

paintings there are also some stangered and depressed agures of certain saintals. These figures form a separate set by themselves, and have no connection with those figures mentioned above. The stongated and depressed nature of the paintings of the animals is chiracteristic of some of the South Radian Neolithic paintings (1920, 3, p. 191). Thus judging from this characteristic feature twill not be too much to relegate such elongated and depressed figures, found depicted in the Hoshangabad rock paintings, to the Neolithic times. Then there are some figures of men and horses which have got head-dresses, weapons and riding equipments. Some of the men have sword-like weapons and the horses have gorgeous riding equipments. All these show the stage of advancement of knowledge of these men during the time these were drawn. These leave no doubt in assigning a more recent date to these paintings, i.e., the 9th or 10th century after Christ. This classification into differences in the style of drawings, differences in the differences in the style of drawings, differences in the colours used, the varying nature of weapons, the head gears of men, the superposition of one set over the other and lastly the presence of paleoliths in these rock shelters were resorted to by men at different periods, ranging from the Upper Paleolithic to about 10th century after Christ—and more probably at three different periods, the Upper Paleolithic, the Neolithic and the Historic. Therefore, the observatious of the present author, except with a slight modification by the introduction of the Neolithic period, are in complete agreement with those of D'Abreu. Ghosh, without stating any reason, has assigned 9th or 10th century as the date for these entire :-::::::::ge D'Abreu.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



India in 1944

In a yearly survey of different countries of the world in the International Review of Missions, the Editor observes under the heading of India:

Yet another year has passed without the discovery of any fundamental solution of the political deadlock. Not the least serious consequence is that the long continuance of the stalemate produces political weariness and blunts the sharp edge of concern which has hither been manifest in both countries. Perhaps a straw in the wind may be seen in a recently formed Madras Provincial Students Union Society, the first aim of which is to discourage students from entering politics. A well-informed observer records this as 'significant of the disillusionment that has come to much youthful zeal since 1942.' If political apathy and despair are to settle upon a large part of Indian life in so critical a year as

1945 the outlook is indeed grave.

There have been flickerings of hope during the year just closed. Lord Wavell has won much personal respect. His prompt handling of the worst features of the famine situation, the wisdom of his long-term economic and industrial policy and the general tone of his public utterances all justifiably win favour. Mr. Gandhi's release, though on medical, not political, grounds, made possible a renewal of contacts which gave rise to fresh hope. Spokesmen of the British government have continued to reiterate the fact that Britain is irrevocably committed to the terms of the Cripps declaration by which a self-governing India may, if she chooses, contract out of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and: Lord Wavel! has renewed the Government of India's wish that political progress might be achieved without waiting for the end of the war.

Tet these rays of light have only played upon the surface of a situation which is persistently stagnant. Neither word nor deed of truly creative quality has found expression. Important and encouraging as is the attention being given to economic and industrial questions by the Government of India, Provincial and State Governments, and through the Birla-Tata group, it is doubtful if the political problem can be thus by-passed and necessary reforms achieved while constitutional progress tarties. Mr. Gandhi's release has not so far fulfilled any of the hopes to which it gave risc. His conversations with Mr. Jinnah, though closed with some slight promise of resumption, have mainly disclosed the abyss which divides the Muslim League's interpretation of Pakigtan from any accommodating alternative. And upon ears wearied by fruitless controversy, British re-affirmations of the Cripps declaration fall without any convincing power.

The Agrarian Situation in India

Under the above caption, Prof. P. J. Thomas writes in the International Labour Review about the problems of the primary producer in India:

There is, perhaps, no class of workers, in the national economy of India or in the whole range of world economy, with a smaller share of the benefits resulting from modern world economic organisation than the "ryots", or cultivators, who are the primary

producers par excellence of India. The Indian rvot has supplied the country's needs in regard to food and raw materials and has also grown important primary products for other parts of the world. But while the trading classes of India and the trading nations of the world have grown wealthy on the exchange of commodities, he has failed to obtain a reasonable wage for his labour. The trader sometimes earns by a day's transactions in a commodity more than its producers can make after six months of hard toil in sun and rain. The middleman reaps what the ryot sows. Still the patient ryot, not knowing much of accounting, carries on. This is not merely a rhetorical statement. A noted statistician, the late Lord Stamp, expressed a simple truth when he wrote: "The world as a whole and over a given length of time has almost certainly been fed below cost price for the last hundred years, if one takes into account the proper elements of cost." While commerce and industry have steadily prospered, agriculturists and agricultural countries have remained poor. The Indian ryot is the prototype of this numerous class. Immersed in poverty and inextricably involved in debt and disease, he has been doing his work uncomplainingly, and even the verbal compliments sometimes heaped on him by the more benevolent of his patrons do not reach his ears, as he is unable to read and has no radio to listen to

The nemesis came in 1929. The prolonged world depression which began in that year was in no small measure due to the reduction of purchasing power in the densely populated Asiatic countries and the consequent unemployment in the economically highly devequent.

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loped countries of the West. Western Europe and North America could pile up goods by mass production, but it was necessary to find sufficiently large markets for the profitable disposal of those goods. The most populous countries of the world, China and India, which together account for half the world's population, lacked the purchasing power needed to acquire even ordinary consumption goods. This was the plight to which an unplanned economic system had led world economy. The result was prolonged unemployment and intense distress, from which even the wealther industrialised countries and areas, which in the name of economic internationalism had taken to narrow specialisation, could not be spared.

The ultimate consequences of this process have been even more detrimental in the case of India. The present emergency has revealed the insufficiency of the local production of foodstuffs for the country's needs. In the province of Bengal, normally a surplus area, the scarcity of foodstuffs has been so acute as to result in the actual starvation of a large number of persons. Wide stretches of fertile territory are indeed to the found in that province as in other parts of the country, but a peasant economy operating under the existing land system could not bear the strain of the needs and uncertainties of a total war. The war has served to drive home the lesson that no economic or political progress is possible unless the lot of the ryot is improved.

Church in India

In the section of Foreign Periodicals in *The Catholic World*, the above-named article is partly extracted from the writing of Thomas Pothacamury, Bishop of Bangalore in *Studies* (Dublin), September, 1944, from which we quote the following extract:

Missions, proselytism and propaganda are foreign to the conception of Mr. Gandhi and of the average Hindu. He cannot think in the terms of exclusiveness. To his way of thinking, if Christianity is true it does not follow that Hinduism is false. They are both aspects of truth. Absolute truth, in the sense that it excludes what is opposed to it, does not occur to his mind. "Religion is not a way of life or a creed, but an atmosphere that pervades and enfolds the diverse elements of existence," said one well-versed in Hindu modes of thinking and feeling. His own religion is not aggressive, not being a consciously missionary religion like Christianity. Change of religion, therefore, seems unnecessary and intolerant for him. He does not distinguish between Christianity and Western culture and identifies them in these days of strong nationalism. He reacts against the impact of the West and what he calls the religion of the white man, which he believes is inextricably bound up with the western type of civilization and European imperialism. Mr. Gandhi wrote in his weekly journal, the Harijan: "I regard all the great religions of the world as true, at any rate for people professing them, as mine is true for me."

Further, the very organisation of Hinduism presents a formidable obstacle to the spread of Christianity. In the course of long centuries, Hinduism has welded together religious practices and social customs. Caste and Hinduism are synonymous. Caste has stood the shock of centuries and, in spite of internal disruption and external aggression, it has more or less preserved its integrity and has a tremendous hold on the mindiof the masses and even the educated classes. If, whilst the mightiest empires known to history—the Babylonian the Egyptian, the Roman—have perished and completely isospeared, India has carefully preserved her anglest

civilization, it is because her social armature has successfully resisted all assaults from without. Even the Mohammedans, who dominated the country for five centuries, were unable to introduce a new way of life.

The very structure of Hinduism, both popular and philosophical, is a mighty citadel. It is the most perfectly systematised religion among the pagan religions. It has its theogony, its scriptures, its ritual, its mysticism, its monks and its saints. It has no official creed, approves all sects, accepts contradictory doctrines un one and the same subject and teaches the most puerile legends, unworthy of the Divine Being, Hinduism has no moral code and, as men are not generally led in their conduct by the principles of logic, it satisfies millions of souls, whose passions it in no way disturbs. There is another cause which leads the Hindu to

There is another cause which leads the Hindu to glorify his spiritual heritage and ancient culture. Pride in Hinduism has got into the patriotic convenences of modern Hindus. Their philosophy and institutions have been culogised by European scholars, who either abandoned Christianity or were agnestics. From Schopenhauer and Max Muller to Mr. H. G. Weils, comparisons have been made between Christianity and Hinduism—generally in favour of the latter. Anglican missionaries like the late C. F. Andrews and Dr. Verrier Elwin have opposed conversion work and have expressed their admiration for Hindu philosophy and teaching. The result is that the mental outlook of nationalist Hindus has been atrophied, and they do not believe in any genuine intellectual conversion to Christianity.

Despite hostility to conversion work, one of the most significant facts of modern India is the interest displayed by the educated Hindu in Christ. The interest has grown during the last three decades and has shown itself in much useful legislation for social reform. The Hindus read the New Testament, quote Christ and discuss Christian teachings and principles. Only recently,



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Christianity as a religion.

"Time Must Have a Stop"

The following extract is taken from the Book Reviews section of the East-West about the latest novel of Aldous Huxley bearing the title mentioned above:

Aldous Huxley's newest novel owes its title to an oracular pussage in Shakespeare

But thought's the slave of life, and life's time's fool, And time, that takes survey of all the world,

Must have a stop. Mr. Huxley illuminates these lines, as follows . "It is only by taking the fact of eternity into account that we can deliver thought from its slavery to life. And it is only by deliberately paying our attention and our primary allegiance to eternity that we can prevent time from turning our lives into a pointless or diabolic foolery. The divine Ground is a timeless reality Seak it first, and all the rest-everything from an adequate

is well-acquainted with parts of India's vast religious

following the release of Mr. Gandhi from prison, Mrs. literature. Comparing it with Western conceptions, he Labanya Prava Dutta, President of the Bengal Congress writes "The difference between metaphysics new and Committee, wrote to Mr. Gandhi as follows: "There is metaphysics in the past is the difference between wordnone in this world but your kind self to practise and spinning which makes no difference to anybody and a make the white and principles of thought approach." none in this world but your kind self to practise and spinning which makes no difference to anybody and a preach, with undatinted moral courage, the religion of system of thought associated with a transforming love and dinversal brotherhood for the spread of which the Lord Jesus Irved, was crucified by unbelievers and having reached that goal He is lost and religion with still prayed for those very persecutors, 'Oh, Father, Him.' That is Bradley's view, the modern view. forgive them, for they know not what they do'" The Sankara was as strenuously an Absolutat as Bradley—Secretary of Mr. Gandhi wrote in reply: "For himself but with what an enormous difference! For him, there he lives in the hope that He who has sent the Cross is not only discursive knowledge about the Absolute, will also give the strength to bear it." (The Hindu, June but the possibility (and the final necessity) of a direct 15, 1944). The Hindus are willing to confess that the intellectual intuition, leading the liberated spirit to ethical teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ is the highest identification with the object of its knowledge. 'Am ing embodiment of moral perfection and the best that they all means of liberation, Bhakti or devotion is supreme. know But when it comes to organised religion. It is a To seek earnestly to know one's real nature—this is said know But when it comes to organised religion, it is a To seek earnestly to know one's real nature—this is and different story. They will have nothing to do with to be devotion in other words, devotion can be defined as the search for the reality of one's own Atman,' and the Atman, of course, is the spiritual principle in us, which is identical with the Absolute The older metaphysicians did not lose religion, they found it in the highest and purest of all possible forms"

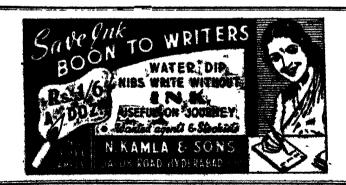
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interpretation of life to a release from compulsory selfdestruction—will be added "

Mr. Huxley, whose undenable gifts as a novelist serve to the undenable gifts as a novelist in two two-story barracks—USOWI.





The first convoy to China passes the ruins of a Buddha temple at Namkham, Burma



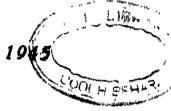
The first truck convoy over the Stilwell Road across the China border at Wanting on January 28, after three years of Japanese land blockade of China

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THE MODERN REVIEW

X D R I L





VOL. LXXVIL No. 4

WHOLE No. 460

NOTES

Sir Jeremy Raisman's Last Budget

Sir Jeremy Raisman, in his Budget speech at the Central Legislative Assembly, has made important disclosures regarding decisions taken by him in respect of financial questions of vital importance to India. During his tenure of office he has functioned as a true representative of Imperialist Britain in India. He has manipulated Indian currency and Indian finances for the benefit of Britain. As a Britisher, he always placed British interest above everything else. During his tenure he has subordinated Indian interests and rendered valuable services to Britain at the cost of India. His accomplishments in these respects have been summed up by D.B.T. in the Bharat Justi as follows:

(1) Inflation of Indian paper currency from Rs. 186 crores to Rs. 1,063 creres.

(2) Increase in sterling balances from Rs. 56 grores to Rs. 1,400 crores which practically means a loan to Britain of Rs. 1,400 crores.

(3) Loan to Britain at about 1 per cent interest
per year of the said sum of Rs. 1,400 croses when
India is paying 3 per cent interest on loans floated
by him during wartime.

(4) Hydari Mission:—An active step to sabotage

Indian industry and to stimulate British experts to India at India's cost.

(5) a. The agreement to pay Rs. 20 crosss to British Government for military pensions and gratuities.

b. Agreement to pay £1,350,000 or over two crores of rupees per year for the war period for similar charges after setting off india's claims for some, on behalf of Indian Military personnel in British service.

(6) Liability for distribution costs of petrol and aviation spirit was accepted on British dictation.

(7) Agreed to pay compensation to all evacuess Indian or etherwise.

(6) Agreed to pay Ra. S areses to U.N.R.B.A. for the benefit of Europe at India's cost.
(9) Agreement in respect of allocation of delenge expenditure in favour of Britain and further ptance of the decision of the Commander-in-

(10) Agreement for dollar balances at 20 million dollars for India making a gift of the remaining India's balances to the British Government.

(11) Pelicy of no post-war industrial development for two years after the war comes to an end.

Under his management, Indian currency has been inflated by more than 450 per cent, while the British currency has expanded only by 144 per cent over its 1989 level. This inflation has been caused to pay for Britain's credit purchases in India and it still continues to the detriment of India's internal economy. From the very start of the war. Sir Jeremy maintained a stranglehold on Indian industry and trade and always maintained a check on the production of consumer goods in India. Now as soon as British industries are in a position to manufacture consumer goods he has sent the Hydari mission. In his budget speech, he has supp the purpose of this mission in these words: "Covernment are vigilantly reviewing the scope for raducing the load on India's resources, constituted by the wat efforts of India and the Allies, and the possibility of adding to the available supplies of goods required for public consumption." The real meaning of this apparently innocent utterance is well known to exploited India. She knows fully well that this mission was sent to London as an active step to sabotage Indian industry and to stimulate British exports to India at India's cost, Scot after the departure of this mission, Sir M. Vievesvaryya, the depen of Indian Industry, warned that an avalanche of British consumer goods is coming. The result of this mission, according to Sir Alcher Hydari, has not been bad.

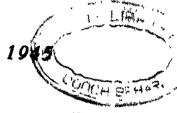
In addition to the big benefits easned for Beltain, Sir Jeremy has also been quite lavish in his gifts se well. He says, "The system for financial assistance to evacuoes and their families has been continued and extended. These measures cost little more than sme orare." It is not disclosed whether the avacunes to whom relief is provided are Indians or non-Indians and whether such persons include Britishovs, Bustanas, and what is the amount that is disbursed for the bought of such non-indiane. India's money cannot be dish for the Bouelt of Britishers in Durane and the I

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THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL





Vor. LXXVII. No. 4

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(10) Agreement for dollar balances at 20 million dollars for India making a gift of the remaining India's balances to the British Government.

(11) Policy of no post-war industrial development for two years after the war comes to an end.

Under his management, Indian currency has been inflated by more than 480 per cent, while the British currency has expanded only by 144 per cent over its 1939 level. This inflation has been caused to pay for Britain's credit purchases in India and it still continues to the detriment of India's internal economy. From the very start of the war, Sir Jeremy maintained a stranglehold on Indian industry and trade and always maintained a check on the production of consumer goods in India. Now as soon as British industries are in a position to manufacture consumer goods, he has sent the Hydari mission. In his budget speech, he has explained the purpose of this mission in these words: "Government are vigilaritly reviewing the scope for raducing the load on India's resources, constituted by the war efforts of India and the Allies, and the possibility of adding to the available supplies of goods required for public consumption." The real meaning of this apparently innocent utterance is well known to exploited India. She knows fully well that this mission was sent to London as an active step to sabotage Indian industry and to stimulate British experts to India at India's cost. Seen after the departure of this mission, Sir M. Vievenversyn, the doyen of Indian Redustry, warned that an avalanche of British consumer goods is coming. The result of this mission, according to Bir Akbar Hydari, has not been bad.

In addition to the big benefits earned for Britain. Sir Jeremy has also been quite lavish in his gifts as well. He says, "The system for financial assistance to evacuees and their families has been continued and extended. These measures cost little more than one orare." It is not disclosed whether the exacuses to whom relief is provided are Indians or non-Indians and whether such params include Britishers, Bushana, and what is the amount that is disbussed for the banefit of such non-Indians. India's money cannot be disbussed for the benefit of Britishers in Busha and the Indianase

Direct acceptance of responsibility and support of old dislands in a new garb has a good deal of difference between them. In Assam, Sir Md. Saadullah and his solleagues are not universally trusted and it is difficult to expect that they will become entirely new mea evernight. It is doubtful how far it will be possible for a Congress party, itself remaining out of greaters. Acceptance of direct responsibilities by the Congress mught have had much better possibilities. However as things stand, it would be an interesting and educative experiment.

The Cloth Famine

The cloth famine continues unabated while the Central and Bengal Governments go on quarrelling over the calculation of quota allotted to Bengal. A recent cloth drive has succeeded in unearthing 11,000 bales of cloth from the gustody of the Marwari middlemen alone, the Muslim wholesalers seemingly being left out of the drive. This cloth famine, like the hast food famine, is essentially a man-made one. It has come according to calculation and one can trace definite steps through which it has come. While the cloth market was upset after the Japanese war, Government allowed the pandemonium to continue for a fairly long time. The control came at last and the price of cloth was fixed five or six times higher its normal level in spite of the fact that cost of production had not gove proportionately high. The price was beyond the reach of the poor, and the Government soon had to come in to their help. The mills were compelled to produce Standard Cloth to the extent of about 80 per cent of their total production. It was done estensibly for helping the poor but in reality all the Standard Cloth produced were taken over by the Government for distribution and they remained locked up in their godowns. The poor did not get it, the middle and the richer classes ran the risk of finding a short supply. Thanks to Mr. K. C. Neogy's sincere efforts for eliciting relevant informations, we now knew that the Government went further; they formed a large quantity of cloth out of India in spite of the protest of men like Sir Shri Ram, Sir N. Wadia and some other leading millowners. The Government action in regulating cloth supply inevitably led to scute shortage of preduction. This was the condition by the Pulse has year. Many will no doubt remember that by the Pujes last year, mill cloth could hardly be see but handloom shuth practically flooded the market. Immediately the Government developed a sympethy for the handleom cloth and same down upon the warmer wish their years control measure. The result was just as one would expect, disaster for the weavers and a total storpogn of handloom cloth.

The ground was thus being prepared for the entry of Lasseshies testiles into Italia. Nature ablour thousan it was only to be expensed that if the present seasons of the constant of the present will sertainly develop sympathy for the unclothed and Manufester and Lasseshire seads will pour in. We have Hydrat Bydarf's visit to Healest equation of the Commissioner of the Government of India to the otton mills to stop production for some time they to need shortupe. The country will remain applicable to the E. Hoppy for plaining this important spatials to the E. E. L. Hoppy for plaining this important spatials to the E. E. L. Hoppy for plaining this important spatials to the E. E. C. Hoppy for plaining this important spatials to the entry of the country will remain spatials to the E. E. C. Hoppy for plaining this important spatements.

of mills in Ahmedabad, Indore and Sengal remained closed in January for want of voal and the total loss of production in January alone ambunated to 2 cross 37 lakh yards. Pressed hard by Mr. Neogy Sir Asizul Huq admitted that no other mills, jute or otherwise, were asked by the Gevernment to stop production for some days for want of soal. One must also remember in this connection that the soal mines have been already locked up by the British vested interests and dhorimination in coal supply between British and Indian factories continues uninterrupted.

Thus with the creation of a complete vacuum in cloth supply comes the news that British textiles are on their way to India. Cloth rationing will and must come as the last step in the chain for overcoming the patriotic sentiment of the people against British textilea. Rationing will serve two ends—people will prefer any kind of cloth to nudity and at the ration counter one would have no choice as regards the quality or the make.

Police Zulum in C. P.

The following is an extract taken from the report of the Inquiry Committee appointed by the Kolhapur Praja Parishad to investigate into the Pangire case and published in the Independent, Nagpur, dated March 12 last:

Kashibai, her husband, her children and two other persons were taken by the police to the residence of the police patil of Chikbaival on the morning of October 19, 1944. They were produced before the Sub-Inspector of Police, Mr. ingavale, who first asked Kashibai whether she was Mallaw wife or mother. Then he caught hold of her hair and dragged her to her feet and asked his man to strip her naked. Kashibai's san was pulled off and she was then beaten with a leather strap. Water was thrown on her body, presumably with the object of hiding the marks of the straps. The members of the committee saw that Kashibai had smothered marks on her body.

On the evidence of four Sanadis (village sepoys enjoying Inami lands) who were present when the incident took place, the committee learnt that the Bub-Inspector threatened to insert shilly powder in the private parts of Kashibai, and the subsequent the private parts of Kashibai, and the subsequent this threat was carried out either by him or by his man. The heating and stipping were repeated as Friday secreting. Kashibai's husband, her two sales and the other two man were also heaten by the police. One of them was meshed against the sall as violently that some of the bricks of the wall was violently that some of the bricks of the wall was violently that some of the bricks of the wall was violently that some of the bricks of the wall was violently themselves are this wall.

Violental discounted by the impact. The memory discounted by the impact. The memory is the matter themselves saw this wall.

The beating was carried out in the house of the police path and one of the wiscounter shall and their discounter of the wiscins were heard during this incident and at night when they were located up in the place without food or water. The violents were allowed to issue the place after the police party had jest, the violent

It is not yet known what nation, if any, has been taken against this police party. It has however been automated that the Covernor of the Castril Previous under whom thems rule the province is being governed at passent, the bound mental an extension of one next plants of the Covernment, in likely to be severally fidence in the Covernment, in likely to be severally

undestrained unless the truth of such allegations in Butt pleaded for the reduction of these falling upon tested without a single moment's delay and speedy action is taken against the offenders.

Members for San Francisco

The Government of India have chosen two members of the Viceroy's Executive Council to "represent" India at the San Francisco Conference. Giving reason for their selection. Sir Olaf Caroe is reported to have said that all those who are to attend it are of Ministerial level. But of what level are the two delegates selected by Sir Olaf Caree's government? Viceroy's Executive Council is sought to be passed off as a duly constituted government under a constitution drawn up in Britain by the Mritishers without the participation of Indians themselves. Under this constitution. "Government of India" has no responsibility to Logislature, and members of it are chosen and appointed by the Governor-General who is the representative of a foreign power in this country. They have no responsibility in the matter of having the budget passed, they can stand any number of cut motions and are not called upon to resign when the entire budget demands are thrown out. The representation of the foreign government certifies the expanditure of hundreds of crores of rupees and the members of his Council merrily carry on. Nobody would have had any objection if members of this Council were sent to San Francisco as representatives of the Foreign power in India. We object to their having been chosen as representatives of the people of this country.

Objection may not have been raised if the Legislative Assembly was called upon to elect two members for San Francisco. Non-official Indians attending a War Conference is nothing new. The Imperial War Conference of 1917 was attended by Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaia of Bikaner. In many subsequent Imperial Conferences attended by the British and the Dominion Prime Ministern, India was represented by non-officials like Sir Srinivam Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others

The hollowness of Sir Olaf Caroe's statement has been demonstrated by Britain herself. It now appears that Britain's representatives to San Francisco will be composed mostly of Parliamentary Secretaries who are sertainly below the Ministerial level. There is of course a level in India to which the demi-gods of New Dolla must conform, only it is not the ministerial but the salety level.

Death Duty

It is immentable that some members of the Central legislature oppose the introduction of Death Duty on the ground that it should not be imposed unless we have National Government, Surely their idea is that while the poor man's mit can be taxed in present conditions, the rich man's wealth can not. All countries in Europe, several countries in America and most of the countries in Asia including Coyles have get this measure of textsion. The Taxation Engalry Committee of 1925 mended it and but for the wanted interests in the registature the heavy funden of marties on the poor might have been partially militims that the poor. Asia—the Totting Ground.

Since the linguishing of British tale the system of team.

Mrs. Vijeytalished Pondit, in a from har been as deviced that the poir quantum have to good in America, amorted: "Asia wi

the poor as the remedy for displing progressive economic deterioration. With the introduction of the policy of protection of industries, ofiviously at the consumer's expense, the need for the revision of the policy was imperative but nothing was done with the result that India is now the capitalists and this mea's paradise. The Excess Profits Tax here is the largest in the empire and no step has been taken for limitation of dividends as in Australia, Sweden and other countries or of empluments of higher staff in industries which may be better described as plunder. It should be remembered that the higher staff in British establishments is composed of Europeans and in Indian concerns largely of the do-nothing relatives of proprietors. The pre-war Japanese model of about Rs. 500 as the maximum salary in industry should have been followed at least in protected industries like cloth, steel, paper and sugar. The cotton mills have during this war made fabulous profits and one of the contributory causes of Bengal famine has been the drain from the countryside on account of cloth increased from 12 crosss of rupees per annum to 60 crores. We were the first to protect against the inequity in these columns and it is a pity that Mahatma Gandhi before his imprisonment let off the capitalists with the light sentence that "the mills may not be relied on in these times."

The Finance Member was perfectly right when he said in presenting the budget last year that the war had given rise to great inequality of wealth and that Death Duty would reduce it. Before the war the average national income per capita was Rs. 65 and the average income of an agriculturist was Rs. 22. This disparity has been vastly accentuated by war profits earned secretly between dishonest officials and military con-tractors and suppliers and openly by industrialists already referred to. Accumulation of much wealth in a few hands is bound to corrode society and with the disappearance of large-scale charity as of old the young sons of self-centred millionaire parents are a measure to social purity in cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Rs. 5,000 as the lowest limit of taxation recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee should be achieved to and agricultural property exempted as proposed by the Finance Member last year. The tex should be graduated as in Britain where a maximum of 65 per cent is imposed on property exceeding two million pounds in value, Only the limit for maximum taxation should be fixed much lower here in proportion to the average national income per capita here as compared with I British equivalent. We are opposed to any State planng in India at present but unemployment relief should ming in grains at present but unemployment rester another be immediately undertaken and for that money will be necessary. Beath duty may be used to abolish the safe tax, too. Electronsion of the provinces of the duty to the provinces according to collection in each area will be unfast as, for example, the option mill-owners Desiber make money out of all provinces. An armine charity (which has been well defined by the findian Income Tax Act) done by the deceased a be treated as part payment made of Betate Daily free

Mrs. Vijaplalishmi Pandit, in a sistip gent in America, asserted : "! ground of all the thousan ad-

a constant danger to world peace and the progress of humanity."

Discussing the subject: 'Are colonial empires a threat to world peace'. Mrs. Pandit declared, 'the question of colonial empires is linked up with the whole question of civilisation and the fate of the world. There must be a new concept in which all people can share. In the post-war world there will be comparatively few opportunities for external aggression but the danger from movements of internal active resistance, which are growing in dependent countries as a result of denial of self-government, will be a very real one and will have to be dealt with. Military standards of security by themselves will not be a sufficient assurance of lasting peace. Political thought must change and outworn methods be discarded.

Mr. Robert Boothley, a British Member of Parliament, who opposed Mrs. Pandit, in the discussion said that it was a fallacy to suppose that the creation of colonial empires in the past constituted a threat to world peace. His main line of arguments were as follows:

'If the British Empire had dissolved, Hitler would have imposed his own form of integration. first on Europe and then on the world. For after the fall of France, we in Britain could not have hoped to stand up to him alone. In the event, the British Empire managed by the skin of its teeth to save civilisation from destruction and humanity from another dark age. Let those who now seek to abolish it reflect on this."

Argumentum ad absurdio is quite common in Imperialist parlance, Propagandists for Imperialism even these days are blissfully oblivious of the important historical role the U.S.A. has played in saving Britain from disaster in this Hitlerite war. The U.S.A. came to play a decisive role in favour of Britain probably because of the sole fact that she had severed herself from colonial domination and was free to build her own destiny. A free India would similarly have been the greatest powerful ally of Great Britain in the Asiatic Continent.

Lattimore's "Solution in Asia"

A former adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Owen Lattimore, in his new book Solution in Asia says no durable arrangement in the Far East will be achieved simply "by dividing or redistributing Asia and the Pacific."

According to a United Press of America message, he says the only way to give an adequate safeguard against war is to provide for inevitable Asiatic developments, and do it in such a way as to make future "nower conflicts" unnecessary, Besides, America must carefully calculate her part by "freeing" former colonial areas, following the attitude of Allied colonial nations. The United States should keep her record clear by not being a party to placing freed territories back under domination of America's war Allies.

The Western Colonial Powers, he thinks, may fight not only to drive out the Japanese but restore their own rule. But the United States should take no part in any such unfortunate later chapter.

Nations but the continuation of colonial empires will be the United States playing a second fiddle to British Imperialism is quietly gaining ground. The culmination of the Phillips episode in the resignation of the President's Personal Representative for India unmistakably points out to the triumph of British diplomacy even in American politics.

Not only ourselves, but thought-leaders of England like Harold Laski are also bewildered at the contradictions in American policies. He writes:

I, frankly, do not profess to understand why a liberal democrat like President Roosevelt uses men like Mr. Robert Murphy as vital links in the chain he is building. I do not understand why he should, now that he has entered upon his fourth term, show so tender a concern for the policies of the Vatican policies which go hand in hand with those of big business for the simple reason that they have the kindred aim of stopping the advance of the common man.

To many of us in Britain, America is almost a contradiction in terms. We were glad to see the emergence of the PAC. We think the America of Sidney Hillman and Hugo Black represents a resurgence of the forces which have made the United States, a legend in European countries. But we cannot easily reconcile that America with an America in which Jesse Jones and Donald Nelson, Leo Crowley and Henry Morgenthau remain important symbols.

European progressives have already begun to ask themselves what kind of America is going to emerge from this war.

Will America Go Imperialist?

Prof. Laski continues:

There seem to be three possibilities before the American people: a redistribution of its wealth, a long-term investment in the Middle and Far East, economic imperialism backed by the greatest military and naval power the world has so far known.

It looks as though it is the third possibility that America will choose. There is little point in attempting to conceal the fact that such a choice would mean within a generation a third world war, I cannot but emphasize my own unhappy surprise that a President like Mr. Roosevelt, who knows as no President has known since Abraham Lincoln the needs of the common people, should be prepared to abdicate the high function to which he has been called.

There is no disguising the fact that many of us who care deeply for America and owe to it a debt we can never hope to repay are alarmed and disturbed at the tendencies economic and social which are emerging among the class which directs its destiny.

The Americans in Paris, in Rome, in London speak and act as though the world was theirs for the taking.

I cannot avoid the conviction that Mr. Rossevelt might usefully leave the strategy to the generals and admirals and concentrate his attention upon the conflict of ideas which he can do more than any living person to resolve.

For if we lose his passion for justice in these critical months, we shall have made a holocoust of the youth of the world without a proportionate hope in the years to come.

Prof. Laski, the intellectual dynamo of the British The prospects of America taking an independent Labour Party, writes in reply to two questions put by stand for freedom and democracy in the world is the U.S. magazine PM, wis., (1) What is progressive gradually receding to the background. The danger of Britain's attitude to Churchill's European policy and

(2) Is there any tendency to ascribe this policy to s fear of U.S. predatory economic power? Laski has clearly expressed the impression that progressive Britishers are disturbed by Churchill's policy to save "Traditional Europe". They see in it strategic Imperialism to safeguard the Middle East and India against the growing prestige of Soviet Russia. The worst feature is that America is following Churchill closely and is heading for an economic imperialism backed by military power which would mean a third world war within a generation.

1 Profession and the state of the contract of

Progressive Britain suspects that what Mr. Churchill has in view is the relation of the new Palestine and the new Iraq, together with Egypt to India; that King George of the Hellenes is merely a facade behind which much vaster issues are being decided. By aiding the rightists in Greece Mr. Churchill probably hopes that the debt they will owe to Tory England will enable him to safeguard the Middle East against the rising prestige of Soviet Russia. At the back of Mr. Churchill's mind is the determination at all costs to maintain 'traditional' Europe and to set the four freedoms in this context. He has killed the Atlantic Charter with his own hand. He made up his mind that no reorganisation of Europe shall be carried on which endangers the kind of "democracy" to which he has been accustomed. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that Churchill has lowered British prestige to a point hardly less than the evil reputation it acquired at Munich, Mr. Churchill shows every day more clearly that he belongs to the world that is dying and not to the world that is Struggling to be born. The greatest tragedy of the twentieth century is that Roosevelt, the people's man and the leader of the New World, is following the leader of an Imperialism which is fast disintegrating in spite of the latter's strenuous efforts to save it from disruption.

Bertrand Russell on Indian Freedom

Bertrand Russell recently addressed a group of Indian students at Cambridge. The meeting was organised by the Cambridge University India Majhs and Russell was invited to address the gathering because of his love for the oppressed. Expressing his hope that there will be new departure of British policy toward India in the near future, specially after the next general elections. Russell said :

We are all agreed that it is impossible to keep up our position in India. Even if it is possible it is neither justified nor desirable. As soon as we have got a Government of the people with liberal-mindedness, we can demand that we want a change for the better in India and set to work for that change. I know of the Cripps offer. I know it is still there. I know the offer of Dominion Status as soon as the war is over. But it is not what we want to do. The question is what Indians want. At any rate it is felt by a vast majority of Indians and by many other people, especially by the people of the United States, that our promise is not honest that we do not mean to keep up undertaking to Indians. Many and unity of interests.

people in the United States want an unequivoral.

definite and unambiguous declaration for Indian. Therefore, if I were to take part in the Government, I should announce immediately at a certain date a day 12 months after the end of the Japanese war that we British shall wash our hands off India.

should announce that now, so that Indians may atherings convened on the occasion and delivered.

have plenty of time to get together and see how best they can work together. Continuing Russell said:

I do not think we should be too much hampered by differences in India. After all they are there, everywhere, as they are among our own people. But because we have differences nobody here But because we have differences nobody here wants foreigners to settle our own differences. That applies to India. It is for Indians themselves to settle their differences. It is not any of our business. I should, therefore, announce that 12 months after the Japanese war we shall abandon our responsibilities for India. I do not think we ought to insist on Dominion Status. The idea that India should become a dominion is futile and quite contrary to her geographical nocessity, Other dominions had historical affinity with us, but India culturally has not and will not belong to us. Her affinity will be with Asiatic countries. Her history and culture are contrary to ours.

Summing up, Russell emphatically declared :

India belongs naturally to other Asiatic countries rather than western. Her ties with Britain are more artificial than her ties with China. The dominion of the White Man over the rest of the world since the sixteenth century is coming to an end. It will not go on any more in Asia which is awake. I am convinced of that. Our domination came into being as a result partly of our voyages, partly by skilful use of commerce and partly as a result of science. As India develops industrially she will also develop as a military power. The era of White domination will not last. It cannot be revived. White domination has made it impossible for a stable world. You cannot have peace in the world secured world. For cannot have peace in the world secured as long as some people want to keep themselves in power. There will be hundred and one injustices in the world as a result of this domination. The other side has a feeling of hatred and comtempt for those who dominate. Until you get approximately an equal standard in East and West you cannot go on.

The British think that they can remain in India only by the application of brute force. Indians know that but they believe that subordination of 400 millions of human beings will be a physical impossibility as soon as the people of India will be determined with or without the sympathies of the other peoples of the world, to make an end of her political subjugation.

Kashmir Leader Overcomes Communalism

A gigantic mass movement communal in the beginning but popular and nationalistic during the latter phase of its development has gained great momentum in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah is her undisputed leader. It has revolutionised the entire outlook of the people and brought about a complete change in their social and political outlook. It has presented a new and progressive aspect of life and made people conscious of their rights and privileges. More than anything else the movement awakened the present masses of Kashmir to a new sense of right and wrong and has made them aware of their inherent strength

A staunch Muslim himself, Sheikh Abdullah takes equal delight and pride in the religion and religious festivities of other communities. On all Hindu festivale,

is an unbiassed and robust nationalism and his love of of this fund finding drive. The excressondent and nationalist and a humanitarian.

Naturally Sheikh Abdullah became an eyesore to Mr. Jinnah. Several attempts were made to set up a communal organisation to destroy Abdullah's Kashmir National Conference, but none of them were successful. Abdullah's movement is not only a force m Kashmir, but it constitutes a great landmark in the progress of the Indian States Movement itself, Mr. Jinnah's latest move to start a Muslim communal organisation in Kashmir has also miserably failed.

After his reverses in the Punjab, Mr. Jinnah entered Kashmir as the self-appointed guardian of the political rights of the Muslims there and deceived himself by taking Sheikh Abdullah's hospitality and courtesy to mean his acceptance of the League position. His calculation proved wrong and he had in consequence to face a very ugly situation. Sheikh Abdullah told Mr. Jinnah that he was nobody in Kashmir politics and further reiterated the position of the Kashmir National Conference by stating that Kashmir politics had long ago evolved into a higher stage of progressive nationalism and had thus passed Mr. Jinnah's "milestone of to-day over five years ago." He further accused Mr. Jinnah of trying to disrupt

the progressive forces in Kashmir and charged him with attempting to attack the National Conference "with the same weapons with which he attacks the Indian National Congress," that is that the "National Congress is an Hindu attempt to cheat the Indian minorities and the Käshmir National Conference is a Muslim attempt to cheat the Kashmir minorities." The Kashmir masses, the faithful followers of Abdullah, expressed their indignation against Mr. Jinnah by making it impossible for him to address any meeting. From one meeting he had to retire under police escort, Mr. Jinnah has therefore beat a retreat from Kashmir politics and Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference has won a final victory over the forces of reaction and communation.

linnah Gets a Price for Dropping Pakistan?

The genesis of the Desai-Liaqat formula of 40: 40: 20 for the centre and Mr. Jinnah's association with it, has been revealed by the Bharat Jyoti. Talking to presumen in December last, and queting some unnamed Muslim friends said to have good influence with Mr. Jianah, Dr. G. S. Arundale had made the startling suggestion that the Muslim leader would abandon Pakistan in favour of 40 per cent representation at the centre. Dr. Arundale's formula wanted representation of 40 per cent for Hindus, 40 per cent for Muslims and 20 per cent for other minorities for the Central National Government, Dr. Arundale's solution for the Indian deadlock was "Hindus must sacrifice majority and Mr. Jinnah must sacrifice Pakistan."

The Muslim League Fund Finding Drive

The special correspondent of the Leader reports that in order to strengthen the financial position of the All-India Muslim League, a fund finding drive has been

learned discourses on the teachings of the Hindus. His League hopes to build up substantial funds by the help human liberties and sentiments makes him a stout the League is anxious to give a fillip to its organisational activities and consolidating its hold on the Muslim masses, who according to the League, are in the danger of being allured by the taction of the All-India Muslim Mailis and the super-tactics of some powerful Muelim aristocrats subscribing to the Asha Khan School of politics.

The correspondent then continues:

Under the instructions of the All-India Muslim League council, Nawah Aisas Rasul, general secretary, U. P. Muslim League, it is understood, has issued a circular letter to all district and city leagues of the United Provinces asking them to furnish information regarding the number of such Muslim residents as are financially in such a position that they can dispense with a portion of their income as charity (sakat). The number of such Mustims as are already giving in charity and of those who will be willing to place their contributions for sakat at the disposal of the Muslim League in case they can be given an assurance that their money will be spent in the manner they prescribe and the annual total estimate of these contributions have also been called for. Other provincial Leagues have also been asked furnish similar information by the All-India Muslim League, which, it is added, is planning to make such use of this institution of rakat that the Indian Muslims can derive the maximum possible benefit from

Some time ago Mr. Jinnah had appealed for a fiveerore fund but the actual amount of collections are not yet known. In Bengal, the leaders of the League art said to be much better off. The amounts of their sakate will be watched with interest.

Sir Norman Angell on Robot Bombs and Robot Minds

Writing in the Free World, Sir Norman Angell mys that the most important development in recent years in the field of military technology is the robot bomb. Although it has not succeeded in altering the course of the present war, it gives a dark warning of what war might become. It gives a forecaste of the prediction that ultimately the machines which man had made to serve him would turn round and destroy him. It has become literally so. Both sides can no doubt use the weapon which means that each could destroy the other. with immense margin of advantage to the side which gets its blow in first. Sir Norman says that in the form in which we know them, the robot bomb is, of course, a mere beginning. The London experience is just a foretaste of what the 10-ton, or 100-ton rocket shell of the future, travelling through the stratesphere, has in store. Add to this the possibility of explosives based on the release of atomic energy (which reputable physicists have declared to be perhaps round the corner) and one can see that the stratospheric robot bombing of a New York or a Chicago into so much bloody rubble is something more than a possibility of the future.

Of course, this development is going to affect the peace-making Every one of these developments makes geography, regional considerations of less and less importance. It is no longer a Wellsian fautasy to fore-Issueshed in every province under the auspices of the see the time when robot or rocket bomba, travelling Frontifical Muslim Leagues. The All-India Muslim Chrough the stratosphere, can be inunched from almost NYTES

allowed to continue.

any spot on the earth to any other spot, delivering free and equal partners in a common world order. loads of explosives which can destroy all life within a International criminal violence cannot be stopped

radius of several miles.

Sir Norman then goes on to explain his ideas about the methods of controlling the human mind. He says that the problem is not merely one of creating a central power; it is to see that this power is not abused, does not itself become the enemy of freedom; that its function is limited to the prevention of violence. He emphasises that before we learn to control the robat bomb we must learn to control the human mind, its fallacies, blind spots, the passions which arise out of nationalism and doctrinal fanaticism. He then says: "We speak commonly as though it sufficed to take power from the hands of Germans and Japanese and give it into the hands of the British, the Americans, Russians, French, Africans, Chinese, Irish, Indians, Arabs, Jews; that these latter could never disagree as to the use of power, never abuse it. Which means that we take over, holus-bolus the "superiority" doctrine of the Nazis, except that we become the superior people and they the inferior. All of which, of course is nonsense. Biologically-in blood, glands, hormones, gray matter, muscular tiesue-we are exactly like the Germans. The difference is in certain ideas which, for reasons we do not know much about, infected them more than their immediate neighbours, Education and "learning" did not protect them against the infection. for the Germans are among the most learned, the most scientific people in the world, having produced great philosophers, musicians, religious teachers, from Luther to Karl Marx; and very brave and efficient soldiers"

Failure of the United Nations to Control Criminal Violence

According to Sir Norman Angell, the supreme failure of the German people as a whole is the failure to control their own criminal minorities. To say that the German people as a whole have no responsibility for the crimes of the Nazis means that they did not know how to control their criminals. Such an excuse indicts the German people as incapable of the first function of civilised governments which is precisely to restrain criminal violence.

Discussing the corresponding responsibility of the United Nations, Sir Norman says:

"But if we bring this charge with justice, as we must against the German people, it is incumbent on us to face the fact that as nations we have been guilty, in our international relationship, of a similar failure, a similar incapacity to restrain criminal

violence in international affairs.

"The power of Germany and Japan represented a quite small fraction of the civilized world. Had their victims—thirty-four (at present) United Nations—been capable of uniting for mutual defence, the aggressors would never have been tempted to commit aggression, and if they tried would have been premptly stopped. But the non-German, nou-Japanese world did not have that capacity for unity. It had sufficient potential power to defend itself; it could not unite for the use of that power for common defence."

Next he asks: Will it be able to unite to make impossible the use of a perfected robot bomb? To basish its terrors from mankind? But we believe that countries of the world meet on the same platform as forms part of the State Museum of Oriental Culture.

World No Longer Dominated by European Powers

Mr. W. G. Mackay, a progressive British writer writes in an article that the Governments of Britain and America in resisting Nasi aggression, are trying to bolster up a European system which, if it worked during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, certainly does not work in the twentieth. He points out that the world is no longer dominated by European Powers. The people of Russia, China, India and America are going to play a much larger part in world politics in the twentieth century than they played in the eighteenth and nineteenth. Although the Nazis will be overthrown and the United Nations' victory will be secured, it will be a defeat both for France and for Britain, if one conceive those two countries in nincteenth century terms. Mr. Mackay clearly states that India must be granted independence; so also the colonial people of Africa. The following passage is quoted to illustrate the breadth of his thought:

so long as colonial exploitation and empire grubbing 17

The war of 1914-1918 was a defeat for the France of 1914. By 1918 she had become dependent on Britain, America and Russia for her independence and freedom, and she had lost so much in manpower and investments overseas that she was no longer the first-class Power she had been according to the standards and traditions of the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries.

The British Empire will meet a similar fate at the end of this war. Mr. Churchill is trying to perpetuate a geographical and political entity which, however great it may have been (again according to the standards and traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and their conceptions of world politics), is bound to come to an end in the near future. India must have its independence; the colonial peoples of Africa must be given their freedom and a democratic government for Africa established; the other colonial peoples must be treated in the same way. This has to be made clear to the British and the French, and, for that matter, to the Belgians, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Spaniards.

Mr. Mackay believes, and so do we, that an attempt to perpetuate the nineteenth century set up of European domination of the world is to try to put a roof on a house which has lost its foundations and has not got any walls.

Indian Art Collections in Moscow Museum

There are several collections of Indian objects of art in the USSR, the biggest and most interesting being those of the museums of the Academy of Sciences and of the Hermitage in Leningrad. The collection of Indian art treasures brought from the "Indian Circle" in East Turkestan by the expedition of the late Academician Sergei Oldenburg and from the dead city of Khara-Khota by the famous Russian explorer Peter Kozlov are of world-wide significance. There is, howne such unity is possible unless and until all the ever, also an Indian Art Collection in Moscow and it and they are in an excellent state of preservation. They were painted at the end of the 16th century in the Emperor Akbar's palace workshop and are typical examples of the Moghul school of Indian painting.

Another series of miniatures in this collection dates back to the 17th century and constitutes a whole gallery of representatives of the Moghul aristocracy. The museum possesses the famous 16th Century miniature. already published, signed by the artist Baljid (also read as Balchand) which shows an acrobatic wrestling scene.

Indian applied arts are very extensively represented. There is a series of sculptured details from the Car of Jagan-Nath (Juggernaut) of the 17th Century. There are also some beautifully decorated specimens of lacquer work-cases for mirrors and for reed pens. There is one pen case of the middle of the 17th Century which deserves deeper study. The artist depicts a number of Europeans in addition to the local people. Lastly there are some Indian silks embroidered with gold and silver threads.

Imperial Library Books Sent Out of Calcutta

In reply to a question, Mr. J. D. Tyson told Mr. K. C. Neogy that the most valuable publications of the Imperial Library, numbering about ten thousand were removed from Calcutta in February 1942 as precautionary measure and deposited with the Aligarh Muslim University for safe custody. No proper inspection of the books seems to have been carried out by opening the boxes. If the boxes are not sufficiently airtight, there is a likelihood for the deterioration of the hooks. Now that the danger of bombing in Calcutta has passed off, the Imperial Library ought to bring the books back. The Calcutta University had brought back all their books sent outside for safe custody. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has also sent a number of books out of the city and it is high time they should be brought back as well.

Give Women 50-50 Share in Politics—G. B. S.

Shaw pleads for giving women a 50-50 share in politics, see him coming to Santiniketan from Sriniketan on He says, "I advocate human government by women foot and go back walking-covering a distance of about and men in equal numbers because I want the enormous four miles. power at present exercised by women to be made happened. public, responsible and continually under fire from Having always had to feed they are it has become an instinct with them, whereas men have him. I am not now referring to my personal debt of a pampered drone, I have been dependent on women and greater things for the Indians in South Africa, but all my life, and am quite conscious of it, and keenly he could not do so much for those in other colonies. The work of the fact that if I do nothing to make me He was so large-hearted and so liberal that among his worth their care, they may wake up to the situation intimate friends there were Hindus, there were Musal-like, the bees and kill me when they have no further mans, there were Jainas, there were Buddhists, there

One of the most valuable sections of the collection use for me. The danger in an exclusively female Govis the miniatures from the Persian manuscript version ernment is that women, who love power more than of Sulsan Babur's Memoirs. There are about 70 of them men do, would jealously disfranchise and dronify men at whatever cost of pampering, dressing-up and glorifying him."

To Shaw the need for human government and the dangers of sexually unilateral rule are plain enough. He believes that they are obscured merely less by male vanity than by men's subconscious dread of women leading them to a conviction that they must either enslave women or be themselves enslaved by them. which they very largely are.

Burning for Purification

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai told the Central Assembly that he had heard the B. B. C. announces saving that Berlin was burning for purification. If Berlin desired to purify herself for her sin in attempting to take away Britain's freedom, Britain in her turn would have to purify herself in respect of many other similar sins. The time had come for penitence to be expressed "in the form of action."

Dinabandhu Andrews

On the 5th of April next falls the fifth death anniversary of Dinabandhu Andrews. There was never a time when there was so little confidence and trust as between Indians and Britishers as now nor was ever there so much want of a man in whom both could trust. The passing of the Dinabandhu was a calamity for the Briffsh and Indians alike though only the Indians seem to be partially aware of it. There was never a British official in the history of British India who did one-tenth as much for Indians as did this true servant of the Lord The Indian estimate of his worth could perhaps be best summed up by a translation of a part of a radio broadcast in Bengali by the late Ramananda Chatterjee, on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death, as given below:

. . . The name Dinabandhu given to Mr. Andrews was literally true. To the last moment of his life he had endeavoured to preach the Christ-ideal which he cherished in his heart, not by words but by his life.

We never thought that his death would come so soon. For I remember that up to only a few days before Writing in the British weekly Leader, Bernard he came to Calcutta for medical treatment I used to But it is vain to grieve over what has

He lived his noble life in such a manner as if ne public criticism. If public affairs could be managed by was atoning for the sins of his nation in relation to one sex alone, I should vote for leaving them to India. But we ought not to think of his life and services and in that way. We should specially consider in how many trained to it until ways and to what a great extent we are indebted to never been able to manage women. Matriarchy is the gratitude to him. The ardous labours which he weut law of nature; and now that it is no longer necessary through for India, particularly for the oppressed and for men to hunt and fight every day to feed and pro- humble Indians who live in the Colonies, no indian test their squaws and piccaninnies the natural man is ever went through;—only Mahatma Gandhi did similar sons belonging to all the various religious communities pendent India and independent Britage which was the in Calcutta joined in his funeral service today and desire of his life, established during the life-time. But perhaps, if the public had received previous intimation, whenever this friendship between a free India and a so many would have been eager to join that the gather- free British becomes a reality, then undoubtedly his ing would have reached unmanageable proportions. He soul in heaven will enjoy supreme bliss and newce has now been blest with the peace which he longed for. ineffable.

were Jews and there were Christians and Parais. Per- He has not been able to see that amile between inde-

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE War in Europe has entered into its climax. At centrations of enemy forces, thus penetrating deep into gauged as yet as to how near it has come.

convey definite news, which are scanty in the extreme upon them by the German defence plan and that now very large scale is, therefore, indicated, where the fivefold supremacy of the Allies in armament and manpower will be allowed to use its full weight for the first time since the landings on the coast of Normandy. The second is that the Germans now face for the second time in three months, a total disruption of their defence plans through the wholesale breach of their positional defences over a very wide area, The great arsenals of the Ruhr and the Saar are now threatened, as happened in the case of Silesia a few months back.

Judging again purely from the nature of fighting, the Allied advance has differed a great deal from the Russian break-through of a few months back. That was a spectacular assault and the break-through that followed was purely on the lines of the blits-krieg methods

the time of writing the Allied assault on the Western the rear-communications and threatening to disrupt the front has mounted to its peak. According to all reports whole defence organisation without giving the defenders received (up till 29.3.45) the German defence in the the chance to regroup or to organise a concerted defence West has crumpled up and General Eisenhower has along a continuous line. It failed to achieve the finale gone further in stating that the Germans have no desired because the Germans had replied with the further chances of staging another defensive battle in Russian answer to the blitz problem and could improve the West. London reports go still further in claiming on it because of their immensely superior organisations that the Wehrmacht has little hope for regrouping its of supply and communication. But all the same this forces for another stand. Regarding the Eastern front no Russian blitz had bitten deep into the vitals of the definite break-through has been reported so far, though German defence, depleting their reserves and straining two new offensives are said to be in progress. In the their resources to the extreme in supporting their forces IPS.A. people started celebrating the end of the War that had been bye-passed and isolated far behind the until they were stopped by official warnings that the Russian spear-heads. It is doubtful indeed if the Allied war is not yet over. In general the picture that has been successes on the Rhine would have been attained so conveyed by the news-correspondents is that the dim early and at that cost, if the Russian blits had not torn shape of victory can already be seen to be looming up the German defence plan in the East in that fashion. through the smoke and fog of war, though it cannot be The Allied advance has been achieved mainly by the weight of arms and preponderance in numbers. It has Judging from the actual reports in so far as they delivered its assaults step by step and as the weight of arms and men told had widened the breaches and had due to news-blackouts, one can make out two facts thus pushed back the line until it broke in places due The first is that the Allies have been able to surmount to the extreme tension. It is through these breaches the obstacles of positional warfare that were imposed that armour is pushing through now, and probably para-troops are also being employed to break up enemy they are throwing in all their armour, artillery and resistance at strategic points. The problem that the man-power in the battle so as to deliver a knock-out Wehrmacht faces is the repair of these breaches and to the German defending forces. Mobile warfare on a the replenishment of depleted fighting strength of the defence.

The question is whether Germany has any substantial reserves left with which to obtain a condition of liquid stability as was done on the Eastern front a month back. It is well-known that of the Axis forces actually in the field, by far the greater portion are in the East, engaged in an attempt at holding up the Russian armies. What reserves there are in Germany's central pool is unknown, but judging from General Eisenhower's statement, they are not expected to be very substantial. Of natural defences in the West, the most difficult have either been surmounted or are being subjected to assault at the present moment. The rest, according to news reports, do not seem to be of much account since London reports claim that "all Germany followed by the Germans in their French and Russian lies open" before the Allies. The preture, therefore, as campaigns at the outset of the war. In this Russian presented by the news reports, is one of Germany on blits too the armoured spear-heads raced ahead of the the immediate eve of collapse, with its defences supporting infantry and artillery, changing direction as shattered in the West, while in the East they are being needed to avoid hedgehogs or to bye-pass great con-rapidly reduced; with its fighting forces being overprocess of attrition is rapidly lowering its strength, and with its central pool of reserves being depleted to the vanishing point. The Wehrmacht is said to be at the end of its tether, which does not call for any stretch of imagination in view of the picture presented. All that is left to complete the picture is the chaotic condition of desertion by fighting forces and frantic fleeing of civilians out of the battle zones, clogging up the arteries of troop movements, and the closing down of the arsenals. The question now being asked is not so much as to when the end will come but as to how?

The answer to that question should be known to the world within the first fortnight of April, if the Allied estimates are correct The Allied armies on the West and the Russian forces in the East are now working in full concert and both are now exerting the maximum pressure that they can deliver by the weight of arms and by the manifold superiority in numbers. The battles on the East have raged with unabated fury for some months now at the last defences before the very vitals of the Reich, and are now showing distinct signs of palsating in intensity-which means prolonged warfare. In the West they have mounted to extreme violence, on a scale never hitherto attamed on this front, and if there be a lull or lack of resistance from the Germans, it can only mean either total collapse or an attempt by the Wehrmacht to regroup all the forces at its command for a mobile battle on a gigantic scale to fight the Allied armies to a halt. If General Eisenhower succeeds in preventing this regrouping, then indeed the end is in sight. The turn of events within a few days -at most a very few weeks-will give the waiting world the answer.

In Asia the war is approaching the mainland of Japan in a steady progression and the fury of the battle is increasing with the approach. The latest reports are rather indefinite and confused but there can be no doubt now that Admiral Nimitz is pushing forward relently silv with his schedule for the Pacific War. It is being progressively revealed that the Japanese navy to no longer in a position to challenge the American supremacy on the waters of the Pacific, But on the other hand the Japanese air-force is now definitely attempting a show-down as between land-based 'planes and carrierborne craft. This new development will probably soon show the possibility—or otherwise—of a sea-borne invasion of Japan along the very thin island-route across the vast stretches of the Pacific. In any case the consolidation of the American hold on these islands of the Pacific is essential for the final assault, be that delivered straight across the waters of the Western Ocean or be that launched from the coast of China. The strategy of this island warfare across the Pacific is not yet fully revealed, that is to say it is not yet clear whether these stages are merely means to an end, or whether they are actual progressive steps of the final assault. There are many gaps left as yet in this most extraordinary chain of communication lines, and until the final wiping out of the Japanese resistance takes place on the Philippines, the Bonins and the islands further out, the channel for the vast flow of arms and armed forces, requisite for the final assault on Japan, also has not been of a very convincing nature.

whelmed and torn up in the West while in the East the cannot be said to be quite clear. Until that stage is reached it would be futile to speculate on the masterplans of the Allied Supreme War-Council regarding the battle of Asia. Meanwhile the aerial assault on Japan is being intensified, but as yet it has merely assumed the preventive stage, that is to say it is now actively obstructing the Japanese attempt at stepping up the production of armaments. It is premature to say that the actual "softening" process is in action, as that would entail far more intensive raids on a vastly greater scale.

> The question of a direct sca-borne invasion of Japan across the Pacific is a gigantic and extremely complicated problem in logistics. Japan seems to have come to the conclusion that it is impossible of solution, and that even with complete mastery over the Pacific, the American Pacific Command will not be able to mount a major offensive direct on to Japan without any considerable bases on the coast-line of China. The Japanese are no doubt apprehensive of major attempts on the part of the U.S.A. Pacific Command at landings in force on the mainland of Japan. But it seems to be certain that such attempts would be co-ordinated with operations on the south-coast of China which might precede or immediately follow such action. The latest Japanese drive from Hankow can have no meaning otherwise. This drive clearly shows that the Japanese are aware that the sands are running out fast and they have to consolidate their hold on the Peiping-Hankow railway soon or else it might be too late,

This Japanese bid for the consolidation on the great continental rail-artery is being pressed on with such force that it leaves no doubt that it is a vital part of Japan's defence plan With a land-route to the raw-material sources firmly in their hand, Japan hopes to be able to carry on with a long war of attrition on the main-land of China. For even if the sea-lanes are cut by the U.S.A. Navy, sufficient supplies can be carried by the rail-route to enable Japan to carry on, the vaster resources of the Allies being counterbalanced by the immense difficulties of their supply route. It is premature however to speculate on all that since it is not yet clear as to which of the three routes to Tokyo would be taken by the Allies. The fighting that is going on now in Burma has not up to date given any hopes of Burma being made into a major base for Allied operations against the Japanese. Indeed the problem of maintaining great armies fighting in China by means of air-horne and land-borne supplies seems to be unsurmountable for the present judging by the extreme difficulties of the aerial route across the "hump" and the tortuous and difficult intricacies of the Burma Road. Therefore, the sea-route to China has to be cleared up to Singapore and Saigon before the drive against Japan from this side of the world can carry much weight. This route, therefore, will take some good time, whereas the Burma-Kunming route is likely to remain constricted for all time so far as the present war is concerned. The third route is the Pacific route of which the possibilities are as yet not fully revealed. There has been some speculation on that point but that

MY MOTHER

Reminiscences*

By C. F. ANDREWS .

I Five years ago Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews passed away on April 5th, 1940, but he will be missed by his should see her on this earth. That was to come in 1912 innumerable friends and admirers for many a year to and I shall write about it later. But when the heart is come. We reproduce here the compliments that were paid very deeply touched with grief, fears often loom large to him by Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet Tagore as and I confess that the hardest part of all in the deterforewords to a Hindi biography.

"C. F. Androne, who to me is door Charlie, is a living orthodiment of Christian principles. But by the singular purity of his life fear, that I shall never be able to see my mother again. and his never failing service to the poor and the lost, he has ceased to belong to any particular sect or nation, he has become one of the world.

"He is too near to me by bonds of op-operation and love to allow me to say anything about him in a detailed spirit of oriticum. Pandit Benerati Das has worked with him closely for a number of years and it is quite appropriate that he should write a biography of Andrews. In these days of destructive class struggle and of blatant nationalism his life has a special lesson for the world. May it not pass away unhocded!"

"l)ttaravan"

Santiniketan, 29-3 34 Rebindraneth Tagore

"It is not an easy thing for me to write a loreword to a life sketch of C F Andrews between whom and me there exists a tie closer than between blood brothers. But if I may say without presumption, I would like to note down my conviction that these does not exist in India a more truthful, more humble, and more devoted servant of hers than C. F. Andrews.

encouragement for greater devotion to the motherland."

Santiniketan, 17-9-20. M. K. Gandhi]

years' absence, has brought back to me the memery of revived me and made me cheerful again as nothing else my mother as nothing else has ever done before. It was could have done at such a time, nearly twenty-five years ago since I left England for to me while I was alone in the railway carriage, shiver- hot coffee and milk and butter and a roll of bread! ing with cold and trying to collect my thoughts. No journey in my life was sadder to me. Again and again in thought I turned back and wondered whether I had taken the right step.

Two things sustained me during that inner struggle. The former was that God's voice had been calling me and I could not disobey. The second was that my mother had always put 'duty' first in every thing she taught us and even when she had shed silent tears on the night before when we had said 'good-bye', she had never for a moment ceased to encourage me in what I was about to do. From the very first moment, when I had broken the news to her that I was going out in Christ's name to India, she had encouraged me to go. So great was her faith and so complete was her selfsacrifice of love!

It was not, after all, to be the last time that mination which had come to me to go out to India as a Christian missionary was the anxiety, bordering on

Let me go on a little with that story as I remember it vividly still. The snow-storm still descended while the train left Victoria Station in London. A small group of friends had collected to bid me farewell and then I was all alone. It was then at last that the pain came most, and it has always been possible for me to sympathise with the loneliness of home-sick Indian students on their way to England because of that personal experience of my own. If I had not suffered myself. I should not have been able to suffer with them.

The crossing of the English Channel was rough and the cold was still intense. Somehow the physical misery for a time was almost welcome, because it took my mind from the spiritual agony, which I was passing through The night in the train, sitting up and cramped for room, was spent almost sleeplessly. Then at Basie, in Switzer-"May the lesson of his life prove to the youth of India an land, the train stopped for nearly an hour in the very early morning, between 5 a.m. and 6 am. I was able to get a cup of steaming coffee, filled up with boiling milk This time that I have had in England, after so many and a Swiss roll of bread with butter. Somehow this

I must make another confession. On my way to Ge-India on one bitterly cold morning in February 1904 neva from Marburg in Germany during the present tour with the snow coming down and the sky dark and I passed through Basic. Two German friends were with threatening I had just left my mother on the previous me and they wished to entertain me with a full meal. evening after I had knott at her side in prayer as I We had fasted all day. But when they asked me what used to do every morning and evening as a little child. I would have, I asked them to provide hot steaming My heart was chilled through and through at the coffee with boiling milk and a Swiss roli of bread with thought of parting from her and I must confess that I butter simply in order that I might be able to recapture looked back and repented for a brief moment that I that incident, which happened nearly twenty-five years had set out on such a distant voyage. She was failing ago, when I had left my mother for the first time in all in health and I wondered whether I should ever be my life to go abroad and was heart-sick and home-sick. able to see her again. It seemed cruel on may part to beyond all words, on that early morning, in that same leave her. The whole scene of our parting came back railway station of Basle and had found some comfort in

 \mathbf{II}

It has been a very strange and dreply moving experience to me to visit one by one the places where I used to live as a little boy and bringing back to memory the days that are no more. In every place it has been the picture of my mother that has come back to me most vividly of all and that is why I have felt . the desire to write about it.

I can realise now more clearly how very great the actual poverty must have been in which I was brought up. There were two different streets where my father took us to live in turn in Birminghem in two very small houses which could hardly contain his everincreasing family. This happened after his removal from Newcastle. Both of these houses were so small that it is hard to realise how a family of thirteen children * These reminiscences were contributed by Dischardin C. P. could have found room in them! In former of the two Androus to the Fishel-Sharet in 1929 with instruction that they should houses there was literally no garden at all and the street be published in The Medern Seview atterwards ... B. Des Chattavedi. was our only play-ground. Costainly this was a grant

soil had been provided.

show what kind of child I was.

I heard the sound die down and the horror of the little boy, what have you done?" cruelty of it all forced itself upon my young imaginabook. The very place where I heard the cry was known suffered sank down into the sub-conscious. to me as I stood once more in the street All sorts of tions and as I stood at that point in the road, the Charlie, what have you done?" memory of what happened more than fifty years ago came back with a vivid flash to my mind.

The last house into which we moved was bigger than garden. It was not very easy to manage the ship-wreck, the afflicted. where there was no water. But a child's vivid imaginaanother time. It is too long to tell here.

deprivation, which I shared with millions of other town to Sutton Park by road. The walk was a long one for a children. It was very good for me to have this ex- boy of my age. It was over seven miles and I was a perience of complete poverty, but at the same time it somewhat weak child when I was young. There was a had a rather stunting effect on some of the finer instin to pool, close to the park entrance, on the far side of the in me, which were ready to blossom forth if a congenial park, which was first approached when we walked over. My brother and I had gone across some treacherous I can be fairly certain of this, because I can remem- marshy soil eagerly seeking some adventure amid the ber still today the almost mad joy which used to come wild natural scenery. We were playing together at to me as a child when my father took me into he 'Swiss Family Robinson.' Then I discovered a wild bird's country. My mother rarely came, because her household nest with three eggs in it, whose colour was light blue duties were overwhelming and she could not neglect with little dark spots I had never seen such a next them for a single moment. She was so self-sacrificing before in such a wild place. In my excitement that she never even thought of herself or her own I took the eggs in my cap and on my return home when I was tired almost to death with Up to this day I can remember with a vividness that the long walk and all my excitement was over. is almost photographic in its clearness of detail two I showed my mother all the three eggs, expecting her incidents connected with my mother, which seem to to admire them. She said to me, "Oh, Charlie, what have you done? Just think of that poor mother hen-bird The first of these was when a fowl was being killed coming back and finding all her beautiful eggs stolen! on the opposite side of the road near the open street. I Even now, perhaps she is flying and flying round her did not see anything of the dying agonies of the fowl. deserted nest making a sound of pain, Could you not It was only the sound that I heard At first I did not have taken only one, and left her two behind,-if it know what it was Then one of my playmates told me was necessary to take one at all? Oh, Charlie, my dear

Before she had finished, the picture of that poor tion. When I went into the house, I sat in misery by mother-bird flying round and round the deserted nest, my mother's side and told her all about it. Then I tried crying with pain, gripped my imagination. All that to bury my thought in a story-book, but that cry of night I could hardly sleep at all, though I was very the fowl's dying pain would never leave my imagination, tired. Then my memory is not quite clear what hap-For days and days it haunted me! Since then I have poned next, but I feel almost certain that it was surely forgotten thousands of other things But when I went next morning that I went back to Sutton Park with the to see that street, where we used to live, again once three blue speckled eggs What happened later was this more the strange thing was this that the one memory that I did not find the nest and so my conscience did which came back to me was that fowl's cry of pain and not get the relief it needed, but had to bear the burden. how I could not bear it but ran into the house to my until the child's habit of forgetfulness blotted out the mother and then tried to bury my horror in my story- memory of my conscious mind. All the agony I had

Let me end this picture, therefore, with the portraft changes had gone on. The house we lived in has been of my dear mother, as she drew me to her side and turaed into a workshop. But just that one turn of the said to me, with her tender chiding voice, which was street had remained unchanged amid all other altera- the greatest punishment I could possibly receive, "Oh,

One of the most beautiful things to witness in my the former I have mentioned. It had one inestimable own childhood was the absolute devotion which my advantage for us in our childhood. It had a back-garden father had towards my mother. There are always in in which we could play all day long when we were not married life differences of temperament and disposition. at school. What games we had! The favourite game, My father was at all times impulsive, warm-hearted, into which I used to coax my younger sisters to take generous to an almost extravagant degree, and ready to a part, was 'Swiss Family Robinson'. This story book believe any one who came to him with a pitiable story used to live with me as my one dearest possession. It of distress He was also exceedingly chivalrous and was illustrated. We used to act every part of it in that always wished to take up the cause of the oppressed and

My mother understood all these sentiments and tion very easily gets over trifling difficulties of that shared them, but she always had the better judgment. kind, I must, however, tell the whole of that story at As a mother of a very large family, she had to consider her own children and their needs. Therefore, though no What remained most vividly in my mind when I one could be more open-hearted and open-handed went back to this second house, where I had lived in towards real distress, she was not taken in, as my father my early childhood, was the memory of one day when not seldom was, by those who merely came to beg. I had come back to my mother in eager excitement because they were unwilling to do honest work. Thus, from Sutton Coldfield. There was a park there with four as years went by, my father used to rely more and more or five long pools. Nature had been allowed to continue upon my mother's judgment. Indeed—shall I dare my in its wild state. The incident I am about to mention it without any irreverence to his dear memory?—she must have happened when I was about twelve years became almost, as it were, a mother to him as well as old. On they I had wellned over with my alder brother a devoted wife. While the authority of our large household was entirely in his hands, he often would unconsciously delegate that authority to her in forming his decimons and would act upon her judgment rather than upon his own.

This made the loss all the harder to bear for my father when my mother died, after an ideal married life of nearly fifty years as husband and wife. He literally pined away after she was gone from him and the terrible days of European war hastened his own death. It would be difficult to find a more perfect example of a wedded love which was all in all.

It happened that while I have been in England th's summer, I came across a bundle of my father's letters written after the death of my mother. They were so pathetic in their patient fortitude and tender longing

We knew that their joy gould not last, dear That its gladness must soon pass quay.

But there's one thing that never can change, dear A gift that has come from above, Which has welded our hearts into one, dear The gift of unfaltering love.

Though our life here on earth fade away, dear Though our bodies be land in the dust, Even then, this shall never decay, dear For it liveth in Him, whom we trust.

Now alas! You are taken away, dear And I'm left to linger below, But the stream of my love does not stay, dear Its fountain shall never cease to flow.



C. F. Andrews (standing on the left) and his father, mother, brothers and sisters

for my mother's presence that it was difficult to relit them without tears. He tells the story, which my sisters had corroborated, how he had turned in his distress and solitude to the composition of poetry. Never in his whole life had he written a line of poetry before and now at the age of eighty-five he would spend day after day in writing down his thoughts in verse and giving them a very simple poetic form. It touched him very deeply indeed when anyone wrote to him and said that these simple verses had given them comfort in sorrow. He wrote hot only to assuage his own grief, but also to help others to bear theirs.

One of the most touching of these simple poems is before me in his own handwriting. It runs as follows:

When we think of those years so long passed, de w When we both were so happy and yay, In those heavenly mansions above, dear Where all shall be glary and peace, We shall still hve the life of that love, dear In Julness that never shall cease.

It is quite possible to criticise this poem from the point of view of literature and to fail to appreciate "t as such. But my own criterion is a simpler one, Fee I can realise in it how every word, that he wrote about my mother in this poem, was written with tears and how those tears were able in a slight measure to assume his own grief.

We, who were her children, joined with our father himself in giving this honour and reverence to my mother. Whenever we went over the wide world, it was to our mother that we always wrote those long letters of ours that were handed round to all the family circle. the steamer from Bombay a long letter to my mother. me to go on with the game and said, "Charlie, get up!" Not seldom I would write to my father also, but my But I could not rise, mother always had my longest letters. Once when I had I did so, because inquisitive eyes sometimes were wont and called the doctor. to scan my letters just before they departed from the I could avoid was to fail, by my own fault, to catch knees in bandages made of flannel. That night I lay in the mail. Therefore practically I never missed the mail delirium with very high fever indeed. during all those years before she died.

away from India, under the indenture system, wherever mother's prayers and restored me to her arms in love. I sit down in company with them, they always ask me married?" When I tell them that I have been all my second question is this: 'Is your mother still living?" with Mahatma Gandhi." Then they ask for the story of my mother's death, which has reached some of the together than these stories about my own mother.

I cannot remember whether I told the story of those very early days in my life when we were still living of them all-with brothers and sisters who were older than myself and many also who were younger. When I state the fact that we were fourteen in all, of whom only one died in infancy, I can imagine the surprise of a large family. Truly I pity very much indeed the spoilt or three children. We were a supremely happy family circle, with delightful companionship within the same been an only child in my own home in England.

set on the floor and looked at my knees and saw how of my life.

There was not a single week in which I did not send by red and swollen they had become. My brothers wanted

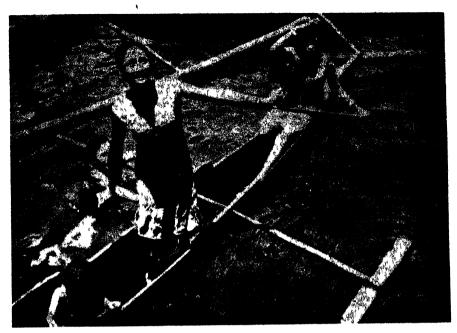
At that moment my mother came in and I can some doubt whether my letter had actually gone by the picture her tender, beautiful face, while I write down main steamer, I sent a cable to explain. For I could these words. Without an instant's delay she knelt down not bear the thought that my mother in her weakness, on the floor by my side and kissed me on my forehead during her declining years, should have the least anxiety and looked at both my knees as I pointed towards them on my account. Again and again, I used to warn her through my tears. She saw at once that I was very that the mail delivery was not infallable and it was well feverish. She then carried me in her arms to my cot

When he came he shook his head sadly and said Indian shores and at one period their delivery became that the illness was rheumatic fever in an acute form irrogular. That episode could not be avoided, but what and that my life would be in danger. He wrapped my

My mother has often told me how the high fever kept up, month after month, till my body had become I cannot remember where I left off in my reminis- a mere shadow and my life was despaired of. All that cences about my mother and I shall run the risk of I can remember of those months of suffering was my repeating myself. Here where I am living among the mother's face looking down on me with wonderful love Hindustani exiles from the United Provinces, who came and tenderness. She prayed for me by my bed-side, out to British Guiana, more than ten thousand miles night and day and God in His great mercy heard my

By far the greater part of all that suffering is two questions. The former is, "Mr. Andrews, are you merely one blank to me to-day. Probably I passed many days and weeks almost unconscious just hovering life a bachelor, they express surprise and tell me that between life and death. The crisis at last came and every they thought that I had many children in India. The one thought that I was going to die. Then one day I opened my eyes after a long period of unconsciousness I tell them, "No. She died when I was in South Africa and saw a flower on a little table close to my bed. If I remember aright, it was a white flower. It looked se beautiful that I seemed to wake into consciousness of educated Indians of this country and I tell it to them life again and to wish to live. Of one thing I am sure. as I shall tell it in due course in these reminiscences. It It was that flower which gave me the first impulse of is true to say that nothing brings our hearts more closely life, just at the very time when my spirit was flickering between life and death. From that day onwards I rapidly recovered

We all have very curious memories of our earliest in the North of England. There were already very many childhood. So much is absolutely forgotten. Yet other children born in our family and I came in the middle things are as clear and vivid as if they had happened yesterday. It will easily be imagined what a weak and tiny child I remained for some time after that terrible illness. We have a proverb in English: Troubles never come singly.' This was true with me. One day I was my readers. But no greater blessing ever came to me in standing outside the drawing-room door listening to life than to have such a mother and to belong to uch my father singing inside the room. My mother was playing the piano. So far my memory is uncertain, but children today, who are either the only children of their what follows could never be forgotien. In a foolish parents, or who belong to a very small family of two childish way I had put my finger into the crack or hinge of the door, which was half open. My father paused in his song and shut the door sharply, while my home. In India the joint family system gives some finger was still in this crack or hinge. When the scream happy relationships such as we had in our family and I gave told him what had happened my poor finger the fact that all through my childhood I had so many on my right hand was smashed to a pulp right up to the brothers and sisters has made perhaps the home-life in first joint. Fortunately I was so young at the time that India more easy for me to understand than if I had there was no bone yet fully formed but only soft tissues, Yet so severe was the accident that for six months, while But the story I wanted to tell was this-will you I was still weak with my former illness, I had to help forgive me if I have told it already and listen to it my hand in a string until the finger recovered. It is again?—One day when I was quite young, probably easy to see on my right hand the place where the not more than five years old, I was with my brothers accident was even today. But the long strain of recovery and sisters in our play-room, when suddenly I felt always afterwards made my right hand weaker than my burning hot and ill. My knees began to pain me so mucb left. Therefore when I began to play games, I found that I sat down on the floor in the middle of our game I had become left-handed. It was this accident which and began to cry. I can remember vividity just how I in this peopliar way made me left-handed all the rest



The Filipino girls are diving for coins flung from steamers that ply between the islands



Sampans carry American Red Cross supplies for China

Courtery: USOWI



Rice terraces in the Philippines cut out of the mountainside and strongly reinforced with timber



A new power sprayer developed in the Southern U.S. throws a germ and insect killing spray into a citrus fruit orchard Courtesy: USOWI

mother seemed to come nearer and nearer to my heart. We were a big family and we had to learn the art of Probably on account of the fact that she had almost living together. It was our mother who was the real seen me die, my mother had a fundness for me that teacher. For her own unselfishness was contagious and perhaps she did not have in the same degree for her we became uncoexciously like her in little things. In other more robust and healthy children. At any rate I this manner we were ready to give way to one another seemed to think so and the love which she gave me was instead of thinking only of ourselves. Sometimes I returned superabundantly from my side. There has think that the joint family system in India has some never been anyone throughout all my life, who could of the advantages which we had in our own home. I compare with my mother in my heart for the depth of am sure a great deal is lost in these solitary homes in my affection. For though I have had many friends the West, where there are hardly any children at all. whom I have loved closer than my brother, their love for me and my love for them cannot compare even for us were living in distant parts of the world, it was a one moment with love which I had for my mother and my mother had for me.

I would like to tell some more incidents in my mother's life which I can never forget. They will help at the present time to sweeten our thoughts when there is so much bitterness on every side owing to the critical struggle in which India is engaged. For it is not a good thing to dwell entirely on the harsher sides of life without any relief.

My mother was one of those who believed in bringing up her own children herself with as little help from outside as possible. She would get up very early indeed every morning and was at work in the house preparing for the duties of the day long before we ourselves came down from our rooms. She was very devout in her own life and when we were children we would never miss a single morning or evening saying our prayers beside her. She would sit in her chair and each one of us in turn would kneel down and close our eyes and then repeat after her a simple prayer to God for protection and blessing through the day or through the night as the case might be. It is quite impossible for me even to forget her own reverence on such occasions. The time was never hurried, however busy she might be. It was sacred to God.

We had a sweet custom of getting up very early indeed on my mother's birthday, which came on May 25th every year, and singing outside her door. would wait in her room that morning, because she knew what was going to happen. Then at the end of our song she would come out with a radiantly happy face and greet us all. We will then give her our little presents, which we had kept in store for that special occasion. She would be intensely delighted with them, however insignificant they might be, and there would be a great joy in her face all day long. Her birthday came at a very beautiful time of the year, when all the spring flowers were in blossom and we used to deck her room in my mother's account and the reply came that there with flowers. One such birthday I can remember whon we were all quite young. The sun was shining all day long in a blue cloudless sky. It remained for me for many years afterwards an ideal recollection. I would recall my mother's face radiant with pure happiness in the knowledge of her children's love for her and the She was more anxious about my father than about the love which my father had for her and for us his children loss of money. Then the evening time came and we had crowning our home. I remember how the tears were our evening prayers together. That evening my father in her eyes often on the morning, but they were tears of happiness in her deep emotion, not team of sorrow.

hand, some happiness which she had devises. A serve Amen we saw which was on behalf of his friend of the mondered with pity since at solitary families, how his whole prager was on behalf of his friend.

During all these childish illnesses and troubles, my where there is only one child or perhaps two children.

. When in later years we had to scatter and some of wonderful bond between us that our mother was always there at the centre uniting us together. We used to get her letters as regularly as possible. She would know exactly when to post them and she never missed the post. During all my years in India, I cannot remember once having missed her letters by the weekly mail, until at a certain time I came under the observation of the C.I.D. Then I found my mother's letters becoming erratic. They would not arrive when the mail came, but a few days later. It was hard to keep from bitter thoughts when this happened. I have no doubt in my own mind as to the culprit, though when I publicly protested, it was told me that such an interference with my letters had never happened. But this was by no means convincing. It was, however, some recompense to know that I was receiving the very same treatment that hundreds of educated Indians have received from that secret and inhuman society, the Criminal Investigation Department. What really troubled me was to find that my own mother had not received at the proper time my own letters and that this had caused her very great anxiety indeed. This to me was almost unbearable and I used to chafe under it. What happened at a later period I must leave over for another issue.

[Unfortunately Mr. Andrews could not continue these reminiscences any further. The following extraces have been taken from his notes dictated to me in 1920 for his biography.-Benarsi Das Chaturvedil.

At that time when I was nine years old, there came about an event of my life. The chief trustee of my mother's property proved to be a scoundrel. He was a great friend of the family and my father trusted and loved him as a brother. Then one day my father suldenly discovered that he had speculated and robbed my mother of all the money she had. This was dis-oevered in the afternoon by telegram by my father asking the manager of the Bank if there was any money was none. And I shall never forget the great shock that it was to my father. I think he felt it most because it was my mother's money and also because the friend whom he loved most had so deceived him. My father was very silent and my mother told me all about it. read a passage of the Bible in which the words came. If it had been an enemy then I could have borne it We were always discovering something which she but it was thou my familiar friend in whom I trusted. had silently done for us out of her endless store of After reading the passage he remained quite quiet and leve-some little gift she had prepared with her own I could see that he was trying to keep back his tears. hand, some happiness which she had devised. I have Then we knelt down to pray and I shall never forget

he might be forgiven for the wrong he had done and that stating that my mother was not expected to live. 1 and those who suggested never asked him a second time. fairly rich we were reduced to poverty and the struggle wherever I have met them. that my father and mother had to make to educate us during the next few years was very great indeed.

On the way down from Johannesburg to Durban I had fever in the train. It was a touch of the old malarial fever and I was quite exhausted by the time who had just come out of jail. It was the first time I vedi]. had seen Mrs. Gandhi. But at that moment I was quite upset because Mr. Pearson put into my hands a letter

he might be brought so repentance and to a better life. showed it to Mr. Gandhi and he told the ladies then-He used to speak to us and tell us that we must not selves. The next morning was a terrible ordeal. I felt feel any bitterness against his friend, because although certain that my mother must have died and was waiting he had done that great wrong still he hoped that he for a second cable in answer to my own. There was an would, in time, come to see the wrong. When people immense gathering of Indians waiting to be told about urged my father to prosecute him, he indignantly refused the settlement and I had to speak. It was very very hard indeed to speak at such a time. In the afternoon This incident had a very great effect indeed on my life, the cable came to say that my mother was dead.* I It made me love my father as I never loved him before sent the cable to Mr. Gandhi and soon afterwards M-s. and my mother also who was entirely of one mind with Gandhi accompanied by all the Indian ladies came to my father in this matter. It seemed to bind the whole see me. That was the greatest comfort that I received family together in love and was in this way a great at that time. It seemed to me that they were my blessing. But the greatest blessing of all was that we mothers and I felt in a strange way that those Indian became exceedingly poor—so poor that we children ladies were to be my mother in future. Often and often often had to eat dry bread and nothing else for our I have felt this to be literally true and I am sure that med and we were obliged to hve in a very small house my mother's love for India has been returned to me in with the poor people of the town. Thus from being the affection which I have had from Indian mothers

["Go and help the Indian cause in South Africa and do not come back till your work is done." These were the words that Mr. Andrews' mother wrote back to nim when he asked her whether he should be by her side during her illness in England or proceed to South Africa we reached Durban. There we met the Indian ladies to help Mahatma Gandhi there.—Benarei Das Chatur-

A REVIVALIST*

Our Debt To The Swami Shradananda

PART II

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

IIX

A shock was awaiting me—a psychological shock. With there was precious little privacy. That I learnt almost the turn of the century I had ceased to be a provin- immediately after I had taken up residence at Lahore. cial-at least, to be so in my own sight. I had become -had become my home, temporarily.

"Home" was only a cubicle. That word I had to fellows (to my notions) were, who dwelt in dormitories. forum,

Nor had he sent me to one of the cheaper colleges

swould put it. He, I had just discovered, had lived and friends and I lay talking till, one by one, we fell off into laboured for a time not far from the Government slumber. Every one within ear-shot joined in, College Hastel, and not so many years before. I was to meet him in the course of the travels upon which I was to emback somewhat later.

Whether one lived in a cubicle or in the dormitory,

Of a bookish turn of mind and something of a prig. a metropolitan (not, of course, in the Church of Eng- I was not a little irked by the gregarious sense in the land sense). Lahore—the capital of the region of my Punjabis fast emerging towards manhood. It was asserbirth, not yet backed by George Nathaniel (later the tive aggressive undeniable. Since there was no avoid-Earl and later still the Marquis) Curson (of Kedieston) ing it, I had soon to come to terms with my neighbours.

What the professors and assistant professors tried learn. Now I would describe it as a poky little place— to ram into my mind, already cluttered with much have and ugly. Then, however, it spelled to me in-miscellaneous pickings from books and periodicals, was dependence. Thanks to my father's generosity—and to me, educationally, of little value compared with father as I was later to understand/was not wealthy—I what my compeers taught me. This teaching went on was not one of the common herd, as so many of my mostly at night. It took place in a sort of open ar

This forum was the unpaved oblong on all four minimized by private agency. No. The institution I sides of which the hostel and college offices had been had the same the first of its kind in Lahore. The built. As the gloom gathered, cots (charpais) were carried satisfactor for it had come from the State. The Govern- out of the cubicles and halls into it. At first, with the ment still ran it.

rolled-up bedding serving as a huge pillow for me to
How soon I was to sisten of all this officialdom! lean against, conversation processed. Later the durri
That, however, is "another story," as Rudyard Kipling was spread on the string-weighting, my newly made

XIII

Lais Munshi Ram's name leapt into the conversa-William I of the entries, please see The Medern Review for that bear-t-conciles warming college-hostel cordinity. I'

^{*} Died on 9th of January 1912.

cannot, for the moment, recall who started the discussion or how it began.

So challenging a personality must indeed have been under frequent discussion long ere I came upon the scene. Something that he had said or done must have provoked some one to subject him to sharp criticism. The attack must have been met with equally stout defence.

It is, of course, not, at all improbable that I may myself have started the polemics on this particular occasion. As I related earlier in the course of this article, I was proud of Uncle Munshi Ram, I was ever trotting out the one triumph he had achieved of which I wrote earlier. This was the victory at a verbal joust that he had won over "Ratee-geen."

Upon coming to Lahore I had dropped that manner of murdering that legal luminary's name. What I heard about him must inevitably have whetted my desire to relate this incident. As becoming an undergrad who (in his own esteem) was already something of a journalist on the side, I must have put my imagination as well

as my heart into the telling.

Whether in this or in some other way, the psychological shock came. Of its coming I have a vivid recollection. Something of the sickening sensation that overpowered me at the time returns to me, in fact, as I pen these words.

XIV

Some six years before there had been a great coutest. In this the man whom I was representing as wiser than the wisest lawyer in the Punjab of that day had been worsted.

The conflict had been between men who had elected to tread the path of the Swami Dayananda's making. The man who emerged as Lala Munshi Ram's "opposite number" (to use a pregnant phrase of my wife's native land) hailed from the Bist Doab—the tract lying between the Beas and the Sutlej ravers—as he himself did. Hans Raj' by name, he was the principal of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College from its inception.

There were, of course, others. To some of these I shall refer presently. Munshi Ram and Hans Rai were, however, the principal contestants, so far as the general public was concerned.

Some bystander of a humorous turn of mind Ram and his followers, he said, fancied only tori-a long, narrow vegetable of the gourd species, with a flat taste. Hans Raj and the people ranged behind him insisted, however, upon jal-tori-the long, narrow vegetable that grows in the water (fish). Or, alternatively, Munshi Ram's was the place (grass) party; while Hans fundamental as it was radical. Raj's was the mas (meat) party.

caused friction—ruffled tempers. Had it, however, been College established by the Government some years the only, or even the main, issue, it is to be doubted earlier. In his institution the fees were lower: therefore that there would have been a split. Hans Raj was, in young men flocked to it. The attraction was much fact, not very partial to meat; he is known to have more of an economic than of a religious nature. quit eating it not long afterwards. But for the contentions, he might have abjured it sooner.

Who was to control the coffere? White was to conduct the institutions religious, propagandist and educational -that had been and were being set up? Whose was to be the supreme voice? Whose the masterful hand?

XV

Despite his legal asumen and experience, Munshi Ram was "frozen out." He was not the man to suffer defeat in silence. For a time it looked as if violence was inevitable.

An attempt to seize the principal institution-the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College was, indeed, made. Shouting

"Agar dharam he live jan jati hai to jane do (If faith demands life that sacrifice must be made)", a knot of young men attacked the college gate. They found it barred and locked from the inside. Students

armed with stout lathic (oudgels) stood to defined it.

At sight of the first trickle of blood, however, there was "disengagement." The fray fissled out. The attack-

ers retired. The "hans" retained the "fort."

Opposed to Munshi Ram were lawyers of no mean merit. To mention two: There was Lala Lal Chand. who, a little later, was elevated to the Chief Court Bench. There also was Lais Laipat Rais, whose name, within a quarter of a century, became known and esteemed in every town and village in India and often found its way into papers abroad and in the "Mother of Parliaments" in London.

It was, however, Hans Raj with whom, in the last analysis, Munshi Ram had to reckon. Thin as a rail, with muscle that had known little, if indeed any, of the stiffening and suppleness that exercise gives, he could stand not a ghost of a chance if pitted against his rival in a physical contest. Behind his spectacled, myopic eyes was, nevertheless, a restless, resourceful brain and a little way below that brain a leonine heart. So long as he chose to stay at the college, almost wholly of his own creation, he dominated it, though, according to the letter of the constitution, he was at the beck and call of the Managing Committee. Not only the college, but also the entire organization of which that college was the most active organ.

This continued, indeed, almost to the day of his death. Of him I have written elsewhere, and intend writing at greater length at the first opportunity. A summed up the struggle in terms of comestibles. Munsh, large section of the Punjab of the last and, to some extent, of this generation, is largely of his making.

XVI

Uncle Munchi Ram once gave me his interpretation of this battle royal. There was, between Hans Raj and him, a difference of outlook. This difference was as

Hass Raj was content, according to his opponent, Animal food was, indeed, a point of controversy. It to run an institution that was largely a copy of the

Sanskrit and Aryan culture did not receive there anything like the emphasis that the Mahariski or he, In essence the struggle was over the oustody of the Maharishi's followers, would have liked to see them the very considerable resources that had already been given. They certainly did not constitute its heart. It acquired by Arya Samajists from brothers of their faith. was, therefore, hopeless to expect that institution to These were being steadily (and even quickly) added to, provide the Arya Samaj with an adequate number of

I Known during his working life as the Principal Ham Raj, he, or "contaging the forme," was applicated so the Michaema Rope Roj. (Coloutta) for Indiany and February. 1994.

² See. my esticle "Lale Lajpet Rei" in The Medien Revie

workers who would selfessly devote themselves wholeheartedly to the propagation of the faith.

the semblance of the selection of the faith.

Such, indeed, was the pull exerted by economics of which that the College had bound itself hand and foot to the University. Who could say that the University was an independent body—that it was managed by Indian In the untrammelled by official leading strings? Power was In that classified, moreover, by officials non-Indian almost to and rafter a man.

Why had Hans Raj sacrificed independence? The answer was that he hankered after students. These could be had in large numbers only if the college was "recognized." This meant that it must be tied down to the University. Without "recognition" the graduates would not have the piece of parchment that was the passport to the services and professions alike. That lure kept him from organising—from running—an institution that could have been an efficient instrument for furthering the Maharishi's ideals."

XVII

This was all very well, I said to myself, but it could not explain away the disparity between the achievements of the two men. While Undle Munshi Ram was talking, Bhaiya' Hans Raj was building. How much he had already built!

As instructed by my father, I took the earliest opportunity to go to the "D.A.V." College to see him. After a talk with him in the "Principal's Office," I was taken over the institution.

If I had the eyes that I now carry in my head, I would have been shocked at the sight that greeted mc. The buildings would have appeared to me to be squat and shapeless, lacking the dignity that form gives, even without ornament. I would have set them down as the work of some P.W.D. subordinate, may be a sub-overseer, who knew naught of architecture save to alculate stresses and strains. Then, however, they impressed me by their very multitude and substance.

I was even more struck by the life and bustle going on all about me. The whole place was astr—slive.

Whosoever I talked with—whether student or professor—was filled with Dayanandic seal. Myself not possessing it, I looked upon them as Katta (bigoted) Aryas.

I wondered why Uncle Munshi Ram cavilled at the institution. Was he jealous of all this achievement? If envy did not set his tongue wagging, why must he decry it?

Why, in any case, did he not bestir himself? If he had ideas, then why did he not get busy? Was he wanting in the ability to carry them out? Talking—ijust talking—while Bhaiya Hans Raj was working!

The impatience of my mid-teens found vent in such uncharitable questionings.

XVIII

Soon I was to have my answer. Hardly had this century begun to toddle about, Uncle Munshi Ram seemed to tire of this negative attitude. He had already locked up his law-books. No longer content with preaching and journalising, he concentrated his attention upon devising a body in which his ideas could function. He projected an institution such as he would have had

Hans Raj run, if Hans Raj only would. It was to be in the semblance of the cohrumas (residential universities) of which he had read in olden works. The picture—or was it a vision?—he carried in his mind was something like this:

In the heart of the forest there would be a clearing. In that clearing there would be a few huts. The pillars and rafters would be made of wood hewn in the vicinity, that also would yield the materials for the walls and thatch. The floor would be of earth, as God made it.

In the central hutment would live the acharya (preceptor) with his ardhangini (equal half). To him would come young men thirsting for knowledge in which he specialized.

Among the applicants would be princes of the blood royal and courtiers' sons. There would likewise be the progeny of merchants and artificers. And peasants' offspring, too. Anybody's. Everybody's. None who desired and deserved vidya dan (education as a gift) would, indeed, be turned away. Not even a harkot's nameless brat, provided he was worthy.

Each applicant would approach the acharya with a load of wood upon his back. Placing it in front of the preceptor, he would beg for the gift—the greatest of gifts—the gift of knowledge.

Raising the boy from the ground the guru (teache') would take him into his kukh (hterally womb). He would now be of the guru's kula.

Teacher and pupil would thereafter live and labour together. Roots; leaves, berries, nuts, honey and the like, gathered from the surrounding forest during the intervals of study, would be their fare. This would be partaken of in common from salvers made of green leaves, while seated upon deer skins spread upon the floor.

Before the Ushas (Dawn's myriad daughters) fetched out their tubs filled with paints more delicate than the onyx or mother-of-pearl, the day's routine would begin. After ablutions the fire would be lit in the pit deemed sacred and to the chanting of the sandhyas clarified butter and sweet-scented herbs would be ceremonially cast into the living flame.

That flame symbolised the institution. Knowledge imparted there must likewise be pure. Without commercial taint, it must be. Only then could it burn all the dross out of a man's spirit.

It was meant also to illumine his mind. His mind was, in fact, to be turned into a light that would brighten all upon whom it of design or even chance, fell.

TTV

Once the resolution was made, Munshi Ram—about this time acclaimed Mahatma—bent his giant physical, mental and spiritual energies upon the creation of the gurukula. With begging bowl in hand he proceeded from place to place. He had vowed that he would not recross his own threshold till he had secured a certain sum—a lakh of rupees. I seem to remember.

An Arya Samajist—Lala Aman Singh—who shared his faith, caught the enthusiasm from him. He gave him a tract of land that seemed to be just the site be needed. As Ganga Mai emerged from the mountain fastnesses in which she had descended from Vishnu's heaven upon earth, she swished past the point, cutting it off from Mayapura—magnet for pilgrims for ages,

³ Those are not mecessarily my opinious.

⁴ Punjahin address an older brother as Bheiyu R. Owing to the association between his and my family, I reperfed Hims Rej in that light.

I Limitally conjunction—conjunction of night and day; figuratively prayer fitting for the hour.

now a suburb of Hardwar. Most of its acreage was under copse or forest. Kangri was the name it bore.

Clearances were soon made. Hutments were run up. The most impressive among the humble structures was the havanshala (fire-hall), for use at daybreak and sunset for the chanting in the Vedic father's style of the ages-old prayer.

Boys ranging from eight to twelve years of age took leave of their tearful mothers in homes scattered mostly over the Punjah and its eastern neighbour. From them they would be away for twelve or fifteen years. No reunion was to be expected during that long period.

In tow of their fathers, also unhappy at the proximate parting but proud to be in the vanguard of this revival, the boys were taken to the nearest railway station. Thence they were conveyed to the sacred stream, very shallow at this time of the year, and transported (I seem to recollect in bullock carts) across its bed, to this spot.

$\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x}$

Munshi Ram-now a full-fledged Mahatma-received these youngsters with ancient ceremony into his kukh and made them of his kula. Through Yama's (the god of death's) action, the kula was minus its woman member.

In 1891 he had lost his wife. That dear, gracious lady had, largely with silent sympathy, helped him to accomplish the transition from the kingdom of flesh o that of monogamic bliss. She also had been his loving, his progress away from the world.

All the men that the Guru needed to start the institution accompanied him to Kangri, however. His magnetic personality had pulled them away from their

Even if they had been permitted to bring their ing out of the faculties of young persons. women-folks along with them, which, I seem remember, they were not, they preferred to come by themselves. At least most of them did.

Kangri, at that time, was hardly the place for strongly developed gregarious instincts. The Mahatma ahead of him. If he went, he would lose both money was eager, in any case, to keep the ashrama free from and prestige. the distractions and allurements that boys graduating into men find in the other sex.

XXI

One of my life-long friends elected to follow the Mahatma to this "wilderness," soon after this experiment was begun. He was, strangely, a first coust, of the Principal Hans Raj. Rama Deva by name, he had been born and "raised" within a few miles of the where I first learnt to call Munshi Ram "unch Hoshiarour.

progressed only about half way towards graduation Revolution—bloodless, but nevertheless effective. when an emotional squall rose there.

even older than himself, doctrines that any person to be his spouse, became irresistibly drawn into the possessed of prudence would have left severely alone. Arya Samaj movement, there were ructions in the Munshi Ram, as they had been to that of Guru Dutt's

upon whose pattern Rama Deva had been modelling himself since he entered his teens. In the Dayanand Angle-Vedic College they were, however, heresy.

In his partisan seal it never occurred to him that his espousal of that cause was in the nature of a rebellion against his cousin-Principal. If it had occurred to him. it is not likely that he would have temporized. Temporisation and he were utter strangers, especially at that stage of his life.

Highly emotional by nature, this activity carried on, as it were, in the very citadel of the opposite party, must have appeared to him to be very clever. It must

have afforded him no small amount of fun.

The cousin who had to conduct the college, already large and rapidly growing, viewed matters from another angle. As soon as the news was carried to him he gent for Rama Deva and tried to impress him with the error' of his ways.

The Principal found the pupil as obstinate as he was obtuse. To the lecture he read him, Rama Deva

read him another.

Hans Raj was in no mood to listen to the younger man's concept of how the D.A.-V. College should be rum. So he laid down the law. There was to be no haranguing a la Munshi Ram. If one single word were uttered, Rama Deva, cousin though he was, would be flung out of the college.

Rama Deva quit on the spot. He might have gone to another college: but disgust at what he considered to if sometimes somewhat bewildered, companion through be man's perversity took him away from Lahore. After a time he again began his studies. Through sheer willpower he subsequently got through the Baccalaureate of Arts examination. Studying pedagogies at the feet of Dr. Wright, a great trainer of teachers, he got a real insight into boy psychology and the technique of draw-

He was teaching in Jullunder when Munshi Ram's gurukula propaganda shook him to the core of his being.

He resolved to pack up and go to Kangri.

His kinsfolk tried to interfere. This, they declared, women, especially women of the Punjab. with their was madness. If he stayed on, he had a brilliant future

> Munshi Ram, they said, was only a visionary. He had never made a success of anything he had undertaken. At the gunikula he would fail, just as he had failed elsewhere.

> Rama Deva was determined, however. Go he would. Go he did. He was to prove a great acquisition to the Jurukula at Kangri.

$\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{n}$

did his life-mate-Shrimati Vidyadhari. Some years after she, as a child, had been conveyed to the When the time came for Rama Deva to enter home of her in-laws, her husband being only a boy and gollege, there was for him but one institution in the economically dependent upon his people, she entered province of the five rivers—in fact, in the whole world, the university that never fails to sharpen intelligence This was the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. He had and develop character. This was the "U" of Social

As her man, in choosing whom she had exercised Rama Deva had begun preaching to the students, no volition any more than he had done in electing her These doctrines were dear to the heart of Mahatma "joint family", several members of which I personally

d later as the Pandit. The latter title was in the nature of a closed a curver, many-sidedly briftiant.

challenge, for it contravened the conception that only Brahmans could 6 in early years he was spoken of as the Fidyarthi (atadeat) he so distinguished from the common herd. Dank at an early age

that she sould continue to stay with her in-laws only u Americans whom I met talked to me of him. she desisted from having anything to do with that seamp she called "husband".

Refusing to knuckle under, Rama Deva had been

suffered to go his own way. She stayed on.

This tension eased in time. Ere the Gurukula opened, she had taken her stand alongside her mate, affectionate and generous to a fault, mercurial in temperament and consumed by an intellectual craving that she, unfortunately, could not share.

XXIII

Among the teachers who flocked to the Gurukula there was a Kayastha-Mahesh Charan Sinha. He had studied philosophy (I believe), at one of the univer- With such enthusiasm from a band of selfies sities on the Pacific Coast of the United States of workers, the Gurukula was to get a good start. It did.

He had just left Seattle. Washington when I

knew and esteemed. A time came when she was told arrived there nearly thirty-nine years also. Many

One day while travelling in a trolley (clostiffs tram) car, they told me an American woman got it into her head that Sinha was trying to messnerise her. At her hysterical appeal, the conductor stopped the car and called an officer (constable), who arrested the Indian student. Produced in court, the young man was honourably discharged.

So high-minded was Sinha that he "buried himself in the jungle", as his kinsmen who had cherished hones of his great worldly success said. In return for the work he did he received a pittance that, had he remained in the United States of America, would not have sufficed to keep his boots shined.

With such enthusiasm from a band of selfless

(To be continued)

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER Britain's Responsibility and Duty

By D. N. BANERJEE.

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Gandhiji during their negotiations with each other and years." afterwards, with special reference to the question of the two-nations theory as enunciated by the former. this article I propose to consider Britain's responsibility and duty in relation to the Indian problem. It will appear from what follows why I have given priority to Britain's responsibility in the matter over its duty in relation to it.

П

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

Towards the end of October last, the London Becommist was reported to have observed, among other things, in connexion with the break-down of the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations:

"No doubt should be left where the British Government stands. The complaint is often made against the British policy that it has deliberately fostered Moslem separatism as an obstacle to Dominion Status. The charge is untrue, or at least unproven."

And at a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on October 26th, 1943, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stated in the course of his remarks on a paper read there by Professor R. Coupland:

"This country through its Government and Parliament had come to the conclusion that it was no longer for us to prescribe India's future Constitution, but to treat India as the Dominions were treated in the past

and leave her to decide for herself that most important In my three preceding articles in this series, I have part of her destiny, namely, the Constitution under examined the position taken by Mr. Jinnah and which that destiny was to be carried forward in future,

Previously to this, Mr. Amery had expressed more or less similar views on a number of occasions. For instance, he stated in the House of Commons on 28th April, 1942 ---

"What, indeed, is needed, perhaps even more than new constitutional methods, is a new spirit of compromise. It is by making Indian statesmen conscious that the solution of the (Indian) problem is their own undivided responsibility and not ours that both the right methods and the right spirit are most likely to

Also, in the House of Commons on 1st August, 1941, "It seems to me there is today a call on Indian statesmen for a new and different effort, for a new technique of consultation and conciliation with each other rather than that of addressing demands to this House or belabouring the Government of India . . Having deliberately, and I venture to say rightly and even necessarily, remitted to Indian hands the framing of India's future Constitution, His Majesty's Government wished, etc. . . ."

Again' in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941, "It is upon Indian statesmen, in the main, and not upon us, that the time-table of future constitutional progress depends . . . the time-table of India's constitutional advance depends far more upon Indian agreement than upon ourselves."

Or again, in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940, in connexion with the Declaration of 8th August, 1940,

¹ See The Mediera Review of December (1944) and of January and February (1945).

² See Renter's Report, "Raind at Lundon 27th October, 1944, in Mindusthen Standard of \$9th Quieber, 1944 (Dak Edition).

³ The paper was entitled Passibilities of an Indian Settler San The Asiatic Review of Incomp., 1964.

⁴ See Amery, India and Freedom, Oxford, p. 184.

S The italies are mine.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 98-94. 7 Ibid., pp. 48-67.

⁸ Jide, pp. 73-75.

"Subject to these matters (i.e., the obligations of Indians for themselves. . . Agreement, consent, is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. . . The responsibility for securing upon Indians themselves."

It may also be mentioned here that in his speech again laid Stress on the necessity of an "agreed future Constitution" for India, and that, in the course of a letter to Gandhiji, dated at New Delhi, 15th August, 1944 Lord Wavell, Vicerov and Governor-General of India, too, laid emphasis on an "agreement in principle between Hindus and Muslims and all important elements" in India. "This agreement", Lord Wavel added, "is a matter for the Indians themselves. Until Indian leaders have come closer together than they are now, I doubt if I myself can do anything to help. Let me remind you too that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance."

What I have shown above typifies the attitude of 1906, Simla) of Mary, Countess of Minto, "the British Government as well as of the British public in general, towards the Indian problem. In a mood of self-complacency they declare that they have done their duty to India, and that it is now India's turn to solve its own political and communal problem. Apparently, this attitude is quite unexceptionable, and those who do not know the real facts of the case may rightly think that the Indians alone are responsible for the present situation in this country, and that it is, therefore, their duty to find a way out of it. But to those who know the facts, this attitude appears to be both funny and strange, if not lacking in political sincerity and honesty. scene of action in an unctuous mood that it has done its duty, leaving it to the latter to find a solution for the problem or to fight it out. What I really mean to India primarily owes its origin to the policy which Britain has pursued in regard to it even during this century, not to go further back." And this policy-very natural to an existing ruling authority, particularly when it is alien to the country over which it rules—has often been a policy of deliberate exaggeration and exploitation of the differences between the two major communities of India, namely, the Hindus and the Muslims, and now also those between the so-called caste Hindus and that section of the Hindu community which is unfortunately labelled, often with a sinister motive, as the Depressed Classes or the Scheduled Castes. Perhaps one or two examples may be usefully cited here to establish my point.

In the first place, I may refer to the present victors His Majesty's Government referred to in the Declara- system of separate representation through communal tion), the desire of His Majesty's Government is that electorates—the evil system which, as I have stated in the new Constitution of India should be devised by another connexion," has, ever since its introduction into this country, acted as a cancer in the body politic of India. It has intensified our differences, driven com-munities farther apart from one another by "stimulating a speedy as well as a satisfactory result (in the matter communal interests", and has now led to that suicidal of finally settling the new Indian Constitution) rests agitation—its inevitable culmination—by a section of our countrymen for the partition of our Motherland, on the basis of a so-called two-nations theory. What do we in the House of Commons on 28th July last Mr. Amery find to have been the origin¹⁶ of this fatal institution? I first find in a letter's from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Morley, Secretary of State for India, to Lord Minto, Vicercy and Governor-General of India, dated 6th June, 1906,-

Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India; Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them; be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against

you'," and so forth and so forth."

And I next find in the Indian Journal (October 1st.

"We are aware of the feeling of unrest that exists throughout India, and the dissatisfaction that prevails amongst people of all classes and creeds. . . . The younger generation (of Mahomedans) were wavering, inclined to throw in their lot with the advanced agitators of the Congress," and a howl went up that the loyal Mahomedans were not to be supported, and that the agitators were to obtain their demands through agitation. The Mahommedans decided." before taking action, that they would bring an Address before the Viceroy, mentioning their grievances.'

Accordingly, about seventy Muslim delegates arrived A deliberately creates a highly complicated problem at Simla from the different parts of India, and on the for B. C. D. etc., and then wants to retire from the morning of the 1st of October, 1906, His Highness the Aga Khan read the Address in the Ball-room of the Viceregal Lodge, stating the "grievances and aspirations" of the Muslim community.14 "Minto then read say is that, although the Indian people have their own his answer, which he had thought out most carefully." share of responsibility in the creation of the problem "It was impossible," writes Mary Minto, "to promise that has arisen in this country, the present situation in them (i.e., the Muslims) too much for fear of offending other communities, but as he spoke, in very clear distinct tones, murmurs of satisfaction passed through the audience."

Among other things, Lord Minto said to the Muslim Deputation :-

"I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are

⁹ In reply to Gandhiji's letter to the Vicertey, deted at Pane pani 27th July, 1944.

²⁰ Those who want to study in detail the problem and hierary of communal representation in India should read K. B. Kristner, The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation to India (Goorge Alben & Ugesley, said Aseka Mohim & Achyst Patrupellan, The Comof Trimele in India (Kitchistan, Allahabad),

¹¹ See my article entitled Should our Legislatures be constituted on the Functional Busis?, in The Indian Journal of Political Science, Conference Number, 1943.

¹² Also see Mehta and Patwardhan, The Communal Triangle in India, Chap. IV. and Gurmukh N. Singh, Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development, Chap. XX.

¹³ See Morley, Recollections, Vol. 21. pp. 173-74.

¹⁴ The indice are mine.

¹⁵ See her India, Minto and Morley, 1905-1910, MacMillan, 45.48.

¹⁶ The italies are sains.

¹⁷ See in this connexion a very interesting revelation in Mahas d Peteredhan, op. alt., 186 61-64; 18 Sm Mary Misto, India, Minto and Marloy, pp. 45-46. 19 See 1844, 39, 45-46. The india are mins.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 46-67,

to share in the political history of our Empire

"You go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealing of your rulers, and of temperate counsel and sober guidance'

in any system of representation . . . in which it is pro- as this," pused to introduce or increase an electoral organization, rendered to the Empire.

granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the population of this continent. . . .

"The Mahommedan community may rest assured

Thus in 1906 Lord Minto sowed the seed of separate representation through communal electorates. Duly watered and nurtured by interested parties, the seed has since grown into a very big tree with farspreading branches, profusely producing the poisonous fruits which could be easily anticipated, and which are now so well-known to us all. And what was really behind the assurance given to the Muslim community by Lord Minto? Thanks to Mary, Countess of Minto, we par 12...F. Mukherji. main Countess of Minto, we pp. 214-15. Clarifying his ideas in this connexion know it now. "This evening" she writes, "I have Lord Lord Morley said on 23rd February, 1909: received the following letter from an official:

a very, very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition."

The letter was really prophetic. It is, however, evident from it that it was not so much the love for the Muslim community of India as the consideration of Imperial interests that actuated Lord Minto to make the Declaration he did on 1st October, 1906. Even Mr. Morley first took more or less the same view about the Declaration as had been taken by the official referred to by the Countess of Minto. On receiving an account of the proceedings of the 1st of October, 1906, he wrote to Lord Minto on 26th October, 1906:

"All that you tell me of your Mahommedans is full

21 The itelies in this questition are mine.

affording me of expressing my appreciation of the just of interest, and I only regret that I could not have aims of the followers of Islam and their determination moved about unseen at your garden party." The winnie thing has been as good as it could be, and it stempe your position and personal authority decisively. Among other good effects of your deliverance is this, that it unwilling as you are to embarrace them at the present has completely deranged the plans and tection of the moment, you cannot but be aware that 'recent events' critical faction here, that is to say it has prevented have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation them from any longer representing the Indian Governof Mahommedons which might 'pass beyond the control ment as the ordinary case of a bureaucracy versus the people. I hope that even my stoutest Radical friends Your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, will now see that the problem is not quite so simple

It may, however, be stated here to the credit of the Mahommedan community should be represented as Lord Morley that he was originally not in favour of a community . . . and you justly claim that your the principle of communal representation of Maho nposition should be estimated not merely on your medans through any special or separate electorates. And numerical strength but in respect to the political impor- he actually suggested to the Government of India tance of your community and the service it has plan of joint electorates with proportional reservation of seats, operating through the machinery of Electoral "I am entirely in accord with you. Please do not Colleges." But pressure from Simla and Calcutta and misunderstand me: I make no attempt to indicate by from some other quarters, proved too strong for Whitewhat means the representation of communities can be hall, and he ultimately yielded to it. The result was obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you that Electoral Regulations framed under the Indian to be, that any electoral representation in India would Councils Act, 1909, provided for the separate representabe doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at tion of Mahommedans through a system of special electorates. Lord Morley apparently did not feel very beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the happy over it; otherwise he would not have written the following lines to Lord Minto on December 6th, 1909."

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan that their political rights and interests as a community dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that will be safeguarded by an administrative re-organisation it was your early speech" about their extra claims that first started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision was best."

²² Le., the evening of lat October, 1986, the day on which Lord Minto made the Declaration before the Mastim Deputation. 28 fine hat findle, Minto and Morley, pg. 47-48.

³⁶ Les, the Muslims of India. Their number at that time semably skety-two millions. See 1544, p. 48, 25 The imites in this passeruph are uses.

³⁵ See 1846. p. 48.

²⁷ On the afternoon of 1st October, 1905, "a ten-party was given the Deputation in the garden of Viceregal Lodge." Ibid., p. 47. 28 I.e., Lord Minto's Declaration before the Muslim Deputation 1st October, 1986,

²⁹ See the Dispatch from the Sourctary of State (Lord Morley) the Government of India, dated at London 27th November, 1908, para 12 .-. P. Mukherji, Indian Constitutional Documents, Vol. 1, pp. \$14-15. Clarifying his ideas in this connexion in the House of

[&]quot;We suggested to the Government of India a certain plan. I must send Your Excellency a line to say that it was the plan of a mixed or composite electoral college, in which Mahomedans and Hindus should pool their votes, so to say. . . to the heat of my belief, under any construction the plan of Hindus and Mahomedans voting together in a mixed and composite electorate would have secured to the Mahomedan electors, wherever they were so minded, the chance of returning their own representatives in their due proportion. The political idea at the bottom of that recommend tion which has found so little favour was that such composite action would bring the two great communities more closely tegether and this idea of premoting harmony was held by men of very high Indian authority and experience who were among my advisors at the ladie Office. But the Makemedana protested that the Hindus would niest a pro-Hindu upon it . . . the Government of India doubted whether our plan would work, and we have abundoned it. I do not think it was a had plan. . . ." Son Keith, Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, Vol. 11. 1858-1921, pp. 91-92.

It is really very unfortunate that Lord Merley showed this weakess even though he was convinced that his plan was not a bad plan.

so it appears that Lurd Mariey had to exercise his casting-upon to get these Regulations through his Council. See Morley, Recoli te, Vol. II. pp. 316-17. (Under the Indian Conneils Act, 1909, the Electoral Regulations were to be made by the Covernor-General India in Council, subject to the appearal of the Secretary of Sc in Connell).

³¹ See Morley, Recollections, Val. II. p. 335.

²² Obviously is retire to Lord Minto's Declarati

²⁵ f.o., his excitor view spleased to abou

In 1917-18 Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for "to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare India, and Lord Chelmsford, Vicercy and Governor- under a system of popular government." "How can we ing of history." "We conclude unhesitatingly that the the system of communal electorates in 1917-18." divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its to it is a crime which Heaven and Earth condemn." members in any way which encourages them to think of

of being hypocritical or short-sighted."

backward state is positively encouraged to settle down this. In the course of a speech in the Indian Legislative into a feeling of satisfied security." "On the other hand," the stronger majority "will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen, and that they are free to use their League scheme of December, 1916, the Indian Matienal Congress is the essence of political life is lacking."

Finally, they stated: "We regard any system of communal electorates, therefore, as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle."

expressed, against any system of communal electorates. madans," as they did not dare to go back on "settled rightly. There was, therefore, no point in staching any sp facts." Any attempt to do so, they said, "would rouse a storm of hitter protest (from the Mahommedans) and Constant, namely, its assent to special electronics for Mahom put a severe strain on the loyalty of a community when such electorates were considered by them "as a very se which" had "behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a historine to the development of the self-governing principle

24 See Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1918, passa India.

SS Ibid., para 75.

General of India, re-transited the question of comessy to them (i.e., the Mahommedans), they continued, maintal electorates in the light of their new policy, and "that we regard the decision of 1999 as suitabile, that also because they had been pressed to extend the its retention is incompatible with progress towards system of communal electorates in a variety of direct responsible soverament, that its reversal will eventually tions. Referring, in this connexion, to the Minto be to their benefit; and that for these reasons we have Declaration of 1906, they observed" that it was probable decided to go back on it? Much as we regret that that "the far-reaching consequences of this decision and necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Mahotiethe difficulties which it would create at a later stage" medans at all events are concerned the present system had not been "fully foreseen". They could not, regard must be maintained until conditions after, even at the being had to their position, use a stronger language of price of slower progress towards the realisation of a condemnation of the Declaration, And with regard to common crtisenship." Thus principle was sacrificed to the general question of communal electorates, they first expediency. Politics had led to the Minte Declaration held that such electorates were "opposed to the teach of 1906; Politics, again, determined the maintenance of history of self-government among the nations who really feel tempted to quote here a saying of Joseph developed it, and spread it through the world, is Mazzini: "To be mistaken is a misfortune to be nitled: decisively against the admission by the State of any but to know the truth and not to conform one's actions

Concession granted and renewed to the Mahomthemselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit medans, had, by force of logic, to be gradually extended to other communities in India. "We have been presend," Secondly, they observed that communal electorates write Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, "to extend would perpetuate class divisions. "India generally has the concession to other communities. . . . Any general not yet acquired the citizen spirit, and if we are really extension of the communal system, however, would only to lead her to self-government we must do all that we encourage still further demands, and would in our possibly can to call it forth in her people. Division by deliberate opinion be fatal to that development of recreeds and classes means the creation of political camps presentation upon a national basis on which alone a organized against each other, and teaches men to think system of responsible government can possibly be as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to se rooted. At the same time, we feel that there is one how the change from this system to national representa- community from whom it is inexpedient to withhold tion is ever to come. The British Government is often the concession. The Sikhs in the Punjab are a distinct accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But and important people; they supply a gallant and if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment valuable element to the Indian Army; but they are when it professes to start them on the road to govern everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown ing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge that they go virtually unrepresented. To the Sikls, therefore, and to them alone, we propose to extend the Thirdly, they remarked that the communal system system already adopted in the case of Mahommedans." would sterrotype existing relations. "A minority which Again, principle was sacrificed to political expediency. is given special representation owing to its weak and Lord Chelmsford was perhaps not very happy over all

M The Italies are u 97 Bee 1546., pers. 281.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pare 231.

³⁹ It may be argued against this position that under the Congresspower for their own purposes. The give-and-take which a party to a compromise which provided for special electorates for Mahommodans. The Congress certainly committed a blunder agreeing to the principle of communal electorates even though restricted them to the Maltonmedans alone. Presumably, it could not pervall against the baneful consequences of the Declaration of 1906 on the Politics of this country. But that does not justify the action there who, so Mr. Montegu and Lord Chelanford said, were load-These are very weighty arguments, effectively by the people of India to self-government, in marring them on the cessed, against any system of communal electorates, spang road to governing themselves. Macroover, did Mr. Montagu and Yet Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmaford assented to Leet Chelmotest follow the Congress-Loque scheme in many other the maintenance of separate representation for Muham-respects? We all these that they did not and in some cases very importance, so they appear to have done in para 281 of their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, to the particular notice period of very great difficulty, and which" they knew should have, therefore, recommended what they themselves would com conduce to "the realisation of a common etcl

⁴⁰ Sen his Duties of Men and Other Ecopys, Everymen's Library,

⁴¹ Report on Indian Conscionsional Reforms, 1918, para 202. 46 The Italian in this questiles are mine.

Constitutional Reforms:

system of separate electorates."

which Lord Southborough had presided, went a step country. further, and recommended-or rather had to recomand Bengal, and to Europeans in Madras, Bengal, Chatterjees took part. Bombay, the United Provinces, and in Bihar and Orissa. In recommending, however, communal representit's the question of where religion and politics begane tation for these and other communities," the Committee indistinguishable. expressed the hope-a very pious hope in our viewmenze all communities into one general electorate." And in the Fifth Despatch to the Secretary of State, dated in the first reformed Assemblies, the parties in Madras 23rd April, 1919, the Government of India stated that were Brahmin and non-Brahmin." it felt "the objections of principle to the communal Martin—"This system as strongly as the authors" of the reforms a matter of birth?" Report," but that India was not prepared to take the could question the recommendations of the Franchise A man is born a Brahmin or a non-Brahmin and Committee regarding the representation of minorities, nothing can change his caste. . . . For the same reason But it expressed the same hope in regard to the future I gave Lord Willingdon I have often objected to of the communal system as the Committee had done communal franchise because in my view it makes for before.

in the Electoral Rules framed under the Government of Muslim. If he's elected in a mixed community on mixed India Act, for the separate representation of Mahom- franchise he's judged by whether he is equally consimedans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, derate of the interests of Hindus and Muslims, and that and Sikhs through their respective communal electorates.

It may be noted here that, instead of being Steed—"In other words, instead of being a manda-abolished or even modified as hoped for by the tory he becomes a trustee?" Franchise Committee and the Government of India, the system of communal electorates was confirmed, and is in India great religious toleration there is also great even extended in several directions till then unaffected, political intelerance." by the Communal Decision of His Majesty's Goverament, dated at London 4th August, 1982, upon which for power?" the electoral provisions" under the Government of India Act, 1955, now in force, have been practically based except in regard to one matter." Even an attempt was seriously made by His Majesty's Government to drive

Council on 4th September, 1918, he observed, in a wedge through the Hindu community shelf and to reference to the recommendations, on the vexed ques split it into two sections the so-called Depressed tion of communal representation, made by Mr. Classes and the rest of the Hindu community. Pare-Montagu and himself in their Joint Report on Indian graph 9 of the Statement setting forth the said Communal Decision, provided for the assignment of a "We wished indeed to make it clear that, in our number of special seats to the Depressed Classes in opinion, communal electorates were to be deprecated several provinces. These seats were to be "filled by for the reasons set out in our report. But it was in the election from special constituencies in which only main to the method of securing communal representa- members of the 'depressed classes' electorally qualified" tion by communal electorates that we took exception, would be entitled to vote. Fortunately, this attempt to and not to communal representation itself . . . I am divide the Hindu Community was to some extent most anxious that the fullest representation should be frustrated by what is known as "the Poons Agreement secured to the various classes and communities in India; between the Caste Hindu and Depressed Class Leaders." but I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best I may add that the said Communal Decision and the method for securing that representation is through a Electoral Provisions based thereon, have introduced a new category of constituencies, namely. "Backward Nevertheless, the Franchise Committee to which areas and Tribes," and that, thus, the principle of the whole question of the proper method of the repre- separatism has been extended in various directions, sentation of minorities had been referred, and over poisoning the whole political atmosphere of this

Before I leave this subject of communal electorates, mend-in its Report, dated 22nd February, 1919, the I should like to quote the following extract from an actions on the system of communal electorates to interesting discussion in which Lord Lytton. Mr. Indian Christians in Madras, Anglo-Indians in Madras Wickham Steed, Mr. Kingeley Martin, and Sir Atul

"Lytton-I would like to mention one subject. .

"It was Lord Willingdon's policy in Madras to that it would "be possible at no very distant date to establish Governments on a definitely religious community basis between Brahmin and non-Brahmin; and

Martin-"This point, I suppose, being that caste is

Lytton-"Yes. That was the point I took up with first steps forward towards responsible government Lord Willingdon. I objected rather strongly to his upon any other road. Under the then existing condi-encouragement of the division of parties which depended tions it could, therefore, see no ground on which it upon the accident of birth and could never be altered. intolerance, since a man who is elected in a Muslim As a consequence of all these, provision was made constituency is judged by whether or not he's a good tends in the course of time to create political teleration."

Lytton-"Yes, and although I have said that there

Steed-"Is that because politics involves a struggle

Lytton-"Yes, and the best way of getting rid of that. 40 Son India and the Four Freedoms (B. B. C. pamphints No. 1).

Outers, pp. 86-87, 20 Undur-Sourctury of State for India (1920-22). Governor of gal (1923-27), and the Acting Vicercy of India in 1928.

51 Semetime Editor of The Times, London.

52 Editor of The New Statesman and Nation.

30 L. C. S. (retired). After 30 years' varied sarries and rience, he "represented the Government of India in diffe cities at Washington (1919), Conera (2021), London (1925-51) ",(2021) ."

84 Obviously, under the Mentage-Chelmalari Bull

⁴⁸ The italies in this quotation are mine.

⁴⁴ I.a., the Muslims and the Stide.

⁶⁵ Pars 18.

⁴⁶ La., Mr. Mentage and Lord Chalmstopl.

⁴⁷ Nos the Fifth and the Birth Scholule to

of Affecting the exception Depressed above

I thought, was that a man should represent his coasti- a great deal of trouble. It was a disestrous mistake, in tuents, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, and my view." study their political interests regardless of their religious faith. "

Martin-". . . I have always believed that Morlev's" introduction of the communal franchise caused

55 As shown before. Lord Minto was more to blame than Lord Marine for the introduction of communal electorates into India. The latter, however, showed weakness in yielding to the former, and not sticking to his own view on the question. If he had done so, the history of India would have been different to-day.

Chatterice-"If I may say so, I entirely agree with Lord Lytton's analysis of the effects of a system of communal electorates."

Unfortunately, the "disastrous mistake", to quote the words of Mr. Kingsley Martin, was pensisted in by Lord Moriey's successors in office. As a consectionce, the communal franchise has not only made for intolerance in India, but is also primarily responsible for the ugly situation that has arisen in this country today. However, I shall further deal with this point later on. (To be southwest)

REFLECTIONS ON RECENT ART-EXHIBITIONS

By "KAUNDINYA"

THERE was a time in the history of Indian culture when standards for the conduct of life, thus justifying the Fine Arts in all their phases formed a vital and Renan's assertion that Morality is "a branch of Aestheessential part of life, particularly through the rites and practices of religion, very much in the same way as operating in the life of the Middle Ages in Europe. During the nineteenth century the decay of religious beliefs and the destruction of the old social structure have divorced Art from Life, and the artists have been thrown out of employment and lost their independent status, having to compete with other secular trades and professions. During the last few years various new movements in Art have cropped up in several parts of India, which appear to have brought together the arcist and his appreciative public in somewhat auspicious relationship which may lead to a more wider recognition of the value of art in the practical and non-practical business of life and help to restore the independent status of the artist in the structure of society. The conditions brought about by War and Famine appear to have roused in the hearts of so-called uncultured and uneducated people a conscience for the values of art as a spiritual and dynamic force which does not end with the termination of life and that messages of beauty do not stop short with the given span of any individual life but are transmitted across the shadows of death, which punctuates, as it were, the successive acts of a human drama on its way to its inevitable climax of its supreme spiritual fulfilment—the human life lost and fulfilled in the divine. For, is not beauty a transcendental attribute—a property of being—one of the divine attributes? As St. Thomas Aquinas has pointed out: "The being of all things derives from the Divine Beauty." In that respect, then, the artist imitates God, Who created the world by communicating to it the likeness of His beauty. This element of Divinity in works of Beauty is very happily explained by Jacques Maritain who believes that the great artist is sure to put himself really into his work and is sure to stamp it with his own likeness and take justified pride in the fact that "not all of me will die." In this permanent and spiritual quality Art transcends the baser hungers in life. As Andre Gide has remarked: "The artist is saked in only after dinner. His tack is to provide not food but spiritual interiestion." In its insistence on the sense of proportions, on the sense of values, on the sense of harmony and rhythm. Art provides the emential

tics." Oscar Wilde had remarked pretty much in the same sense but with greater dignity of expression: "The highest Art rejects the burden of the human spirit."

The above reflections are suggested by visits paid to a series of Exhibitions of Pictures held in Calcutta during January and February last. The exhibits offered in these shows somehow avoided the abnormalities of War-so vividly rendered in the War Pictures shown in several shows arranged by the Services Art Club. It is claimed by a class of critics that peculiar stimulation begets peculiar inspiration, so that beneath the impact of war, the artist produces works possessing technical



Mother By S. Sen

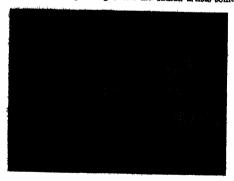
merit greater than any which he showed in time peace. To judge by the shows in Calcutta, Indian artists, and at least a group of Western artists working in India, (there were several distinguished works by Brunners and others) da not appear as a rule to have been affected, at least, mentally and assubstically by war conditions with the exception of a small group of artists. (Zeinul Abedin, Hassan and others) concentrating on

the lurid scenes created by Famine in Bengal. Many and varied subjects, gay, picturesque, contemplative and sombre, mythical and mythological, realistic and maturalistic were assembled in the Exhibition of Indian Academy of Art with a formidable number of about



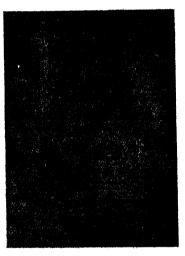
Sakuntala By S. Ghose

550 items very badly hung and badly exhibited. There were not very many masterpieces but this is the only show which claims to be representative of artists from all parts of India, east, west and north or south, although in this year's show many of the well-known artisss were not represented owing to difficulty of transport. The authorities of the Academy have promised to make their next the most representative Exhibition to which all artists of repute are being asked to contribute. The section of Indian painting (there are Indian artists some



Reclining Woman By Bunshilal

of whom speak in the Western language while some prefer the vernacular of Indian Art) was a very interesting and stimulating section, full of interesting items many contributed by new artists (Index Dugar, Hansilal, Ram Gopal Ghose, S. Bhownik, Samar Chose), somewhat eclipsing and replacing the recent shows of the Indian Society of Art which at one time specialised Indian pictures in Indian style. The enormous sales of pictures at this year's Academy show have revealed a very satisfying and significant fact that there is growing circle of persons interested in pictures, and hungering for works of art and ready to pay reasonable prices to patronize the works of artists. This itself is a phonomenon of valuable consequences on the social and political economy of Art. The two other exhibitions the one-man show of Mr. Kurt Larisch, and Mr. Jamini Rov-stood on a different footing from the Academy show which they ercelled and rebuked in the quality of showmanship with excellent taste m arrangement and in lighting. Mr. Larisch is the local representative and interpreter of the modernistic dogtrines in Art-offering a new approach to form and a search for new forms of expressions-which abjure the academic literal accuracy of naturalistic presentation. Jamini Roy clings slavishly to the forms and formulas of the old pat-painters of Bengal, with their folk-



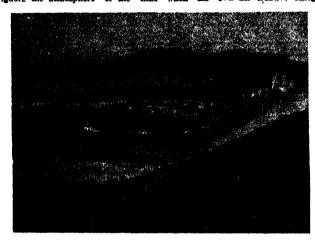
Natir Puja By Tara Prosad

mentality and folk-art technique, limited to two or three grades of primary colours, and stereotyped patterns and conventional curves to spell out human or sub-human figures with rounded shoulders and wasp-waisted forms. These major exhibitions were interspersed with a number of smaller but by no means less significant shows of Gopal Ghose and Nirode Mazumårs sponsored by Subho Tagore, the good angel of all struggling artists, and by the exhibition of the works of Chaitanya Dev Chatterjee (sponsored by the Indian Society of Art and supported by the Swamis of the Ramakrishna Institute, which richly deserve an All-India appreciation. Art abjures and abolishes communal differences and pacifies political strikes. For, in the company of artists, as "in the company of shints, all sense of otherness departs: there is no stranger, there is no enemy, there is a feeling of onesies with all."

THOMAS HARDY

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

Because Thomas Hardy lived and worked right on into novels; this is the period when they were written, the present century and the uneasy days of peace that Nearly half a century will soon have passed since he separated the two great European wars, one is apt to wrote the last of them, Jude the Obscure, and immediately ignore the atmosphere of the time when his own his creative energy to poetry. In those great novels,



A Wessex tower, surrounded by the bare open Downland so described in Hardy's work

thoughts and artistic impulses were developing The ebb and flow of contemporary thought and events had an influence on him that was probably a good deal less than that exerted on many other writers of the front rank; but to appreciate the essential qualities of his art, and to place it in a correct perspective, we must remember that he was born only two or three years after Queen Victoria came to the throne, and that those who are now figures of the remote past were the people he read about when he opened his morning newspaper.

Dickens and Thackeray were in their hey-day when he was a young man; he was 27 when Anthony Trollope's Last Chronicle of Barset uppeared; 36 when George Eliot's Daniel Deronda came from the press; and among the poets, Tenuyson and Browning and Swinburne were busily at work. Swinburne, indeed, was only three years older than Hardy; and Robert Louis Stevenson was his junior by 10 years.

therefore, we must not look for a modern technique. Some of his workmanship may even seem a little heavy-handed in detail; but the labour of an honest critismen wont into them; and they stand four-square and enduring, like an old parish church in the English countryside.

It was indeed as an architect, with a particular interest in churches, that Thomas Hardy began life; and the publication of his first nevel at the age of 31 opened the gate to a new way of livelihood. His second book, Under the Greenwood Tree, helped to establish him. This realistic idyll of country life (which Hardy himself described as "a rural painting of the Dutch school") is probably the best introduction to his novels, and its scenery is the countryside that forms the background of all his greatest work.

That countryside was Wessex. It was an ancient kingdom of which Shakespeare's Lear was the legendary



A typical Wessex village, with old thatched cottages in a woodland setting

Having thus grouped some of his own contembring, and strending over the central counties on the poraries around him, and having got the man himself southern English coast. Hardy was born and he died into a true focus, we must remember something also if in the very heart of that countryside; and through we wish to derive the fullest enjoyment from his Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, Nelson's flag asptain, he

could trace his descent back to a Thomas Hardy of Hardy's personal reaction to man's impotence to comin Wessex soil.

amongst tourists. There is indeed little to catch the eye himself considered to be his greatest novel. of a sightseer—unless he appreciates the charm to be pellucid streams. Today, Wessex is a well-cultivated land: the farmers there have answered the call to grow before.

side as a boy, there were stretches of desolate land relaxed till the end of his days. In the opening chapter of The Return of the Native he describes Egdon Heath, so lonely and so timeless; and the mood of such places dominated all his work.



. Thomas Hardy

But there is something timeless also about his characters. One feels that they might have lived in any century; theirs was the heritage of folk-lore, superstition, and ballads handed down from generation to generation. The shadows of an older world seem to fall across Thomas Hardy's pages: strange influences bear upon the destiny of his people; and they are born, they labour, love, suffer, and die, in a rhythm that has all the inevitability of the slow coming and going of the scomen

Sometimes, indeed, the ironic laughter of the gods pathetic natures with can be heard in faint but haunting echoes: this was but English literature."

Dorset in the sixteenth century: so his roots were deep prehend the ways of nature. Such laughter can be heard in the tragic Tess of the D'Urbervilles, his most Excepting the pleasant holiday towns on the coast, widely read book, in The Woodlanders, and in the this part of England has never been widely popular rather harrowing Jude the Obscure, which Hardy

In "Tess," he depicted a woman who was pure and found in gentle hills, quiet dales, green woods, and sweet at heart, but who perished in the end, her lovely qualities wasted by the stupidity of the world; and in "Jude," the novelist depicts the war between flesh and more food, and thus save cargo-space in convoys; and spirit, and the tragedy of unrealised hopes. Irony, sorrow, more Wessex acres are under the plough than ever despair—these are often found both in his novels and in his poems. But there is also a deep loving-kindness. But when Thomas Hardy roved over that country- a going out of the heart to all living breathing things.

As time passed, modern civilisation penetrated ever which gripped his imagination with a power that never deeper into Wessex; and Thomas Hardy noted the slow changes that it brought. In his novels, the men and women who stretch out their hands to welcome a new order of things are often the ones who suffer the most bitterly-as if nature were taking vengeance upon those who deviate from the ancient paths. The beautiful Bathsheba, in Far From the Madding Crowd, longed for brilliant action and high romance; Eustacia, in The Return of the Native, was eager for life of thrilling event: and both suffered because of the restless spirit that burned within them.

> But most of Thomas Hardy's country folk have the plodding step and deliberate tongue of men who have time in plenty for the tasks before them. Birth nd death, with all the joy and sorrow that lie between, do not call forth ecstatic words from these Wessex people: they accept life as they accept the closing down of winter upon their land and the breaking of the frosts under a spring sun.

> Whatever changes the last half century may have brought to the face of that land, the hearts and minds of the country people have changed little. Hardy himself-and he was a shrewd observer-said he thought that modern Wessex folk were even more like some of his characters than the generation that had gone before. That staunch and sturdy peasantry, which forms a nation's backbone, has all the old qualities bred by the centuries and by that invisible but potent thing which is called tradition.

> In the Dynasts, one of the great epics in English literature, Hardy shows how these simple folk talked and went about their business under the menace of invasion, in much the same way as they did for many long months at the beginning of the present war. The epic covers 10 years, and is accepted as Hardy's masterpiece, but unfortunately too many readers give it of more than a reverential bow and pass on. It is a long work, but it is a deep well of wisdom and insight and noble poetry.

> "No Englishman since Wordsworth has heard the still sad music of humanity with so fine an ear as Thomas Hardy." Thus wrote the late Henry W. Nevinson, himself a great Englishman. And he added these words about his friend: "One of the most keenly imaginative, creative, humorous, and profoundly sympathetic natures who have added a lasting glory to



WAR BRINGS NEW LIFE TO BRITISH ART

BY KENNETH MONKMAN

So instead of turning their backs on the war, the When this war began the valuable pictures from Britain's art galleries were taken and hidden in the artists of Britain were stimulated, and began to paint. country-side, safe from bombs.

"Burners" at work on the steel plates of a ship. This is one of Stanley Spencer's war pictures as a series entitled "Ship-building on the Clyde"

Many people thought living artists would act on the same principle; would turn their backs on the war, so to speak, and go on painting the peaceful subjects that artists have painted for centuries-flowers, faces, animals, country scenes, and the like.

But war has been different from any in our history. Not only have the weapons been swifter and more terrible, but all of us have been on the battlefield. We have all tasted smoke and fire. We have all seen the good things that war produces, too: the incredible courage of quite ordinary men and women, the endurance, the unselfishness, and the high sense of comradeship found among people who suffer a common misfortune.

No one was more closely aware of these new experiences than the artists. That is what artists are for

They painted the figures, the shattered ruins, the little bard-like machines twisting and

furning high in the blue sky, the people aprawled in long rows in au-raid shelters, the woman building tanks and bombers in factories: they painted these and a hundred such subjects, not only as they saw them, but as they felt them. That is where the artist beats the camera.

Many of the younger artists were called into the fighting forces, and some joined the fire brigades and air-raid services. But they still painted whenever they got the chance. Others, the ones who had already made a name, were em-ployed by the Government as official war artists; some were sent to sea in battleships, some to acro-dromes, some abroad to France or the Middle East.

One of the finest paintings, done by an artist called Charles Oundall, shows the evacuation from Dunkirk beaches. No camera could have equalled the drama of this wide panorama of sand dotted with



The surrender of a "U" boat to a British Trawler This picture is painted by Charles Pears, one of Britains leading marine artists

to see things and feel them more clearly than ordinary vivid bursting bombs, wrecked aircraft, and thousands people, and then to put them down in paint so that of khaki figures waiting their turn to embark for ople, and then to put them down in paint we will fingland.

Another inforgettable painting is "The Dead Se

by Paul Nash. The artist got the idea when he came across a big dump of wreeked enemy bombers shot down in the summer of 1940. He saw the mass of



This is one of the war pictures by Dame Laura Kaight, R.A., of two officers of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force

twisted and painted metal as an ocean of angry black and silver waves; and that is how he painted themas a sea of enemy bombers breaking against impregnable coasts of Britain.

Another artist. John Armstrong, symbolised his faith in the future even when the bombing was at its worst by painting a large serene-looking tulip growing against a background of devestation.

These are only a few paintings out of many thousands that have come from British artists during the war. Not all these thousands are good pictures by any means. But the fact that they were turned out at all is very significant. They were painted, every one of them, because the artist felt deeply enough about something to want to tell other people about it with mint and canvas even though paint and canvas are often as difficult to obtain in wartime as are the opportunities for sitting down and using them.

And what of the public, the people with whom the artist wants to share his experience? Undoubtedly there has been a big merease since the war in the number of people who enjoy looking at paintings. Though the London National Gallery is without its world-famous masterpieces, there is always an exhibition of the new war pictures instead, and crowds throng to see them. Four similar exhibitions have been touring Britain, and others have been sent to America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Many of these war pictures have also been published in a series of booklets which have enjoyed a wide sale. Others are available as coloured postcards.

The growing interest in art was still further emphasised early this year when the National Gallery took the risk of staging an exhibition of French Impressionist masterpieces. It was packed throughout the weeks ut was open.

All this is significant because it may well foreshadow a big revival of painting in Britain after the war. English painting has a quite distinctive charm of its own to offer to civilisation; and the fact that it now seems well set on the road to reaching another of its best periods is one of the very pleasant surprises of a war that has given us so many unpleasant ones.

THE LAND OF THE PANDAVAS

Jaunser-Bawar (Excremen Area 1935 Acr)

By A. V. THAKKAR,

General Secretary, All India Harijan Sevak Sough, and President, Aboriginal Welftre Works

I could snatch four days from my routine office work of ancient town at the foot of the hills. It is here that one

a little over 400 square miles and also spanish populated, less than 60,000 souls; but it is very interesting, both
geographically as well as socially. The altitude begins are very ancient and have been touched little by the rook is situated, and some peaks rise up to nearly 10,000 Brahmins and Rajputs not unly fresty inter-dine with first. The river-Jumina passes along the eastern boundary each other, but also inter-many without any reserve and sensities it on the south near Kalsi, an important and fresty take water from the Enriques except the way.

the Harijan Sevak Sangh and Kasturba Memorial of the famous edicts of Emperor Asoka is found Fund and spend them in a study tour of the condition inscribed on a huge boulder of quarts near the bank of of the hill-people residing in Jaunese-Bawar, the northern the Jumps. The inscription is yet in a preserved state, subdivision of Dehra Dun district of the U.P. My as the rock is very hard, having successfully stood the guide, friend and philosopher, was Shri Dharma Day weather for over 2,200 years. A motorable well-tarred Shastri, who has started for the last two years a mission road winds up from Dehra Dun to Kalsi and to of service to the people residing in the hilly region. Chakrota, a distance of about 60 miles, having been The area of the subdivision is comparatively small, built as early as the eighties of the last century.

THE PROPLE with 3,000 feet at the bottom of the hills and goes up changes that have taken place in the constitution of the 7,000 feet, where the Military Contonment of Chak-the Hindu society and also by the Western civilization. lowest. Bonds of caste do not sit so tight upon them a on the Hindus in the plains, with whom they have little contact socially and economically. Brahmins do not put on the sacred thread as a rule. The people rarely migrate to the plains, much less do they mix with the Hindus of the plains of the same status as themselves.

Economically speaking they are very much selfsufficient and depend upon imported articles as little as possible. They use the timber of their forest in the make-up of their houses, the floors and the roofs being made of Deodar planks. The walls are built of stones

which are so plentiful in the hills.

As the country is very hilly, level fields are rarely to be seen and they have to be carved out of the hillsides, gentle or steep, at a heavy expenditure of time and labour. The fields thus prepared are sometimes too steep for working the plough drawn by bullocks and therefore ploughing is often done by hand. One finds fields in terraces, rising one above the other on the hill sides and the terraces are supported by dry walls 4 to 10 feet high. Rarely you will find a small table-land on the top of a hill, and that too will be very limited in area. Maize, wheat, rice, ginger and turmeric and even poppy are grown. Now-a-days potatoes are grown to a large extent and exported to the plains.

POLYANDRY AND COMMON WIVES

Rajputs, Bajgis and Koltas, the last two being Harijan literacy by some effort and residence in their midst. castes. The former consider themselves to be the descendants of Pandavas and Kauravas and the hills are said to be full of temples dedicated to Pandavas. the eldest addresses the youngest brother of the family agricultural toil and who feed them like their animals. as his father, even though he may be younger than the first child. Besides the practice of having one wife between several brothers, there is also the practice of this system of polyandry restricts the families and is people, is required and badly required. therefore preferable to monogamy.

common. It is said that this had led to barrenness in of polyandry, of semi-slavery, of prevailing illiteracy women and hence a family consisting of several brothers and the uplift of womankind in general will follow in with one wife has to take a second or third wife. Much course of time. May the attention of the rich people of the agricultural work, except the hard labour of of the plains who frequent Dehra Dun and Musecone, shoughing falls on women and hence the practice of situated in the same district, be attracted to this impors growing.

Hospital pon Western

It is said that venereal diseases in avphilis, acute and chronic, extend to about 70 per cent of the people and if other reports can be believed, extend even to 90 per cent of the people. No medical facilities - Ayurvedic or Allopathic-exist in the hills except in the military cantonment of Chakrota. The result is that syphilis has grown to an alarming extent and womankind is the greater sufferer. This has led to barrenness among them. A very great necessity therefore of this area is a hospital for women with a Lady Doctor-in-charge with a staff of itinerant midwives and dois. The mortality amongst women in confinement is said to be heavy and this cau be prevented by anti-natal and post-natal clinica. It is the ambition of Shri Shastri's mission, called "Ashok Ashram" to establish a hospital for women somewhere in the hills, where women can take advantage of the same. He is in need of funds for the same and in search of an Indian Lady Doctor who will be prepared to reside in that unfrequented area at some morifice.

Illiteracy exists here to a very large extent, the number of District Board schools being negligible. It is said that the people require the services of their children for field work and would not spare them for the school. This is not a new argument, but it has to be met with by some propaganda in favour of literacy. The population here consists mostly of Brahmins, Hindu missionaries can overcome this disinclination to

SEMI-SLAVERY

The system of semi-slavery exists here by which There are various legends connected with the times of the lower classes of Harijan called Koltas are bound the Mahabharata. The practice of polyandry is pre-down to Brahmin and Rajput families for small sums valent even at the present time and the people believe of money and often for whole life. Similar tribes of that it is economically beneficial for them. Though a bondsmen are found in other hill parts of the country, few of the educated people have taken to monogamy, in Bihar and even in the plains of Gujrat and Rajthey have no objection in giving a daughter in marriage putana. It is high time that somebody took up this to all the brothers in one family. Just as in the case of work of educating the Koltas and raised them to the a Hindu family where a man has two wives the children full stature of a human being and made them respected address both of them as mothers, the children in this citizens of India. At present they possess no land, have area address all the 2 or 4 or 5 husbands of the mother no vision outside their hills and their intellect is as their fathers. Sometimes there is a large difference undeveloped. Even the great demand for labour in the in age between the clost and the youngest of the war-time has not attracted them and they remain where brothers who have a common wife, the child born of they were, wedded to their masters for doing their

ASBOK ASBRAM

A few words about Shri Shastri's mission popularly several brothers having 2 or 3 wives in common. The known as Ashok Ashram. He has enlisted a few young children have in such cases several fathers and several men as teachers and Vaids and planted them in the mothers all of whom they treat as equals socially spear- hilly villages as missionaries among the simple folk of ing. The reason advanced in favour of this polyandy these unfrequented hills. Some of his workers who some is that the family property is not divided in minute from towns and are accustomed to town amenities run fragments, which it would be, if each brother took a away after a few weeks' residence in hills. Even Chriswife and had his own family to maintain out of the tian missionaries are said to have failed in these hills. scanty land they can cultivate. The cultivable land on A band of young men and women determined to live the hills is very limited, and very little new land can in these hills and to bear the inclemencies of weather, be brought under cultivation and hence it is said that with a passionnate love for service for this ancient

As already mentioned a Women's Medical Miss Marrying of girls at a very young age is also very is the greatest necessity. Other reforms like the abolition tiking more thin one wife for a number of brothers tant problem, may I say, a most neglected problem of bettering the lot of these hill-men !

TERRAT SINGH AND THE KHASI REBELLION (1829-1833)

(Based on the original records preserved in the archives of the Government of India)

By PROF. REBATI MOHAN LAHIRI, M.A., B.L.

given over to confusion and disorder which led to the troublesome periods—Teerat Singh was the most noble intervention of the Burmese in the affairs of Assam. and patriotic and his career reads almost like romance. Assam was virtually conquered by the Burmese in 1819. Soon the overbearing Court of Ava came in collision recognition from the hands of the European historians with the East India Company whose North-Eastern frontiers overhang the newly conquered Burmese territories. The British Government declared war against the Burmese in 1824 and expelled them from Assam in less than a year. By the treaty of Yandaboo concluded in 1828, the whole of the Brahmaputra valley passed into British hands.

The Assamese nobility whose ancestors had ruled the valley for more than six hundred years and had a proud history of their own, did not take quietly to the permanent occupation of their fair valley by the British forces. The British, who had declared on the eve of the Anglo-Burmese conflict that they had had no intention of annexing any part of the valley, preferred to stay as conquerors and even did not condescend to hand over the upper portion of the valley to one of the princes of Assam though strongly recommended to do so by their newly appointed Agent. The Bengal Government tried to soothe off the opposition and hatred of the diagruntled nobility by employing them in the reconstructed Judicial and Revenue Departments of Assam. But the Assamese nobility were not to be so easily reconciled with. Their intriguing brains were in action and the result was the outbreak of a series of insurrections and rebellions in which "all elements of the country including the hill-tribes combined to drive the English out of the valley." This interesting and eventful chapter of the history of Assam has been totally omitted by the historians like Gait and Mackenzic.

The first rebellion broke out towards the end of the year 1928 under the connivance of the Burmese authority and under the direct leadership of the ex-functionaries of Assam who set up one Gadhadhar, a Prince of the royal blood, as their King. The first rebellion was soon crushed. Undaunted, the nobility rose in rebellion again under the standard of a new pretender named Rupchand in 1830. The English were given no breathing time, troubles were also brewing in the west and the Khashis broke out in open rebellion towards the beginning of 1829. It was the most formidable and long-protracted rebellion and caused alarm and consternation and the whole of Assam was in a state of excitement. The Singppo inoursion (which took place in 1930) and the second resistance of the Assamese nobility were easily beaten off, but the hardy and sturdy Khasis kept the fight going on in their mountain homes and fastnesses and the ingenious mind of Mr. Scott, the first British Agent in Brahmaputra valley saw the prospect of pacification only when their leader Teerst Singh made his submission towards the beginning of 1833. The Khasi rebellion towards the beginning of 1833. The Khasi rebellion Khasi hills. The bracing climate of the Khasi hills taskifies to the organising ability and freedom-loving tempted him not a little. An agreement was entered spirit of the Khans and Garrows who made a deterinto with Teerat Singh (1826)—the king of Nunklow, mined and persevering attempt to subvert the new re-one of the confederating states, by which he not only gime. They had no resources in men and money; they placed his territory under the British protection, but

In the early decades of the 19th century, Assam was who dominated the Assamese history during these Strangely enough this heroic hill chieftain has not scant who have treated him as an ordinary rebel-a savage and blood-thirsty barbarian.

To understand Teerat Singh and to form a real estimate of his exploits, we must know something of the Khasi people and their form of Government, because it is in the background of their national character and constitution that we should trace the true genesis and causes of their insurrection which though a failure was tinged with the halo of martyrdom.

Between the district of Jyanteah and the hills on the west occupied by the Garrows is a tract of mountainous territory seventy miles in length and more than fifty miles in breadth covering roughly an area of thirtyfive hundred square miles inhabited by the Khasis, a bold and independent tribe. The Cossyas possess a superior type of civilisation than is generally found amongst other hill-tribes inhabiting the north-eastern region of India. When pitched against the English. they exhibited the same stubbornness, independence of character and the hatred of a foreign domination which generally characterise the mountaineers throughout the world. Their democratic constitution again gave additional stimulus to their freedom-loving spirit. There were as many as 30 little states in the Khası hills before the advent of the English. The Chiefs of these states were in no sense territorial sovereigns with unlimited power. They were merely elected heads of village confederacies each having a council of his own whose advice they were bound to follow on all important matters. The Khasi nation as a whole presented the appearance of a congregation of little oligarchical republics—subject to no common superior. Matters of common interest were discussed by their assembly where every member was entitled to speak and vote. A representative of the British Government who was present on one such occasion was simply struck with wonder at the order, decorum and propriety with which the debate was conducted for several days and he openly admitted that he had not seen these surpassed in any Europeau society. Democracy was the very breath of their nostrils. When that democracy was in danger—they were prepared for any sacrifice, Such was the country and the people with whom the Britishers came in contact and conflict.

On the acquisition of Lower Assam in 1824 the Assam, conceived the bold idea of establishing a direct communication between Assam and Sylhet through the faught under the most balling circumstances against a also agreed to supply materials for the construction of lighty superior, and organised power yet they put up a road suming through his principality. The road was a herein light, and produced leaders who exterted him accordingly cleared, and a Bungalow was constructed praises even from their adventures. Of the hereic figures at Nunklow for the reception of inveild soldiers. When the British soldiers begin to pass through the road displaying grandour and might of the British Rai, the from the Sylhet side, Captain Lister advanced with and they began to look indignantly at the fetters they had forged with their own hands. Teerst Singh was evidently rueing the consequences of his impolitic act and was ready to join any scheme "that was aimed at to drive away the lowland strangers from his territory." And a plot was hatched under the leadership of Barmanick, the chief of Molsem and all hill chiefs combined to effect the expulsion of the English from the hills.

Mr. Scott got the scent of the impending danger and hurried towards Cherapunjee towards the end of March 1829. His object was to chastise Burramanik. But the hill chiefs, contrary to all expectations, stole a march over him. They had a ready-made plan. On 5th May 1829 a party of Khasis perpetrated "what is known in history as the Nunklow Massacre" in which one invalid European and a number of Bengalis lost their lives. The Khasis then burnt down the Bungalow, released the convicts employed on the road and proceeded towards Cherapungee in search of Mr. Scott. The insurrection had begun. The reverberation of their first success had gone like a thunder-clap through the whispering galleries of the Khasi and Garrow hills and the hill-people came in thousands to join the standard of revolt. Both Gait and Mackenzie treat the massacre at Nunklow "as cold-blooded murder—the mere outburst of the fury of a savage tribe." It was not an incident by itself. It was a part of a general plan to drive out the English. The real causes of the Khasi insurrection foreign domination that caused a general flare-up in the Khası mountains.

The chief persons concerned in the rebellion were Teerat Singh, Burramanik and Mukund Sing of Mosing. Their plan was worked out skilfully and showed organising ability of a very high order on the part of the hill chieftains. Burramanik and his party were entrusted with the work of guarding the passes opening to Assam and Teerat Singh himself guarded the Sylhet side with a view to prevent supplies and reinforcement reaching Mr. Scott from the plains of Bengal. The whole adult population numbering more than ten thousand were armed with bows, swords, and shields and Khasis were excellent marksmen. They were joined by a large number of Garrows—their kinsmen. Their by a large number of Garrows—their kinsmen. Their tish representative was not authorised to deal with first act was to demolish the road constructed by Mr. those points, the party broke off without achieving Scott. And to render it impassable, they obstructed it anything substantial. The British Government them with trees and poles, erected palisades at places and offered "mildest terms" to the followers of Teems their own strength alone. Teerat Singh made elaborate preparation to drive out the English. His views and plans were of a most extended nature. He sent emis-saries to Raja Chandra Kanta, to the Bhots and to the Raja Chandra Kanta sent his blessings. Teerst Singh also despatched special informers to Gauhati and other in Assam.

embarrassing. The collection of revenue was, in many he surrendered to the British as advised by the places, stopped. The whole of Assam was in a state of friendly. Khasi shieftains on conditions that his life emitsment and slightest revenues on the part of the Bri- should be spared which the British gladic undertook to ish would have thrown the whole of Assem into a state do. Ever when he surrendered he did not found his Cathelion, No help could be sent from the Assem side, beloved unnerly, and respected the English assembles.

Happily for Mr. Boott and his following attents being Khasis began to realise the impolicy of their setion Cherapunice with a lightning speed and saved Mr. Scott and his party.

When the Calcutta Council was informed of the Nunklow tragedy, feeling ran very high. They empowered the Agent to adopt such measures as would overswe, "the petty chiefs." With regard to Twent Ships they issued order to treat him as "a myage blood thirsty murderer" deserving rapital punishment. The Bengal Government thereby not only under estimated the strength of these petty chiefs, they could not also realise the nature of the Khan disturbances far less they could dream that one day a representative of the mighty British Government would descend down the steps of a mountain-cave to have an interview with he seditious and half-naked savage blood-thirsty monster who strangely speaking appeared to many of the local British officials a patriot of a very high order.

Operations were conducted as usual against Teerat Singh and other rebel chiefs. Their territories were occupied and confiscated. Many Khasi villages were burnt down and rewards were declared for the apprehension of the rebel leaders but the rebel chiefs made no submission and the war went on with vigour on both sides. Mr. Scott died in 1831 in the third year of the war. His successor Mr. Robertson on taking charge of the Assam affairs embarked upon a new policy to end "this wretched warfare." He held out the olive branch of peace and empowered Singh Menik, a friendly Khasi chief, to open negotiations with Teerat Singh. He saw By deeper It was their universal antipathy towards the the rebel chief several times. Finally, it was agreed that an official representing the British Government and having a power to negotiate cheuld meet the recal chief Teerat Singh on an appointed date. And accordingly truce was declared and on 23rd August 1822, Captain Lister, representative of the British Lion, met the Lion of the Khasis at his den. It was an historic interview no doubt-only there was no mighty pen of Todd or Cunningham to depict as such before the world at large. Teerat Singh was seen in company of his ministers. Alluring promises were held out to him. Teerat Singh was not the man to be bought off by promises. He beldly demanded the abandonment of the line of the road passing through his kingdom and also demanded the restoration of his territory. As the Bridestroyed the bridges on it. They did not depend upon Singh and tried to make a separate treaty with About on condition that "Terrat Singh must be given up." But nothing came out of this move as the followers of Teams Singh declined to swallow this bait. Mr. Robertson fearing that nothing would come out of the pears Singpros. He sent a special message to Raja Chandra negotiations "completed the economic blockade" by Kants exciting him to throw off the British yoke. tightening the sordion round the best of Khasi hills and made elaborate preparations to round up the rebels,

Raja Singh Manik was all this time busy in con places to ascertain the military strength of the British vincing Raja Teerat Singh of the futility of further lesam.

The first effect of the insurrection was indeed death and descritions. And at last on 18th January 1832. make proper arrangement for the administration of his career of one of the most heroic but little known dimeres

was given a menthly allowance of Rs. 63. He was states.* allowed the privileges of two servants. There remained the last independent King of the Khasis to wear away his last days in confinement and solitude till death delivered him of all igonominy in 1841. Thus ended the to be shortly published.

of the Indian history. He was destined to play his part Teerat Singh was sent down to Gauhati where he on a stage—small beyond all proportions. Even Mr. was ordered to be transported to the Tenasserim pro- Scott whom he antagonised most paid glowing tributes vince by the political Agent. But the Bengal Govern- to the patriotic impulse of this great Chiefman. It was ment revised the order of their Agent and sent him to admitted by one of the British officers who was deputed Dacca for detention. His territory was given over to his to deal with him that "had all the Khasi chieftains nephew. When Teerat Singh arrived at Dacca the Khasi joined in the general conglomeration that followed the King had nothing with him except a blanket to Nuklow massacre, it would have been very difficult for sover his body. He was at first confined in the ordinary the British to bring them under control." With Teerat iail but later on he was removed to a separate house and Singh also departed the independence of the Khasi

* Abridged by the writer from his book, The Annestien of Assam,

THE GANDHIAN PLAN

By AMIYA NATH BOSE

PRINCEPAL AGARWAL'S The Gandhian Plan may well raising our national productivity, we must develop our prove to be a document of historic importance. For the industries. In this development, India can follow either and time a complete plan of economic and social re- of the three following methods:construction of India has been placed before the nation with the full approval and authority of Mahatma Gandhi. Principal Agarwal's Plan is, in essence, a socialist plan with the necessary modifications to suit Principal Agarwal, the needs of our country and the genius of our people. It is to be hoped that on the basis of this Plan complete unity will be forged inside the Indian National Congress.

At the very outset, Principal Agarwal makes it alear "that independent India must be the first postulate of economic re-construction." He hopes that his brochure will "evoke honest and constructive thought on these problems, at a time when other schemes of on the other. It will convert a very large number of post-war re-construction are being seriously studied, people into robots and will reserve culture as a privilege discussed and formulated." I hope I shall be forgiven, of the privileged class. Such a method Principal Agarwal if I may suggest some minor modifications in his Plan in starse of this article. I hasten to add that I find myself in complete agreement with the basic ideas of his sakeme.

India is fundamentally a land of the peasants. It is, therefore, natural that in any scheme of reconstruction the problem of agriculture will find the first place. The central problem of raising the productivity of land could only be tackled on the basis of a number of mdical reforms suggested by Agarwal. The first of these reforms is the nationalisation of land and a system of long-term tenancy to the actual tillers of the soil. He stresses "the urgent need for a systematic planning and improvement in agriculture on scientific lines." He also serventes the development of co-operative farming.

enture on the lines stated above will not solve the crucial problem of India —the problem of unemployment of nearly fifty per cent of our people. This will only be solved, if there is a simultaneous and paralleldevelopment of our industries, As R. C. Dutt pointed

1. The traditional capitalist method.

2. The traditional socialist method.

3. The modified socialist method as enunciated by

The protagonists of the first method hope that Indian capitalists and financiers will develop large-scale industries on modern lines and by the operation of economic laws surplus labour will gradually flow from land to industry As a result, there will, of course, be large cities, palatial buildings and dirty slums and a complete concentration of economic power in the hands of a few. It will mean opulence on one side and misery rightly repudiates.

It has been suggested by the supporters of the second method that the National Government might take upon itself the task of carrying through a programme of socialist industrialisation. In that event the state will take over the present private industries and in addition, will develop other industries owned and controlled by the state. Under this plan, industries will be developed on a large scale and there will be a planned transference of labour from land to industry. If large-scale industries are developed under such a plan, they will lead to a development of large cities throughout India There will be a growing differentiation between cities and villages, which in turn will create acute sociological problems. In any case But even a most successful development of agr. too much succhanisation will mean a life of monotony for a very large number of people. Work for most of the people will be reduced to a ceaseless repetition of mechanical movements. It might mean economic efficiency, but it will surely result in cultural bankruptcy. The full effects of such a mechanical life are becoming out in his Economic History of India, the history of sparent in America, where people are producing huge India ander British rule is a history of "progressive battleships but little culture. No, India must not follow the gradual destruction of our native the road to cultural bankruptcy. We must give full scope battleships. B is, therefore, agreed on all calls that for to human personality. We must not produce speciments. of the people, it will reduce democracy to a farce.

This brings me to Principal Agarwal's The Goodhion Plan. He does not deny that a number of basic and key industries must be developed on a large scale. These "key industries shall be owned and managed by the state in the interests of the nation as a whole." All the public utility services will, of course, be owned and managed by the state as well. Only those industries, which for technical reasons cannot be organised on the basis of small units should be allowed to develop on a large scale. The criterion in this case is not economic efficiency, but technical need. The rest should be organised on the basis of cottage industries and dispersed throughout the villages. As a general principle, all the consumption goods, according to this Plan, will mainly be supplied by "cottage industries." For instance, there is no technical need to organise textile industry on a large scale. The result of this policy will be to bring employment to villagers, who are wholly or partly unemployed today and will make it unnecessary to transfer large number of workers to congested cities. The cottage industries need not, of course, be run on primitive lines. Indeed, we must fully utilize our present scientific knowledge to modernise these industries. According to Lewis Mumford "the recent achievements of science can make small workshops situated in small garden cities spread all over the of industries will be facilitated by a proper development of electric power. Indeed, in my view, the success of villagers plying their implements and tools with electhe basis of India's river systems and will bring power to every village home. It will then allow private or co-operative enterprise in the organisation of village industries on the basis of power provided by the state. The organisation of these village industries will be under the direction and control of the 'Gram Panchayat' To re-capitulate, therefore, under The Gandhian Plan power, mining, metallurgy, machinery, heavy engineering, chemicals, transport will be owned by the state and controlled by the National Planning Commission in the help of electric power. There will be scope for cooperative enterprise in these village industries and the control of these industries will be vested in the village Government. The beneficial effects of such a Plan on the life of our people can hardly be over-estimated. The villagers will have a large measure of control over key industries. This Plan will prevent the development thought

men with a crase for efficiency. Further, such a plan of large cities and excessive mechanisation with all their will mean a tremendous concentration of power in the evil consequences. Industry will be merged in agriculhands of the state bureaucracy. It will ourb the initiative ture. Factories and workshops run by electricity will grow up in the very heart of corn-fields. Recent acientific achievements will be utilised fully to promote "good life" and machine will become the servant of man.

> This picture of India of tomorrow will. I feel mure arouse great enthusiasm and command the approval all, who think in terms of a democratic and socialist India, But this plan is not merely a statement of future intention, it is also of immediate political importance. There have been in the past and there are at the moment, a number of political groups inside the Indian National Congress. These groups have held different and often divergent views in regard to social policy. But they have all united on the platform of the Congress for the common problem of Indian independence. But if The Gandhian Plan is accepted by the Congress as the basis of its social policy, it is highly probable that the ideological differences inside the Congress will largely disappear and complete unity inside Congress will be achieved on the basis of this modified socialist plan.

The Gandhian Plan will fulfil another distinct need. The Congress, in spite of the tremendous support it has received from the masses, has not quite succeeded in linking up the struggle for every-day existence of an Indian peasant with the wider struggle for political country side, the most efficient, healthy and wholesome freedom. In view of this fact, emotionalism has played units of industry and of society." Such a decentralisation an important part in our technique of political property. ganda. But it has never been quite patent to car peasants and workers that on the success of Congress The Gandhian Plan depends on a complete electrifica- struggle for independence depends the ending of tion of India. As Mahatmaji puts it, "If we could have economic miscry and exploitation of our people. Aud electricity in every village home, I shall not mind the people will never be ready for supreme sacrifice. unless they are convinced that the struggle for political tricity." Under the direction of the National Planning independence of India is also a struggle for their Commission, the state will develop electric power on economic and social emancipation. The Gandhion Plan. once it is accepted as the programme of the Congress, will make it quite clear that the Congress stands for an all-round economic and social development of our people on a socialist-democratic basis. But the plan must not remain the intellectual property of & few political workers, it must become the conscious desire of the common people of India. What is necessary, a number of basic industries, like the defence industries, therefore, is a systematic and continuous presentation of the fundamentals of the scheme to the vast many of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of India. This, of course, can only be done by a unified interest of the nation as a whole. The rest will be Congress under the supreme leadership of Mahatma erganised on the basis of village industries with the Gandhi. This planned propagands will mean a considerable extension of Congress power among the masses of our people. The emphasis on village democracy and economic and social reconstruction of India will reduce the problem of minorities to insignificance. If effective political power passes to the village communities, organised on a democratic basis, communal problem will their economic and other activities and democracy in have no meaning. India's unity will be achieved on the that case will become a reality. The unity of India and basis of de-centralised Government and well-developed equal development is all parts of our country will be village communities. A new and fruitful social experi-guaranteed by the control of the state of our basic and ment will, then, be India's contribution to world

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE IN THE USSR

By M. MALINOVSKY

Morning and children are surrounded with great care and solicitude in the Soviet Union. Already, in December 1917, in the very first months of its existence, the Soviet Government passed a law by which women workers were granted pre-natal and post-natal leaves with full pay and nursing mothers were given the right of two hours' interval at work everyday for the purpose of nursing their infants. At the same time began a wide-flung construction of maternity hospitals, nurseries, consultation centres, homes for unmarried mothers, children's homes, child welfare and milk distributing centres.

The Soviet rule freed women from the age-old yoke which had oppressed them, raised their human dignity, opened wide roads to them for participation in state activities, in economic, cultural, social and political life of the country. This right has been firmly established by the Constitution of the USSR.

The first link in maternity and child welfare service is the prenatal clinic where women can get advice on how to take care of themselves during the entire period of pregnancy, get medical attention and, in case of need, may see a specialist.

As result of the work of these antenatal clinics, a sharp decrease took place in the number of abnormal confinements, postnatal complications, still-born infants and abortions. Healthier mothers and sturdier babies were born: the average weight of the newly born infants increasing from year to year.

The antenatal and postnatal centres have become true schools for mothers hundreds of thousands of women having learnt here how to take proper care of their newly born infants.

In Tearist Russia there were no child welfare centres. Now they exist in the most outlying corners of the vast Soviet Union, as well as in central regions of the damptry.

Since the establishment of the Soviet rule the number of maternity hospitals and wards shows great increase, and service in them has improved radiosity. Thus, in 1913 there were only 6624 beds in maternity hospitals and at the present there are 141,573, that is an increase of more than twenty times.

Matters were particularly bad with regard to medical attention during confinement in the so-called national regions of the Tearlst Russia. Now thousands of women in eastern republics of the Soviet Union go to well-equipped maternity hospitals. Painless bith methods are widely applied in maternity hospitals in the USSR.

Once the baby is born it comes under the care of the postnatal clinic. Doctors and nurses of each clinic observe the growth and development of all infants in their district, whether ill or well.

In the USSR there are over two thousand and sight hundred child welfare centres with special kitchens preparing behics' food for infants up to the age of three, and this milk is daily distributed to tens of thousands the milk is daily distributed to tens of thousands.

Nurseries are highly popular in the USSR. Women workers and collective farmers can attend to their tasks in enterprises and on fields without worrying, when they knew that their children are well-fed and cared for in the nurseries.

There were only five hundred nursery cots in Russia in 1913. At present there are in the USSR over eight hundred thousand in permanent nurseries and up to four million in seasonal nurseries which function in the villages during the periods when field work is at its height.

In addition to medical workers of general public health service, the health of children is guarded by some seventeen thousand special children's doctors and tens of thousands of nursea.

The solicitude of the Soviet Government for mothers and children is particularly marked by the recent edict of the Supreme Soviet, USSR: "On increasing the State aid to expectant mothers, mothers of large families and unmarried mothers; protection of motherhood and childhood, institution of the honorary title of Mother Heroine, Order of Glory and Motherhood Medal."

According to this law, which was passed during the present war, every mother of two children is entitled to State allowance on birth of the third child and this grant is proportionately increased on the birth of each succeeding child. The antenatal and postnatal paid leaves are increased to seventy-seven days. In cases where complications set in, or twins are born, two weeks are added to this leave. The additional rations which expectant and nursing mothers receive are now doubled. From the sixth month of pregnancy up to four months after confinement women now receive additional rations.

According to the new law, unmarried mothers have the right to place their infants in homes where these will be brought up and maintained at the cost of the State and withdraw their children from the home at any tune they wish.

The law also provides for a further widening of the network of mother and child welfare institutions. This year in Moscow alone fifteen hundred beds will be added to maternity hospitals and a considerable number of nurseries and antenatal and postnatal plinies opened. Children's dining rooms new provide special diet for a hundred and seventy-five thousand Mose we children. In Belo-Russia new children's homes are being opened to accommodate an additional lifteen hundred kiddies and in the Minek region for another three-hundred shildren. Rest-homes for expectant mothers have been opened in Moscow. Obstetrical and gynecological wards and consultation from have also been opened.

In the Soviet Union the mother is hencured by the State and by the people. Motherhood has been put on a level with services deserving to be rewarded by orders or medals.

WALTER DE LA MARE Br B.

Among contemporary British poets, Walter de la Mare has gained a distinguished place owing to his delicate and individual style. He is regarded by critics as a master of fantasy and symbolisms, and a swis follower in the Maeterlinck tradition. Among his more important works are his Songe of Childhood. The Listeners, Motley and Other Poems, The Veil, Poems for Children and Memory.

Born in 1873, Walter de la Mare first embarked on a business career, but took up writing as a hobby. After publishing several successful poems and a novel, he finally gave up business in 1908 to devote himself entirely to his literary work. Here are two of his recent poems:

his literary work. Here are two of his recent poems:

A QUIETIST He hes one, who, hating strife, Kept to a peaceful, private life. Rare gifts were his to share; but none Will keep him from ablivion. It was his weakness, and his grace, Always to choose the lower place. There if he shone, for a natural wealth, Like glowworm 'twas-as if by stealth. Men in the world there are called great Who win at length to high estate. He shunned that hercer light, lest he Should lose the quiet of privacy, But even a lift of the eyebrow proved How much he valued what he loved: There peered from those hazed eyes A self by solitude made wise;



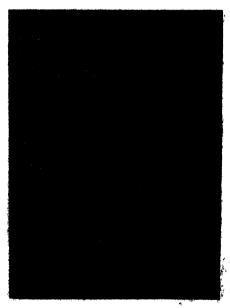
Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize Winner, in accepting election as Honorary President of the India election as hienorary President of the India League of America, made the following statement: "I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction, finally, after long, close and continuing experience with people and events in Asia; that India has become an immediate testicate for world democracy; in the syst of all the design peoples, everywhere."

As if within the head may be All the soul used for company; And, having that in safety there, funds its reflection everywhere. Finds its reflection everywhere, Life's tempests must have wazed and usined; The deep within at peace remained; Full tides that ellent well may be Full tides that event was may be Mark of no less projound a sea. Age proved his blassing, since it brought What, half unwitting, he had sought Life long; and jound him resoncised To die, as he had lived, a child. He had come full circle; now is gone. Stranger, respect his all; this stone,

THE SOLITARY BIRD Why should a bird in that solitary hollow Flying from east to west

Seem in the silence of the snow-wanned sunshine
Gilding the valley's crest,
Envoy and symbol of a past within me Centuries now at rest?

Shallowly arched the heavens use beyond it, Of turquase green and blue; Not even a whisper irks the magic of the evening The narrowing valley through;
No faintest echo brings a sylloble revealing
The secret once I knew; Down whists the snow again, cloud masks the sunshir Bird gone, and memory too.



Indian scientists who were on a visit to U.S.A. have returned to India. They are (front row): Sir Juan Chandra Ghosh, J. N. Mukherji, Dr. Nasir Ahmad; (back row): Front Meghinad Saha, (Frafit S. Coan, of the U.S. State Department), Prof. S. K. Mitte and Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodical, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.— Eorron, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

POST-WAR CONSTRUCTION: By D. Pant, B.Com., Ph.D. (Dublin). Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8.

Explaining that reconstruction in his view implies an attempt to restore pre-war conditions by building upon old values which, as everybody must agree with him, is more or less an impossibility by reason of the new forces let loose by the present war and the radical changes in our ideas created by them, the author pleads for construction by which he understands the total scrapping of the old social economic and political organisation and its replacement by a New Order which will have Man for its foundation. For the attainment of this purpose, certain axioms and postulates, the necessity of the observation of which is self-evident, are laid down in the second chapter. The politico-economic, the socio-psychological, the educational, and the administrative basis of the New Order are explained in the next four chapters. Then follows a discussion of the problem of unemployment, overt and masked. In the last chapter but one, we have the author's suggestions as to the way in which the above ideas could be applied to the world, British India, and India while, in the last chapter, he gives details of his plan of Construction which, in his language, "shorn of its trappings and frills... simply demands Security of Livtlihood," Human Standard of Living, Impartial Justice, and Political, Religious and Cultural Security for Man."

One infers that Dr. Pant has very definite ideas as to how the world can be made a better place to live in that he is conscious that his views are not always the problem of unemployment, overt and masked. In

in, that he is conscious that his views are not always orthodox, that he has the courage of his convictions and is not afraid to give expression to them. He does not lack optimism and offers his solution of our difficulties in a style always striking, picturesque, and emphatic.

GANDHISM: A SOCIALISTIC APPROACH: Bu A. N. Agerwala, M.A., Lecturer, University of Allahabad. Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 58. Price As. 12.

The respect in which Mahatma Gandhi is held by thousands of Indians has induced them to follow un-questioningly the political lead given by him. While as yet we do not know whether the technique evolved by yet we do not know whether the technique evolved by him will give us complete freedom, it cannot be denied that it has taken us far and that as yet its possibilities are not altogether exhanated. But Gandhism has its economic aspect also where it is parallelled by the acceptance of socialism as our next step forward in the aphere of social organisation. The author contends that much is common to both these movements which are influencing each other and he envisages the time when there will be a happy amalgam between them. The arguments in support of this opinion are well put and the size of the book is no indication of its value as an apposition of this particular point of view.

H. C. Moorman

PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC PLANNING: Edited by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan. Published by Eas'ern Economist Ltd., New Delhi. Pages 54. Price Re. 1.

This is another small publication on principles of Post-War Planning in India with a foreword by Mr. G. D. Birla. Although the war is not yet over, the Post-War Plannings and Schemes of reconstruction have caught the imagination of economists and Governments of Allied Nations and although India is not yet a nation, capitalists of this country are not slow in pre-paring their schemes for Post-War India.

In the present pamphlet, the principles have been discussed in a balanced and scientific manner and with some amount of caution so as to avoid extreme hardship of the people in case of a quick industrialization. The questions of food supply, agriculture clothing, housing, education, and public health including water supply have been discussed and lessons from the Soviet Gosplans have been brought in for comparison. Post-War India is taken as capitalistic with a State-Socialistic bias. Under a sufficiently democratic State Control of basic and key industries, private capitalists shall be allowed to invest money in metals, machine tools, machinery, heavy engineering heavy chemicals, etc., but the State will nationalise all public utility industries and concerns.

After all had been said in favour of private enterprises it is admitted that planning must mean socialism sooner or later, more sooner than later, but to avoid the rigour of totalitarian and dictator al socialism private capitalistic enterprises, and even cottage and small industries must continue for some time till they merge in the New Order. The plan will apply that the sound of the second of the secon require a vast amount of external capital and the author has an eye upon the sterling balances in that connection. But as long as England controls the destiny of India, economic reconstruction of the country must be subordinated to the Imperial interest and as such all plannings by non-official authorities are more or less academic unless they find favour with the Britsen masters of India.

However, students of economics will find this pamphlet interesting, the subject-matter having been very ably handled and statistics cleverly utilised.

THE JAPANESE PARADOX : By N. J. Nanporia Thacker & Co., Ltd. Bombay, 1945. Pages 136. Prims Rs. 3-12.

Japan is a land of paradoxes. It is indeed hard to reconcile her westernization with her primitive Shinto reconcile her westernisation with her primitive Shinto Cult and patriotic fanaticism, her tremendous national virility with her social backwardness, her kimono and geisha with harakiri, her artistic creativities with her instinct of expansion and plunder. Most of these contradictions, so apparent to Western observers arise, however, from an imperfect appreciation of Japanese history and miture. They are by no means inherent in the Japanese tradition, but are aparticulated of the

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disharmony which the hasty assimilation of an alien from the present crisis and pave the way for Hindu culture has wrought in Japanese national life. The unity and wider expansion of Hinduism. author has attempted in this book a correct appraisal of these typically Japanese phenomena which particularly baffle Western observers. He does not emit the familiar propaganda stuff which scarcely carries any conviction with discerning readers. The treatment of women in Japanese society hardly does any credit to this proud nation, and the cruelties of her industrial system are a disgrace to her social conscience. But the Shinto is not so primitive as is usually imagined; it is the Shinto that has helped to Japanize Buddhism and Christianity, and has transformed primitive religious beliefs into an aggressive and fatalistic patriotism. The Shinto is a great assimilator. An interesting revelation that Mr. Nanporia makes is that the Japanese Emperor is a man of culture and liberal sympathies. "He is the only man in Japan who laughs openly at his own divinity and regards Shintoism with derisive amusement. . . . It was not incorrectly stated that on December 7, 1941, there was not a more miserable man in the East than Emperor Hirohito, descendant of the Sun God-dess" (page 132).

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDUISM AT A GLANCE : By Swami Nirvedananda. With a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Vidyamandir, Dhakuria, Bengal, Pp. 229. Price Rs. 4-8.

The author, who is a learned monk of the Ramakrishna order, is already known as a thoughtful writer by his maiden work on spiritual Renaissance. The book under review is a fitting addition to the former and is a comprehensive outline of the fundamentals of Hinduism as a whole. The volume is very correctly printed and attractively got up: A glossary of Sanskrit words used in the book with their suitable synonyms, as well as an index, are annexed in the appendix. The book is divided into two parts: the first part having thirteen chapters and the second part, eight. The first part deals with the doctrine of Karma and re-birth, transmigration and salvation, path of Prayritti and Nivritti, four Yogas, as well as the sacred books of Hinduism. The second part surveys the Hindu prophets, Hindu idea of God and Soul, projection and pralaya, rituals and mythology. The subject is treated from a broad standpoint, from where this ancient religion can be viewed in its full grandeur. The treatment sparkles with transparent clarity and breathes throughout a freshness that will at once appeal to the modern mind, Hindu or non-Hindu. The book may be safely laid down as an excellent manual of Hinduism and unhesitatingly depended upon as a very good guide to the immortal faith. The erudite author has done well in retaining the Sanskrit terms in his exposition, as they are almost untranslatable and indispensable for an understanding of Hinduism. In the concluding chapter, the Swami, who is an experienced teacher of Hinduism, earnestly appeals to Hindus of all classes and schools for a new understanding of our age-old Dharma according to the changed conditions of our times. Hinduism through the ages, the author rightly points out, has shown extreme rigidity with regard to the essentials but remarkable elasticity in the readjustment of externals. He is firmly convinced that the foundations of Hinduism cannot be shaken by either scientific or historical criticism of the moderns. He exhorts every Hindu, man or woman, to we missisted into the true Hindu view of life; to make the soil of actual and contemporary experiences. Even our religion dynamic in our private and public life, and Rabindranath Tagore who on occasions mocked at to adopt a synthetic outlook—which alone can save us things contemporary and total

SWAMI JAGADISWARANARDA

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VISISHTADVAITA: By P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Princepal, Panchaiappa & College, Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar. Frice Rs. 10.

This book is the outcome of deep study and great devotion. In it the author has dealt with the whole of philosophy in an exhaustive manner and according to a definite plan; he has begun by showing that Visishtadvaita is not a vain, speculative system, but is "a philosophy of affirmation and valuation", the ead of which is the knowledge of tatue, the realisation of hita, and the attainment of purushartha. But purushartha cannot be attained without correct knowledge; hearfollows the discussion on Ramanuja's theory of knowledge; next comes the discussion on the nature of Brahman as well as Its relation to Chit and Achit—on Brahman as Adhara, Niyanta and Sceins. Surely all this discussion is to be found, even if briefly, in all works on Ramanuja's philosophy; but for an exhaustive exposition of the doctrine of Brahman as Saririn, as well as for brilliant criticism of the different kinds of Bhedobheda, both Indian and European, this book stands unrivalled. Metaphysical knowledge alone does not satisfy the hankering of the human soul; hence the discussion on Brahman as Bhubana Sundara follows next; herein the author gives us the Vedantic in erpretation of Brahman as the Beautiful. The knowledge of Brahman as the controller and sustainer of the universe, as well as the realisation of His beauty files the human soul with an overwhelming love, which culminates in *Prapatiti* or complete surrender, and in the discussion which follows next on *Prapatiti* Toga we reach the very heart of the philosophy of Bhakti, Then there are the chapters on the life and teachings on Visishtadvaita teachers as also on Ramanuja's influence on the religious systems of India. These are, in thepaselves, valuable contributions to the history of Indian philosophy. In the last chapter the author has given a summary of the whole book for the benefit of the readers.

The book is therefore a monumental work and will be found indispensable by every one interested in Indian philosophy and religion.

The style of the writer reaches at times a rhythm

which is not generally found in philosophical works,

ISAN CH. ROY

BENGALI

SAMAJ O SAHITYA: By Kumar Bimal Chandra Sinha, M.A. Mesers Das Gupta & Ca., 54/8, College Street, Calcutta, Pages 388. Price Rs. 8.

This is an introduction to the study of modern engali poetry in twelve Chapters with an Appendix on ancient Sanskrit poetry. Literature of any country cannot but be a mirror of contemporary society and poetry is no exception. But the author's poetry is is no materialistic interpretation of poetry although he admits social and class conflicts as factors determining the trend of literature. He cannot be in the wrong when he says that every literary man of impor-tance must be in himself both the creator and the representative of his age-personality alone determines in which he is greater (page 306). A poet of talent represents only his age whereas a poet of genius not only represents his age but also creates beauty which is eternal. It is admitted that a poet must be an idealist, but for that reacon he cannot draw his acquisishment from the air. He must have the roots of his poetry-in nices perfect representative of his age, country and society with a vision for the future and a beauty of his own that surpassed all contemporaries in the field of 'successful literature. In the words of the author creation in literature has certainly a beauty which goes beyond time but such beauty is a product of the time and would not have been possible in defiance of environments' (page 256). This is why Tagore is of sternal value. So is Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra.

The author has good words for those ultra-modern poets who have their basis on reality and not for those who have taken their inspiration from foreign sources without any touch of environments. It is not an easy task to seems and measure the ulta-modern poetry of al but the author has done this with considerable skill. He has no bias for proletarian art because it is called proletarian unless it is really so. Although many ultra-modern writers desire to say that the sun of creative genius of Tagore had long set, the author holds that to the last day of his life Tagore's creations were realistic and of permanent value in literature and these belonged to the soil of India unlike the ultra-modern poetry of some young contemporaries whose inspira-tions came from foreign lands and as such were far from real in the long discussion the author has undertaken to assess the value of poetry; he quotes extensively from ancient and modern writers and not unoften disagrees with some eminent art critics.

The author's study of the economic conditions of Bengal since the establishment of the British Rule, rise of the new middle class—landless and cut off from the original strata of society, the birth of a new literature in Bengal and its development in relation to environments and contemporary events—political and economic, is excellent and deserves to be studied by those who are interested in the study of modern Bengali poetry.

SADHAK DARA SHUKOH: By Rezaul Karim.

choly figure in Indian history. All his culture education and popularity could not make good his political incapacity as a statesman and he had to pay dear for his goodness. To judge this man by earthly failures is to misjudge him. The author depicts the real man in Dara—a man ever ready to serve humanity, ever ready to sacrifice himself for the brotherhood of man, relationship. gious tolerance and unity among warring sects and sections of his time. He was really a saint and had he succeeded his father to the throne of Delhi instead of Aurangaib, the history of India would have been some-thing different and perhaps a brilliant one. Dara was au emblem of Hindu-Moslem unity and as such he was condemned to death as a heretic by the Moslem divines under the instigation of Aurangsib. Such a pious life in history should be a subject for study to all students of Indian politics.

The author as a preacher of Hindu-Moslem unity has succeeded once again in bringing out a volume in Bengali which will do real good to the country.

A. B. DUTTA

the evolution of bengal culture. The vista-unity with his life blood, the object of taking light behavior publication department has done well to bring and literature to every college and hamlet, by cheapen-out promptly the second edition of the book. It is ing the price of good books is worthily being continued insluded in the Visva-vidya-camgraha series. The author by this successors whose desire to make the masses traces in this treatise the origin and development of acquainted with this branch of Gujarati literature, is to the Bengali stage. He gives a concise but complete say the least, praiseworthy.

E. M. J.

influences of his time, is but the best exponent and the here also Banerji is accurate with his information. A few additions and alterations that have been made in this edition have added to the value of the book of 8. L.

HINDI

VIKRAMADITYA: By Hemchandra Joshi, D.Lit. Vikrama-Gaurava-Prasarak Mandala, Girgaon, Bombay 4. Pp. 32. Price four annas.

This is a timely short study of Vikramaditya, whose hi-millenial anniversary is being celebrated throughout India at present by the Hindus. It is based on historical research and so it will justify amply the latter's pride in their ancient king, who was an acme of courage as well as culture. Incidentally the book also treats of a lesser Vikramaditya, Raja Devichand of Kumaon, who lived in the eighteenth century. Its publicity value cannot be disputed.

AJITVIRYA BAHUBALII: By Kaka Kalelkur. Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabag, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. 43.

Price As. 10.

This is a Hindi translation, which has been done competently, of Kaka Kalelkar's account of his visit to the image of Ajitvirya,—a piece of wonderful sculp-ture,—in Shravanbelgola, in Mysore State. It is travelogue, legend, history, art,—all compounded into a literary composition which at once grips the attention and interest of the reader. Some of the passages, particularly those which describe natural effects, are pure poetry. Incidentally, it is an essay in appraising aright the idealism of art. The get-up of the booklet is excellent, but the price of ten annas for such a small publication is rather l. gh

UNANI DARSHANA Bu Rahul Sankirtuana. Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabagh, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. 40.

Price As. 12.

Here is a bird's-eye view of Greek philosophy, with M.A., B.L. Published by the Noor Library, 12/1, Serang its several schools, written with that clarity of inter-Lane, Calcutta. Pages 12 + 139. Price Rs. 2-8. pretation and expression which one has come to Dara, cldest son of Emperor Shahjehan, is a melan-associate with everything that emanates from the pen pretation and expression which one has come to associate with everything that emanates from the pen of Pandit Sankrityana. It covers nearly a period of thousand years, starting with about 600 B.C. The booklet, under review, is a part of the bigger work, planned by the author, which will deal with various philosophical systems of the world. The reader will await eagerly the remaining parts.

GUJARATI

GUJARAT NI GAZALO: Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, AhmedabaI.

Paper pover. Pp. 179. Price Re. 1. (1943).

Gazal literature, i.e., verses written in the vein of Arabic, Iranian and Urdu poets, is alien to the genius of the Gujarati language. However, during the last fifty years, verses have been written which seem to have caught the spirit of that peculiar kind of versification to be found in the above-mentioned three languages, and meet with a modicum of success. The poems eightynine in number of about twenty-eight writers have been brought together in this collection; in quality they are good, bad and indifferent. But latterly a band of young Muslim writers have girded up their loins to make up BANGIYA NATYASALA (1795-1873): Brajendra- for this defect in Gujarati literature and their first-hand nath Baneri. Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 2, Bankim knowledge of Iranian and Urdu literature, which the Chatterfi Street, Calcutta. Second Edition. Price eight other writers did not possess, gives them a very good other writers did not possess, gives them a very good start over some of their predecessors. The founder of The growth of the Bengali stage is a fascinating the society Bhiksbu Akhandanand was a great man and theme. The Bengali stage has contributed not a little he—alas, now no more—developed it to a high pitch of towards the evolution of Bengali culture. The Visca- utility with his life blood. The object of taking light



INDIAN PÉRIODICALS



Tagore's Message to East and West

Tagore the poet-seer who was also the stalwart champion of justice and of his country's freedom, speaks in his message of universal sympathy and tolerance. Mr. Laurence E. Moore observes in The Arvan Path:

This magnificent soul lived and worked for the good-will of all men through a period darkened by the catastrophe of two major wars in the Western world, which produced their back-wash all over the earth.

Tagore's message, in an essay entitled "The Spirit of Freedom," was never more appropriate than at this moment, to both East and West. This short essay is printed in the little volume of his works entitled Creative Unity The theme of this essay is:—

"When freedom is not an inner idea which imparts strength to our activities and breadth to our creations, when it is merely a thing of external circumstances, it is like an open space to one who is blindfolded

Against this background the Poet sketches a brief but poignant picture; firstly of freedom as it is at present interpreted in the West and secondly of free-

dom as it is understood in India.

In the West he feels that "freedom as an idea has become feeble and ineffectual." This is due to the fact that, although living under a system which gives them an external semblance of freedom, the Western people are not in reality free because their minds are dominated by the agents of the very system under which they live. Behind this semblance of freedom there lurk selfish, private interests whose power is in the obscurity under which they operate These interests have recognised the tremendous potential for constructive development inherent in the people which, when turned into avenues of popular welfare, is the greatest blessing of mankind.

Being entirely selfish, private interests in the West have united in an unwritten conspiracy to deceive the people and keep them in ignorance of the true state of affairs.

This end is achieved with an amazing measure of success through various subtle methods of propagands, all directed towards putting the free thought of the people into a certain mould, which produces results beneficial to these selfish interests but not to the people. One of these is the newspaper, owned by such interests, through which the most subtle propaganda is daily poured into millions of unsuspecting minds, wide own to opinions and eager to be convinced.

Another method is the radio, over which the most

sugar-coated medicine can be distributed, mostly at that time of the day when men wish to relax and be amused, when all their critical barriers are down and almost anything will be accepted if it is presented in a

sufficiently attractive garb.

This is the picture that the Poet Tagore sees in the West. The spirit of the machine, turned by unsorrupulous interests to the exploitation of men, which "represents the active aspect of inertia which has the appearance of freedom, but not its truth, and therefore gives rise to slavery both within its boundaries and outside."

At the same time, however, while turning wearly the distribution manufact of the West, he distribute manufact of the West, he described to the respect to the same time.

from the disturbing spectacle of the West, he is pained

to find in his own country just as little of the true spirit of freedom, even though the external circumstances are different.

Tagore savs:

"He only has freedom who ideally loves freedom himself and is glad to extend it to others. He who cares to have slaves must chain himself to them: he who builds walls to create exclusion for others builds walls across his own freedom: he who distrusts freedom in others loses his moral right to it. Sooner or later he is lured into the meshes of physical and moral servility."

The Poet sees no moral or practical justification for the caste system, which must be rooted out of Indian life and its place taken by a spirit of true, co-operative brotherhood, in deed, as well as word. Hear his words:

"Our stupefaction has become so absolute that we

do not even realise that this persistent misfortune, dogging our steps for ages, cannot be mere accident of history, removable only by another accident from outside. Unless we have true faith in freedom, knowing it to be creative, manfully taking all its risks, not only do we lose the right to claim freedom in politics, but we also lack the power to maintain it with all our strength."

Man has conquered space on earth, water and in the air His material achievements have been tremendous. Truly in this realm nothing is withheld from his grasp. But he no longer has time to rest and enjoy his work as he had in earlier centuries when his achievements were less.

The world sorely needs the inspired and enlightened example of a people who shall unite the wonderful possibilities of the machine with the praise of God so that man, freed increasingly from drudgery may once more learn how to rest and enjoy his work and give the glory to God This is the part that the Poet would have his country play in the world today. This is the glorious vocation of India.

A Reconstruction of Our Past History

In the course of his presidential address delivered at the annual general meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (as published The Calcutta Review) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee observes:

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Robert Louis Stevenson

In an article entitled 'Stevenson after Fifty Years' in The Catholic World, Mathew J. Ashe, briefly criticising the merits and demerits of R. L. Stevenson as an author, passes judgment on him as follows:

A half-century has passed since the death of Robert Louis Stevenson, cosmopolitan Scotch author. On December 3, 1894, at Upolu, Samoa, R. L. S. died while at work on the unfinished Weir of Hermiston, a novel acclaimed by the critics as holding his greatest promise.

The difficulty of accurately assigning Stevenson's place in literature is similar to that which confronts an analysis of any author who has written prodigiously. Charles Scribner's Sons has put out twenty-two volumes of his works, and these represent a widely varied range of literary craftsmanship. They comprise critical essays and essays of travel, poems, plays, short stories, and the longer romances in addition to the letters arranged by Sidney Colvin. The very fact that he passed away prematurely in his forty-fifth year only serves to emphasize the relative vastness of the total output.

It is by now commonly recognized that this writer's most consistent success came in the short story and the essay. In each of these departments he and much to set up standards more or less conventional much to set up standards more or less conventional today. He has produced many short stories that are wellnigh perfect models of their kind and rank him among the best short story writers in the English language. Coming to mind are "Providence and the Guttar," a triumph of excellent good humor, and "The Beach of Falsea," an exotic love tale. Then we recall the social shocker, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," together with the ghost story, "Thrawn Janet." There are besides, "The Sire de Maletroit's Door," a grim enough year, with a heavy cording and that title meatures. yarn with a happy ending, and that little masterpiece called "The Bottle Imp." which retells with new enchantment an old legend about a demon in the

Concerning the essays, Stevenson, himself in the tracks of Sir Thomas Browne, went far to develop a mode frequently appearing now-a-days both in books and in articles for periodicals. Here reference is made Society of Arts: to the personal or familiar essay where the prevailing The world prolume is the intimate projection of oneself into the topic many countries the at hand. At once, we think of the many brilliant essays forming the content of his sizeable list of travel narratives. Under this category come the essays in Edinburgn: Tives, Under this category come the essays in Europardy Picturesque Notes, An Inland Voyage, Travels With a Donkey Across the Plains, etc. Moreover, there are separate pieces among his other works which obviously command attention. To mention but a few, we can cite, "An Apology for Idlers," "The Foreigner at Home," "Talk and Talkers," and "Books Which Have Influenced Me."

As a whole, the author was not successful in the longer romances, though, by way of paradox, his most famous productions are the adventure classics, Treasure Island and Kidnapped. "It is the length that kills," is his often quoted self-commentary, a judgment he had the mo seen continually verified by pathetic experiment known. Partly from temperamental reasons and partly because Ho of his ill health—each no doubt reacting on the other he could not bring himself to stay for long on any given subject.

famous books. The explanation for Frequese Island is the author's ability to summon energy for a quirk execution, the whole being completed in two installexecution, the whole being completed in two installments of fifteen days each. Kidnopped is certainly a valid exception. He was many months at this masterpiece, but paid dearly for his pains by an exhaustion that nearly brought him to death's door. David Baljeur, the sequel, was by no means equally well received.

One unmistakable Catholis quality of Stevenson, which if it will not quite pass under the name of warm-heartedness, is at least akin to the same is his ready sympathy for all races and classes of men. On this point Lional Labracon susters not and critical fit.

this point, Lionel Johnson, austere poet and critic of the 90's, provides an apposite comment: "As Addison with his London folk, so Mr. Stevenson with all the people under heaven known to him: they can never be so strange to him, so marvellous or so repulsive, but he will make friends with them, try to read their hearts, and picture them as naturally as the folk of his own Lothians."

From our present vantage ground, we can harbour little doubt that R. L. Stevenson has stood the test of these fifty years. With all his weaknesses in the balance, it is yet but fair to concede that he accomplished a great deal for one man. Undoubtedly, he had his moments of eclipse as well as of brilliance and resiliency of spirit. Still, where an author has produced on so vast a scale, it seems wholly right to appraise him on the

side of his very positive assets.

Citizen of the world, Stevenson travelled not as your ordinary tourist, but rather like the genuine artist for whom every tint of land-scape and vagary of man carries a finer impression. Readers of world over can still draw pleasure and profit from Robert Louis Stevenson's uncommon inventive gift and his minutely picturesque language.

Indian Soil Conservation .

Dr. R. Maclagan Gorrie, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., of Indian Forest Service, thus observes on 'The Place of Mechanised Equipment in Indian Soil Conservation' in the Journal of the Royal

The world problem of deterioration of soil, and in many countries the parallel phenomenon of increasing density of population, render it essential that we in the British Empire should marshal our resources of men and material to make all available land productive. This war has witnessed the supply of vast quantities of mechanical transport and heavy machinery for the moving of earth, the digging of trenches and of tank-ditches, the consolidation of surfaces for air-landing strips, and so forth. It has also witnessed the training of many thousands of men to handle this equipment, with the surprising result that the more primitive and unmechanised countries such as India, Burma, Ceylon, Sudan and many of the Crown colonies will suddenly find themselves wealthy in mechanically-trained men, where previously anything more than hand isbour and the moving of head-loads of soil in baskets was un-

thy from temperamental reasons and partly because
How can we keep these trained drivers and
sill health—each no doubt reacting on the other—
could not bring himself to stay for long on any
subject.

How can we keep these trained drivers and
mechanics fully employed, whether they have returned
to civilian life or are available for agricultural projects
while still serving in the forces? The first essential will
R. L. S. did not absolutely lack the capacity for be to secure machinery suitable for our purposes as soon prolonged thought, as is indicated by his two must as it can be spared from its war-time role, and organise



a redistribution to countries and administrative units which can make good use of it.

There is a general impression amongst farmers in most, countries that the mechanisation of farming will automatically cause a reduction in the number of labour hands employed, but this is not necessarily so. In the type of soil conservation work now envisaged for India very large tracts will be opened up to more intensive settlement, but these are now supporting only a scattered population of graziers or cultivators who can barely make a living.

India is already dangerously unbalanced by the war boom in industry; the enting power of the people and particularly of the soldiers has been greatly stimulated but the land which alone can produce their food has been neglected. The land wants not only protection from crossion but also its full share of manuring and the fostering care of well-planned husbandry. The new industries need markets if they are to survive but their own safe market is a contented and prosperous peasantry; the purchasing power of India's million villages can only be raised by developing more fully their one basic natural resource, namely, the soil.

The Story of Petroleum, A Giant of Modern Industry

In another issue of the same Journal under the above caption, Sir Frank Smith tells the story of petroleum, from which the following extract is made:

The story starts some thousands of years ago in Mesopotamia, now called Irak, and in Persia, also called Iran, for Mesopotamia is not only the cradle of civilisation but it is also the land where petroleum was first found and used industrially. In the Bible there are references to pitch and oil and petroleum gases, and it appears certain that Abraham, who was born at Ur, used oil to burn in lamps. The Arabic name of Ur means pitch, and near the tewn and also near Hit there are

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many surface deposits of pitch. Nebuchadneszar used pitch as a mortar to hold bricks together, and examination of parts of the great wall of Babylon and of the. Royal palace of Nebuchadneszar show pitch oozing from between the bricks. In those days also the boats on the Tigris and Euphrates and Noah's Ark, too, were rendered waterproof by the use of pitch. The circular river boats were made of gopher wood.

In addition to pitch, there are pools of oil in Irak and Iran which are fed by liquid which is continually oosing or seeping from the ground. There are also great fires of hydrocarbon gas, and some of these have raged for thousands of years. These gushes of gas do not appear to have been put to any industrial use, but in some parts of the country Fire Temples were erected about the fires, and some of the inhabitants became fire worshippers.

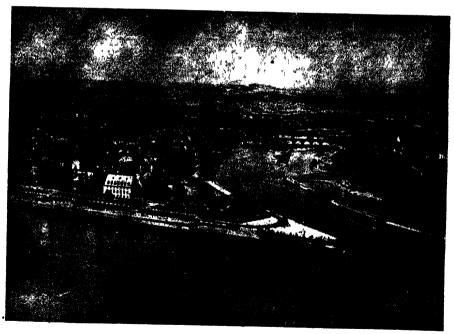
Until the nineteenth century the pitch and oil were used for no important practical purpose, and when cil was discovered in America nobody was particularly interested. Then someone extracted a special portion of the oil and found it to be very good to burn in lamps, and afterwards the internal combustion engine was developed to run on another extract of patroleum, which we call petrol.

Petroleum is a mixture of many liquids and has many gases and solids in solution. It consists of pitch or bitumen, of fuel oil for burning in ships, of paraffin wax for candles, of diesel oil for motor buses, of lubricating oil for machinery, of petrol for motor cars, of gases such as methane, and of special liquids used for medical purposes.

Thousands of years ago there must have been vast quantities of petroleum in the earth, but the bulk of it has crept to the surface and disappeared. Fortunately, some of it has not escaped; it is surrounded by materials which it cannot penetrate; to-day we say it is "trapped" because it cannot get away unaided. Scientists, working like Sherlock Holmes, have obtained clues to these traps, even though many of the trape are two miles or more below the surface of the ground.



Marshal Stalin and President Roosevelt confer in Yalta



This pre-war view of Coblenz shows its strategic importance, situated as it is at the junction of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers

Courtesy USOWI

SRI CHAITANNA'S PILGRIMAGE TO PURI By Khagen Roy
(Abdaged Hal Milmepole)

THE MODERN REVIEW



1045

Whore No. 461

NOTES

Indian Industrialisation and International Cartels

In a speech delivered at the eighteenth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in March last, Mr. G. L. Mehra. dealt with a number of problems regarding the postwar industrial development of India. He first of all regretted the absence of a positive declaration on the part of the Government of the policy that they propose to follow in regard to industrial development after the war. The Government policy on this subject has however been published on April 22 last. Mr. Mehta pointed out that our post-war industrial policy was not merely a question of the tariff policy of the Government. A positive assurance was wanted that the Government would protect both those industries which have come into existence during the war, and these which have expanded as a result of the war and which are integral parts of national economy both from external and internal competition, Mr. Mehta pointed out that in other countries, it has been the attitude of the Government to lay the foundations of the post-war development during wartime by and through the development of war industries. In India, this has not been done. During the war, the industries were merely allowed to eke out a precarious existence and only at the concluding stage of the war, the Government have at last come forward with a mere statement of their post-war industrial policy with no machinery for giving shape to that policy. Comparing the Indian position with other countries, Mr. Mehta said:

Today starting from a scratch, countries like Australia and Canada have been able to build up key and heavy industries. Canada is today the second country in the world in the building of cargoships, fourth among the world's air powers, and the third trading nation in the world. It had undoubtedly a substratum of industrial development before the a substratum of inquarian development before the war, but many of her industries have been developed during the war; her chemical industries, optical glass and synthetic rubber have been developed from scratch. So also the case of Australia in regard porations have recently been formed in England, one to steel and air-craft. But here in this country, we to help British industry and another British Commerce,

cannot say that during this war we have been able to build up one single key or heavy industry; in fact, because of the difficulty in getting some essential raw materials, plant and machinery, our industrial development has been handicapped in many respects.

The matter was worse here in respect of some heavy industries. While they were actively fostered in Canada and Australia with Government support as part of war effort, the promotion was discouraged in India as being contrary to war effort.

Dealing with the menace of international cartels and combines. Mr. Mehta said:

This question of international agreements is not merely a question of international agreements is not merely a question of agreements between Governments which will in the years to come become important. There will also be agreements and arrangements between powerful interests through international cartels and combines. It is very assential that the transfer of the combines of the tial that the operations of such cartels and combines, in so far as they affect Indian industry, should be carefully studied. In fact, I venture to suggest that it is time that the Government of India instituted a thorough, comprehensive and impartial inquiry a torough, comprehensive and impartial inquiry into the ramifications of such international cartels, their operations, their effects, and their rules and regulations, because it is impossible for any includence indicates an into ensure these cartels' activities are controlled in India. In an illuminating pamphlet on the Fertiliser Industry, Sir Padamji Ginwala has shown how both the president of the consumer in India. the producer and the consumer in India subsidised the Imperial Chemical Industry before the war. The Indian featner paid anything from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per ton more than the prices obtaining in Great Britain. But this did not benefit the Indian industry but only the British Sulphet of Ammonia Federation. Many years ago, the Tariff Board in India exposed similar ramifications of the Oil Industry, and the instance of the Swedish Match Combine which seat down many small Indian match factories is still fresh in our minds. This question needs immediate

increased the guarantee for export trade facilities from plan. 275 million to 2200 million. These are ominous signs and the Indian trade and industry ought to be

vigilant in this matter.

Indian trade and industry, during this war, has betrayed a woeful lack of co-ordination, imagination, and sympathy for the consumer. They have very badly let those people down who, for years together, have suffered for the development of Indian industries. There is not the slightest doubt that many of our industries, notably cotton textiles and drugs, would not have been where they are today but for the patriotic sentiment and suffering and sacrifice of the consuming public. The industries have betrayed them at a very critical hour of their life for the sole purpose of smassing sky-rocketting profits.

Nationalisation of Industries

The Gods of destiny must be convulsed with mirth at the sight of Delhi and Whitehall repeating King Canute's experiment. The choice before Britain now is between a complete democratic plan or a true Soviet pattern in toto. No compromise between the two is possible unless it be made plainly with the consent of the people to be experimented upon and without any ulterior motives. Nationalisation strongly laced with communalism, to the exclusion of important fields like ship-building, heavy chemicals and coal where British capital may conveniently sow and reap in safety, plainly means exploitation. This nationalisation, sought to be made with the help of careerists and quislings lured with the hope of undeserved and uncarned riches fercibly taken from the helpless consumer, aims at two distinct objectives, to maintain and safeguard British trading and industrial interests, and at the same time to keep American competition at arm's length. We hold no brief for the Indian capitalist, indeed he deserves nothing from the people of this country, judging from the way he has behaved during this war, but we fail to discern any justice or honesty in a move which servours of robbing Peter to pay Paul when Paul happens to be even more unscrupulous and unprincipled.

Democracy permits private enterprise to flourish within legal bounds, with a fair field and no favours. Nationalisation must follow the principle of equity and justice with no favour and no weightage and it must not envisage any Ottawa Pact or Communal Award-like arrangement for the benefit of British capital and for the express purpose of stalling off American competition. Nationalisation, to be successful, must start with the land and end with the sky. There cannot be any half way measure in it. The issue is not whether control and guidance are exercised in a scheme of nationalisation, but who exercises them, and how, and in whose interests.

We wonder if the wiseacres of Delhi and Whitehall are aware of the fact that Indian capital has acted as one of their principal ancillaries during this war, and with the forcible eviction of that, the path of com-munism—we mean the real article and not the tame "Birmingham make" affair is clear in India. We do

The Minister for Reconstruction for Britain has just truly filthy and surreptitious lucre by this wonderful

We know that complete nationalisation of all means of production, trade and transport in a free sountry and under a truly people's government, like Soviet Russia. has been of the greatest good to the country. We have also experienced how the same nationalisation in an enslaved country and under a foreign government becomes a source of unmitigated suffering. The railways in this country are owned and managed by the State. and as such, technically we may call it nationalised. Every Indian traveller and every Indian trader knows in his heart of hearts and often at a great cost how inhumanly discriminating the railway administration has been.

The second sinister feature in the government plan is the preparation of the system of granting licenses at the discretion of the Executive. Mr. Bhulabhan Desai, in criticising the Government plan, has strongly condemned both these schemes of nationalisation and licensing. We have seen during these war years that when this power to grant licenses rests in the hands of representatives or henchmen of foreign vested interests, it becomes the greatest obstacle to trade and industrial development. The plan has been published too late for us to deal fully in the present issue. We reserve fuller comments on it for our next number.

Empire Above All—To Be the British Policy for India

The political storm aroused by Mr. Ernest Bevin's Labour Will Fight speech at Leeds continues unabated The breach between the parties constituting the National Government is now open and obvious. As the war in Europe draws rapidly to its close, the objections to the restoration of full political life in England is fading away. Although there will be bitter differences about who won the war-this or that politician-there will not be the slightest difference of opinion between them about India. The London correspondent of the Bombey Chronicle significantly reports that "some Indians in London keep on saying that Labour will grant India Self-Government, but they forget that Mr. Attlee, who has always claimed the credit for writing the formula which Sir Stafford Cripps took to India, has not changed his attitude towards India. Mr. Attlee represents Labour's official attitude towards India. One thing cannot be over-emphasized that "Empire above all" is the slogan of all Englishmen, whether extreme Right or extreme Left-except, of course, the Communistsand India is the problem they do not want to handle; some because they really believe that India is better off inside the Empire, others because they do not want to lose votes."

"The same situation obtains to-day as it obtained in 1931 in reference to Ireland. The British Labour then appointed an Investigation Commission and then blessed the Tory compromise of the Irish Free State."

"There is another factor which has entered the situations that is the increasing strength of the Soviet Union. Many Englishmen opine that it would be best to hold India for fear of her falling into the hands not intend discussing the relative merits or otherwise of the Bolsheviks. And while the rights and wrongs of either democracy or communism. We only intend of Poland may agitate English minds it is noteworthy showling up the ridiculousness of this create N. E. P. these has never been the same rightcome indignation Of course, there are plenty of carrots hung up in the expressed regarding the rights and wrongs of the Indian scheme to lure and to say those who want to among question." NOTES .

and if there is one thing which is saverely rationed in for better or for worse ?" Bernard Shaw said : Britain to-day it is this commodity. How true this is will be demonstrated when the present election campaign runs its course. Meanwhile, any Indians pinning their hopes on some solution of the Indian problem coming out of this election will be sadly distillusioned."

Intelligent opinion in India scarcely had any such illusion that Britain, of her own volition, will grant freedom to India. There were, however, some people in this country also who sought to pin their faith in the public pretensions of British statesmen. Their disillusionment will be completed probably when they find that India has but only a very minor place in the Labour Party's Election manifesto.

San Francisco

San Francisco Conference has begun its deliberations. Roosevelt has been prevented by fate from attending it and the other two Allied leaders, Churchill and Stalin have also not found it possible to attend. There have been preliminary differences amongst the big three, but prospects of their composition seem to be in sight. So far, the deliberations have confirmed the shrewd suspioion in many quarters who believed that the ultimate achievement of this conference will be to maintain Imperialism in toto. Judging from the generally pessimistic note about the Conference in the American Press, and some significant assertions thereof, it is now apprehended that the world is going to be divided up between the big powers, and the lion's share will go to Britain and Russia. The Nationalist of Calcutta is responsible for the publication of a statement from Upton Close which reads:

Close revealed that after Roosevelt's death some agreement had been reached between Churchill and Stalin with regard to spheres of influence in Asia. He attributed this guess to "some students of Asiatic Picture." If a Russian path were opened in North Asia for instance into Korea, Stalin might feel less inclined to question British Imperialism in South Asia. He gloomily pictured China as an unfortunate middle kingdom between growing Russia and re-covering British Empire.

An artificial balance of power is sought to be established at San Francisco. We call it artificial because he same methods as had been followed in the League of Nations are again being followed. It is now plain to he world what the fruits of the League of Nations vere, and he must be a fool indeed who can dream that he San Francisco Conference following the same lines an achieve any other result. Hitler was the fruit of Versailles, we wonder who would be the next after an Francisco. As in the Versailles and other negotiations fter the last war, so in this Conference also we find encing with truth and attempt at diaguising Imperialm as democracy. The case of India is a clear index sgarding the sincerity of the conferees' desire for world case. If India has to acquiesce in the decisions at an Francisco, and to work for them, it would be because f compulsion by force of arms. There can be no other copies of the world.

Bernard Shaw on Shape of Things o Come

In reply to the question, "Supposing Russis and hina become the deminant power in Hurope and Asla,

"India remains to-day the test of political sincerity, will it affect the British and American democracies

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There are no such things in the world as British and American democracies. The United States and the British Commonwealth are plutocracys; and there is no future permanence for plutocracy, maintained by a vast majority of sense to a Cobdenist or capitalist plutocracy maintained by a vast majority of wage slaves, merchants, financiers, smith process and are nown assets had along into suburban snobs, and are now passing head-long into Fascist or Nasi plutoursoy depending on the same majority, but abandoning Cobdenism and equipping private enterprise with public capital and protecting it by State regulation.

Hitherto all civilisations have got thus far and

then collapsed.

The development of Fascism into aufficient Communism to abolish classes by making the whole population inter-marriageable has never been achieved. The U.S.S.R. is making a prodigious and not unpromising attempt at it; but in the west plutocracy is still firmly established on the votes of the poor.

The greatest tragedy of the modern world is that this Anglo-American plutocracy thrives on the votes of the very people whom it exploits.

Commercial Safeguards in the Government of India Act

The Central Assembly has passed without a division Mr. Manu Subedar's resolution formulating that early action be taken for the removal of Sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act 1935, relating to commercial safeguards. The discussion that followed assumed a lively character. The Government's attitude was lukewarm but that of the European group definitely provocative. The Assembly left the Government in no doubt as to its demand that now that India was no longer a debtor to Britain, no justification existed in retaining the clauses which were hampering an evolution of post-war plans of India's economic development. The British commercial reaction was generally expressed by Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, who said that logic compelled them to recognize that any reciprocal arrangement in the Act or outside it, must involve new restrictions and limitstions. The remedy lay not in the removal of a particular block of sections but in the complete re-orientation of methods. Sir Henry referred to the great industrial progress the country had made during the last ten years and said that they provided a complete denial of the statement that the sections in question hampered the development of Indian industry.

The Deputy Leader of Opposition, Mr. Abdul Qayyum, gave a fitting reply to Sir Henry's speech. He asked the leader of the European group whether he was going to rely on the safeguards provided in the Government of India Act, behind which the only sanstion was the British army of occupation in India, or ord for it for she has been denied representation as on the goodwill of the people of this country. Sir ave many others of the untold millions of submerged Henry Richardson's words, he went on, were very sweet but the iron hand was visible under the very thin muslin glove. The so-called equality between a British company incorporated in the United Kingdom in company on business in India and an Indian company incorporated in British India, he went on, was really a pleverity conceived design to kill Indian enterprise

between unequals. Indian industries were just begin- the attempt was made to translate this desire into ning to rice and they could not meet on terms of action, legal pundits found that the political relationequality the well-established British industries supported

by political power.

community in India and their compatriots in England was so strong, he said, that in peace-time on one prescale industries like chemicals, automobile factories, ship-building industries, aircraft factories or even locomotives. Australia had set up a big aircraft industry during wartime but the Central Assembly was told by the Government of India before the war that the materials which were necessary for the manufacture of aircraft in this country could not be obtained on a

sufficiently economic basis.

Mr. K. C. Neogy also made some good points. He said that in 1915 when the Industrial Commission was appointed the Government of India contemplated the idea of Indian industries being started by Indians with the help of Indian capital and control. In 1923-24 the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India definitely suggested coastal reservation for Indian shipping. It was a strange irony that what was contemplated seriously by the Government of India in 1923-24, was absolutely unconstitutional for us to contemplate at the present moment.

European Vested Interests and Safeguards

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, said that the issue lay between the Opposition and the European vested interests in this country, as Government were remaining neutral. This was one of the most system in the United Provinces so that cut-throat comentraordinary situations which had arisen in the House

during the time he had been a member.

Throughout this time, Mr. Desai said, he had not heard one word from the European group in favour of India's freedom. The European group talked of the right of free trade and free competition in this country. For the moment undoubtedly that right had been conferred upon them by the force of British arms. Right was a creature of law and law was a creature of the legislature which would claim the power to make laws in the interests of India. Right was, therefore, extremely relative, and Mr. Desai wished so much emphasis had not been placed upon it. It was by the exercise of brute force, the Leader of the Opposition continued, that eleven members of the European group, representing nobody except themselves, were in the Central Assembly. There was no use planning under the present conditions. If the restroitons were to continue, the plans had better be postponed. The Opposition demanded that the Government of India should be in a position to legislate in the best interests of India and if these restrictions came in their way, the House would be right in saking for the repeal of those restrictions.

In attempting to expiain the British commercial ment on general principles between British and India services entirely in the interest of rail transport and

and industry. After all one could not have equality not imposed but negotiated at this conference. When ship between H.M.G. and the Government of India made it constitutionally inappropriate to execute such Mr. Abdul Qayyum asked whether there were in the an agreement, however unanimous the concensus of constitution of the self-governing British Dominions opinion might have been at the Round Table Consections similar to sections 111 to 121 of the Govern-ference. They were therefore reluctantly forced back ment of India Act. The self-interest of the British from the basis of a freely negotiated treaty to the restrictive clauses in the Act.

Mr. Manu Subedar's resolution is bound to have text or another India was not allowed to have large- far-reaching consequences. It is reported that a number of European members of the Central Assembly are leaving for London shortly to influence Whitehall against the demand in India for the early abolition of commercial safeguards for the British in the Government of India Act. It is also known that Sir Ardeshir Dalai, Member for Planning and Reconstruction, who expressed sympathy with the resolution, and hinted at the possibility of negotiations to have the questions settled through a convention or treaty, is visiting London next month in this connection. Indian businessmen and the public should see to it that the Indian case is not left entirely in the hands of officials. It should be strongly advocated by a non-official body. The British vested interests will not be prepared to give up to any extent the unconscionable grip the safeguards give them over Indian enterprise by making it impossible for the indigenous industries to be protected against even cut-throat British competition in India. Those Indians who realise that any planning worth the name in this country is an impossibility with the present restrictions in the constitution itself should take all legitimate steps to see that these obnoxious restrictions are removed forthwith.

Road Transport in U. P.

To bring under full control the road transport petition may be eliminated and an adequate and efficient service be provided to the public, the U.P. Government have planned a comprehensive programme for reorganising the road transport services, both for passengers and goods, to be run by substantial joint stock companies in conjunction with the railways. With the help of the Lend-Lease Scheme the U.P. Government will be able to have in course of time 1,800 motor lorries and trucks for the use of 12 such joint stock companies spread over the province. Each single company will be financed with a capital of Re. 25 lakhs. Thus the 'one man one bus' system, which has proved to be uneconomic and inefficient, would be replaced by an efficiently organised controlled monopoly system; with the public having a dominant voice in it. In the joint stock companies the railways will have a substantial interest, the Provincial Government a small interest and the balance will consist of shares to be held by the public, that is, 46 per cent, 5 per cent and 49 per cent respectively. The companies will be compelled to provide rest houses, booking houses and all other facilities that are usually available on a railway journey. The U.P. Government is of the opinion that it will be necessary for these companies eventually to have a monopoly of road transport, but the Government will see that the interest of the public do not suffer position Sir Edward Benthall said that at the Round will see that the interest of the public do not suffer Table Conference he had favoured a oppmercial agree- and the railways will not be allowed to run these

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if the interests of the public require road services to be run on unremunerative routes these companies will be compelled to maintain such services.

The interests of the railways are no doubt involved on all routes which run parallel to the railway. For this reason it has been proposed to give the railways a substantial share in the companies. According to the U.P. Government, this has been done to ensure that "the railways will take the same interest in the maintenance and development of road transport as they do in transport by rail, and to ensure such co-ordination of transport by road and by rail which will result in the greatest convenience to the public and to the greatest promotion of economic need by the fullest utilization of both forms of transport." The proposal has been to give the railways concerned a substantial interest and not a controlling interest. The Provincial Government will take up a small number of shares. sufficient to enable it to bold the balance in matter of policy as between the railways and the interests of roads.

This proposal to give the railways a substantial share in the companies may not be looked upon with favour by the people. The Railway have proved, since the very opening of it that the interests of the British commerce and industry would always be given priority over competing Indian interests. During the present war it has been seen that the Railway Administration resorts to such discriminating practices in the most autocratic and brazenfaced manner. Careful attempts have always been made to maintain the entire railway administration under the complete control of British vested interests. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, the railways have been placed under a Statutory Railway Authority over which the Central Legislature of the future will have no control whatsoever. In order to stifle the future road competition, the railways have already made proposals in the Central Legislature to secure complete control over road transport, which was however thrown out.

Competitive road services running parallel to rail-ways have always been encouraged in the U.S.A. and U.K. Such competition puts down the monopolistic tendency in both the systems of transport. In this country also, it is this healthy practice which should be encouraged and fostered. Granting of a substantial share in road transport to the railways together with the balancing share of the Government, both of which are hitched to foreign interests, will in effect mean watering down of the needs and comforts of the Indian people.

Decrease in the Available Supply of Cloth

The cloth famine continues unabated and Bengal continues to be the worst sufferer as is inevitable. The authorities seem to have done their duty by announcing that an overall per capits average of 12 yds, of cloth is available for civilian consumption, according to them this was India's normal consumption and therefore there is no reason why there should be any cloth famine had this quantity reached the average constiner. On April 22, at a Press Centerence in Calcutte, Mr. Wallodi, the Textile Commissioner, cetagorically stated:

The general impression I have gathered during my visit to Bengal is that to describe the existing state of supply of cloth or of yarn in the Province as famine, is unwarranted by facts and that it is indeed a gross exaggeration.

Only two weeks ago, Mr. Krishnaral Thacketsay, Chairman of the Textile Control Board, had told a Press Conference at Bombay that if all the cloth manufactured in India in mills and on the handlooms were available for civilian consumption, "there should be sufficient cloth to enable a distribution of 15.75 yds. per capita per annum. Unfortunatey a very large slice of this production does not reach the civilian consumer, for out of the total, approximately 750 million gards of cloth per annum at one time this reached to figure of 1,000 million yards—are supplied to the Defence Services. Over and above this, a further quantity of 26 million pounds of yarn is being taken away by Government, which is equivalent to about 100 million yards of cloth. In addition not less than 600 million yards of cloth per annum are liable to be exported out of the country at the express wish of the Allied Governments to foreign countries. It is difficult to say whether additional cloth is still smuggled out of the country.

In the Report of the Handloom Fact Finding Committee (Appendix XXII) we find that during 1931-39, the per capita consumption of cotton cloth in India ranged between 14-1 to 16-9 yds., the latter figure being for the pre-war year 1938-39. If, therefore, the entire amount of the 6.300 million yards of cloth produced in India were available for civilian consumption, if the Defence and the Inter-Allied requirements had been fully met from England and America, there would not have been any cloth shortage in India. According to Mr. Thackersay, at one time as much as 1,700 million yards were taken out of the Indian production to meet the export demands and the requirements of services in India. Even to this day it is in the neighbourhood of 1,450 million yards. According to a calculation published in the Eastern Economist (April 13), the net available for civil consumption is only 4,400 million yards, that is, only 11 yds per capita per annum. A correspondent of the Eastern Economist, who, according to the journal, ought to know and who doubts the scouracy of the figures given out by the Textile Commissioner on different occasions, has given the following alternative estimates:

Mill production	3800	4700
Handloom production	1600	1200
Imports	900	
		-
Total	. 6900	5900
Less Exports .	150	
Les Défence requirements Net available for		900
openimption	6150	4400

In this calculation it has been rightly claimed that handloom production has gone down from 1600 to 1300 million yards. The production figure of 1800 million yards of handloom eight is based on the susping yard theoretically available for the handlooms; but it is now a hard and unassailable fact that a large quantity of this surplus yarn does not reach the handloom weaver. It is therefore usaless to stick to the theoretical production of handlebm eloth. Thus we find that the available cloth for civil consumption has been brought down from the normal average of 16 yards to 12 yards

according to unofficial calculation.

Government Failure to Aid Production

The question that logically follows is that with the increasing demand on the mills, what have the Government done to increase production? The natural increase in production during war years from 4,000 to Thackersov save:

During all these years no new productive machinery could be obtained and no addition could be made to plant either for fine cloth, coarse cloth or yarn. This is the position even today.

One must remember that there were great opportunities for such expansion. Mr. Thackersay says:

There are two ways of achieving an increase in production. One is rationalisation, and the other is by working the machinery for longer hours than at present. The available machinery in the country present. The available machinery in the country dustry, in spite of the fact that coal raisings have not more yarn; but this could be achieved only under been substantially increased, probably for the reason certain conditions, chief of which are more labour that this industry is dominated by British vested and more coal to enable the industry to work three interests. shifts. Both the requirements are not easy to obtain and will need the Government's active assistance.

This active assistance came, but in a reverse direction. In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy, on February 13, the Commerce Member of the Government of India admitted that the Textile Commissioner, in view of the coal shortage had suggested in January last to the panel members of the Cotton Textile Board, excepting U.P. and Madras, to advise mills in the areas concerned to have organised closures for short periods to enable them to build up a small stock of coal. The total loss of production due to such closures in January alone was admitted to have been since December last and continued up to March involving a total loss of production of about 70 million yards. Further questioned, the Commerce Member admitted that no jute mill was advised to discontinue working Textile, for a closure or curtailment of output due to want of coal. The coal shortage has also a history behind it. Coal loaded on wagons in the collieries for despatch to other industries were diverted to jute and

according to the Government, and to 11 yards only jute which it had undertaken. Jute would become excessive, the selling pressure would be such that the prices would topple down and it was "in the interest of the jute producer and the emential economy of Bengal and the jute mills production must be kept up." Jute prices could easily have been kept up by reducing the area under jute, but that could not be done as it would have run counter to the British inte mill industry. The Government, therefore, kept the 4,800 million yards just balanced the imports. Govern- mills going so that their profits were assured, and were ment assistance was necessary to carry production eager to honour their commitments to the just-growers, beyond that point, but that did not come. Mr. undertaken for the ultimate benefit of the mills, even when such a step enforced nudity on the people.

Increase in production in other directions also could have been effected, but were not done. Production of mills in South India using hydro-electric power, could have been greatly increased, had the Government granted them some facilities about the depreciation allowance for machinery. The Government have not yet responded to the textile industry's request for a higher depreciation allowance in order to compensate for the increased wear and tear of the machinery as a result of the mills having to work additional shift. Similar depreciation allowance has been allowed to coal in-

The entire amount of any shortage in production, which has been solely due to the fault of the Government, have been deducted from the available supply. for civilian consumption.

Export of Cloth

A very important feature of the cloth famine 18 the forced exports. The Government of India, from the very beginning, maintained an atmosphere of secrecy about the exports. When hard pressed they tried to show that these exports had been undertaken at the in the neighbourhood of 23.7 million yards. We have request of the industry and in the interest of Ind.a however reason to believe that such closures had begun for building up an export market abroad. The real truth about the exports has at last come out when Sir Md. Asizul Haque had to admit, in reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy, that exports of cloth had been undertaken at the behest of the Allies. on assount of coal shortage, and no instructions were It was settled at Washington and that the Government issued or suggestions made to any industry, other than of India had no power either to stop or to alter the quantum of such exports. The stages through which Sir Asisul had passed before making this important admission will be of much interest. On November 15, 1944, in reply to a supplementary question asked by Mr. Neogy, paper mills. In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. the Member for Industries had stated that the decision Neogy on February 20, the Supply Member, Sir Rama- as to quota and quantum of export for the benefit of swami Mudaliar admitted that notices under the D.I. foreign countries was taken after consulting the Textile Rules had during the last few months, been served in Control Board. On February 13 last, when he was several instances on collisties for the purpose of asked by Mr. Neogy to produce extracts from the forming them to deliver coal to three industries in super- proceedings of the Textile Control Board testifying to session of the normal approved process of allotment, their approval of the policy underlying the exports, Sir Of the three such extremely essential industries, Sir Azisul said,: "My statement that the decision as to the Remarkami named only two—juse and paper—and quota for export was taken after consulting the Textile about the third he said, "I am mable to recellest the Control Board is not strictly accurate; but it is a fact thind". In any case it was not the coston mill. Asked however that the expert trade welcomes the facilities about the reason for doing so, the Ramassumy stated for exposting this quantity and the Textile Board has that if the jute mill industry sid not get the coal, the been kept fully informed since its formation. Mr. assists would be that the Gevernment would be unable Neogy, however, did not let this very important matter to like a second of generaties of minimum price of stop here. On March 4, be, saidd: 145

"(a) With reference to the reply given by the Honograble Member for Industries and Civil Supplies to my started question No. 176 on the 18th Pebruary, 1945, to the affect that the expert trade quantity of textiles and the Taxtile Board has been kept fully informed about it, will the Honograble Member please state whether representatives of the Member please state whether representatives of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry do not generally disapprove of the export policy in this behalf?

(isapprove of the export policy in this behalf?
(b) Is it a fact that at a meeting of the Panel of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry (Standard Cloth) held on the Sist January, 1943, prominent representatives of the industry, such as Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Sir Shri Ram and Sir Ness Wedia, adversely criticised the export policy of the Government holding that the home market was more important for the industry than the export market and that most of the countries where exports of cotton textiles were being made at the mstance Government, would not remain customers of Indian concerns after the war was over? Is it a fact that representatives of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry and others present at a conference held in Bombay under the Chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari on the 1st and 2nd June, 1943, were of the opinion that export of cotton textules could be permitted only after the internal demand of India had been fully satisfied?

Sir Azizul replied :

It is correct that in January 1943, Sir Shri Ram, Sir Ness Wadia and Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai criticised Government's export policy for the reasons given. They were however a minority in a meeting of 27. We have no detailed records of what was said at the meeting of 1st and 2nd June, 1943; it is possible, however, that some of the invitees to the meeting may have expressed the views suggested by the Hon'ble member.

It was therefore finally revealed that exports had not been undertaken at the request of the Indian textile industry and trade but it had been done for wider and deeper reasons. This reason had also come out on February 13, when Sir Asizul told Mr. Neogy that "All foreign countries do not state their requirements to the Government of India but quotas are determined in accordance with a global planning scheme which is discussed with His Majesty's Government and subsequently considered by the Combined Production and Resources Board, Washington, The types of goods licensed for export against quota are controlled by the Government of India in the light of supply position in the country." He also said that details of quotas fixed for each country were confidential. It is therefore quite clear now that a confidential decision taken in Washington by the British and American Governments can, in effect, reduce the people of India to nudity with the support and assistance of the Government of India. At the same time, it has been authoritatively stated that imports of British textile products are coming. We wonder if the Government of India had even pointed it out to the authorities that these imports of British cloth might be diverted to the Middle East for relieving the Indian exports. Obviously this has not been done. A void has been created in the supply position of cloth in this country and it is only natural that this void will be filled in by the British imports.

Indian Central Rice Committee

pent by a Committee specially constituted for the Committee, A Central Government which makes a sitt

improvement and development of the cultivation and marketing of rice and rice-products and all matters incidental thereto is now pending in the Central Legislative Assumbly.

Introducing the Bill, Mr. Tyson said that funds for the Committee should be provided by the levy of a cess not expending a rate of six annex per ten on all paddy which is builted in power mills in Eddish India. Only 27 per cent of rice produced in India was brought to mills, and the ease works out at less than one pice per maund or one arise per annum to each member of a rice-eating family. It was expected to raise Rs. 24 lakhs a year in this way.

The main object of the Bill is to put rice research. development and technology on a more permanent basis than it stands at present. The deficit production of rice in India, coupled with the increase in population can no doubt be balanced by an increased production in a planned way and to achieve this end, recearch will be necessary. The Committee, when constituted, would utilise the fund to defray expenditure involved in (a) undertaking, assisting or encouraging agricultural, industrial, technological and economic research; (b) supplying technical advice to growers and owners of mills; (c) encouraging the adoption of improved methods of cultivation and storage; (d) promoting testing, and distributing improved varieties of scads; (e) aiding the control and destruction of insects and other pests and diseases of paddy and rice both in the field and in storage; (f) promoting the improvement in the marketing of paddy, rice and rice products, including the adoption of standard grades for paddy and rice: (g) collecting statistics from growers, dealers and millers on all relevant matters and improving forecasting of crops; (h) maintaining institutes, farms and stations as necessary; and (i) doing of such other things as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Act.

The Committee is proposed to be formed on lines similar to those of the Indian Tea Cess Committee. Indian Central Cotton Committee, Indian Lac Cess Committee, etc. The Committee will include representatives up to a maximum of 51 members of which 14 will represent rice growers, 14 the rice industry and trade, 5 nominated by the Central Government and the rest forming the technical officers of the Central and Provincial departments of agriculture with the Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research as its President. The Bill has been curculated to the provincial governments, and all except Bilar have approved it. Bihar stated that rice was a vahiable commercial crop and the cost of research for its improvement should be supported from the ordinary revenues. This was also the opinion of several members of the Assembly. The Bill has been circulated for eliciting public opinion. The Science and Culture, published under the guidance of the Indian Science News Association, supports the formation of such a committee but points out that they should have the representatives of the consumers and of universities of similar non-official organisations in it. Further, in its opinion, rice being the staple food (and not a commercial crop), Government should at least provide half of the proposed funds for the Committee. We entirely agree with the views of the Bihar Government in this matter and believe that it is the duty of the Central Government A Bill providing for the creation of a fund to be to find the entire amount mecessary for maintaining the their homeland, can and most certainly ought to find this paltry sum of Rs. 24 lakks themselves, instead of trying to pull this amount out of the pockets of the rice industry and trade, and ultimately the consumer.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Seldom has the hour needed and produced the man of destiny, in the history of human civilisation, as when in this optastrophic war Roosevelt stepped out on the world stage. And seldom has the hand of Fate removed the man with the tracic suddenness of the passing of the great President. There are other figures in this gigantic struggle on either side with claims for prominent pedestals in the archives of history, but they all possess considerabe backgrounds in the continuous process of strife, destruction and trial of International wite, which started with the Entente Cordiale and has culminated with the present world-conflagration. The U.S.A. has up till now kept out of power politics and as such Roosevelt was an unknown quantity when he intervened on the side of democracy when the Axis seemed to be irresistible and all-powerful. By this intervention. Roosevelt has written a whole chapter of World History, indelibly stamped in every page with his towering personality, in shining letters of hope. endeavour and achievement.

In the turning of the tide in favour of the United Nations no other single man can claim the amount of the credit that stands to the account of Roosevelt, No one else had shown so much sympathy and understanding with causes that were apparently lost and no one else had persuaded his nation to undertake so much from purely altruistic motives. India was totally outside the scope of his beneficent actions so far as its nationals are concerned, but a sister Asiatic nation. Free China, owes an irrepayable debt of gratitude to him and through him to the American nation. And for that alone all Asiatics should remember him as being the first great Westerner that displayed a nonacquisitive interest in the affairs of an oriental nation.

Rabindranath Memorial Fund

The re-organised Memorial Committee has made some progress during the few weeks it has functioned. We understand from the Secretary of the committee that the 3 lakhs mark was reached at the close of the month of April.

An Error Corrected

In the Modern Review for April, the Pangire case was incorrectly stated as police sulum in C. P. The incident occurred in the Kolhapur State in the Bombay Presidency. The reference to the Governor of C. P. was therefore needless. We regret this unusual overnight.

Lahore Civil Liberties Conference

The Labore Civil Liberties Conference, presided over by Mr. Bhulabhai Desti, provided a common platform for the Congress, the Muslim League and the other political parties to put forward a united demand for India's independence. Choosing for his theme the posthumous statement of the late President Roosers !!

of Re. 8 crores for the rehabilitation of Europeans in which pleaded for the conquest of double, fears, ignortheir homeland, can and most certainly ought to find ance and greed all over the world, Mr. Denni declared, "If Roosevelt's statement means sayshing, it means that this was would have been fought in wain if the subject races, who have been made to fight in this war for freedom and in the name of freedom, are to remain in subjection after the war is over. If Java and Burnatra are to go back as territories to Holland, and Indo-China to France, Malaya to England and Burne is to remain a dependency, and India is to continue as a lewel of the British Crown, then we, as honest men, have no interest in this war. The world will not except the solution if the new order is going to be a replica of the past, and if the white races continue to rule more than half the world inhabited by coloured races. Millions of men would have died in vain and billions of dollars would have been spent in vain if once again the same issues (still unsolved) are to remain before the world. Supposing the world remained as it was, how could it be said that they had conquered greed-organised greed of white races? The real issue is what is to be the world of tomorrow, if the motive of ambition and greed is going to produce the same series of wars leading to the same series of destruction. Again, how could it be said that the world had conquered fear if India is not free and is always in fear of the British bayonet."

Explaining the Congress attitude towards the war. Mr. Desai said that it was gross misrepresentation to say that we had not offered to go to war with Germany. What was the use of fighting Germany if England was to be free and India to remain a subject nation? If it had been or even now was made our war for our freedom, we would gladly suffer any amount of regimentation and temporary loss of personal liberty. We would gladly and wholeheartedly fight for our own freedom and also of those who compass it. Let the world, before it makes plans for the security and peace of the world by a combined armed force, know that all those arms would only have to be used against the subject races of the world in the next global war, for they will now refuse to remain subjects despite all threats of dire consequences.

Inaugurating the Conference. Mr. Saifuddin Kichlew, the former President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, said that the Civil Liberties Conference was a common platform for every Indian, whatever his political views. There was no one in India who did not want immediate freedom for his country. Mr. Kichlew made it clear that Swaraj will have to be wrested from unwilling hands and we must prepare ourselves to win it by sacrifice and suffering. Raja Ghazaufar Ali of the Muslim League said that whatever the enemies of our freedom might think and say, a time had come to sink all our differences and to forgo a united front for India's freedom.

The Conference discussed the application of the Defence of India Rules in the country. It was of the opinion that the Defence of India Act, Rules and Orders were not being utilised by the Executive for the purposes for which they were designed but, for the suppression of legitimate rights and civil liberties of the people. The Conference condemned the restrictions imposed by the Government hampering the growth of a free press in India. A protest was also made against the misuse of the powers of censorship to suppress news and views of a political mature merely because they were inconvenient and distasteful to the Government.

The Sapru Plan

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article on joint electorates, dealing mainly with the Sapru Plan, written by one of the foremost journalists of the land. We do not agree with all his conclusions, but we think it desirable that views from the eminent thinkers on the subject should be given the widest publicity.

It must be admitted that the Sapru Plan is undemocratic in principle because real democracy does not permit of any weightages or special favours or anything of the kind. Race or religion has no claim for special representation in political bodies, high or low, in any land where real democracy is functioning. In Britain, no special representation for the Catholics has been provided in her Parliament although the Catholics consider themselves an entirely different entity as against the Protestants. Similarly in the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. no separate or special representation has been provided in their Legislatures on religious or racial grounds.

Such measures as envisaged in the Sapru Plan can be acceptable in a democratic constitution on the clear understanding that it will be an interim arrangement and that for the specific purpose of bringing back the joint electorate system into vogue. The greatest possibility of danger in the Plan lies in that if the communal arrangements are torn from the context and shaped by our foreign constitution makers, discarding its joint electorate proviso, it will be a source of unmitigated evil to the country. The entire purpose of the concilistion plan will be completely defeated unless joint electorate be made the sine qua non.

Hindu-Muslim Parity at the Central Executive

Three weeks before the publication of the Conciliation Committee's proposals, Sir Mahammsd Zafar-ullah Khan, in an article in the London Times under the heading "Communal Issues in India" wrote:

In the Central Executive the Muslim claim to participate on a basis of a 50 per cent share must be conceded. That is to say, half the Ministers at the Centre must be Muslim and the head of the State should be alternately a Muslim and a non-

This is exactly what Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has proposed although with the proviso of joint electorates. Sir Zafarullah then savs :

Regarding defence and other Central services, the Muslim claim would again be half,

This article was substantially reproduced in the Statesman, Delhi Edition, dated March 23, 1945. By the side of this article was printed a letter from Muslim under caption "Ending the Deadlock: Muslim View" which suggested the following solution :

There is one way in which H. M. G. can interyene. They must now have been convinced that the Muslim nation is so irreconcilably opposed to a United India. If H. M. C. must intervene they can do so by framing a constitution and imposing it on the base of Muslim autonomy and keeping it in force until another agreed constitution is presented to them jointly by Indian parties.

Retired Deputy Commissioner of Basise and Salt, Kingdom and willing to join the Imparial Services,

Bihar, sent a reply to this letter, but the Statesmen did not publish it. This letter was ultimately publis in the Bihar Herald, dated April 3, one week before the publication of the Sapru proposals. Mr. Roy replied to Sir Md. Zafaruilah's proposals in the following words:

Fifty per cent share for Muslims in the Central Executive is exceedingly unjust, not only for the very large Hindu majority, but also for misorities very large Hindu majority, but also for minorities other than Muslims who will possibly never get a chance of coming into the pinture, although their aggregate percentage is 10, i.e. two-fifths of that of the Muslims. It would really mean domination by the 24 per cent minority over the majority constituting 76 per cent; and if simple majority domination is bad, minority rules must be worse. Fifty per cent for Hindus constituting 65 per cent of the population and 50 per cent for Muslims and other minorities and so per cent for aussims and other minorities (or even 48 per cent for the Hindus, 35 per cent for other minorities) would be more equitable. In defence services, why should non-Muslim proportion, 66 per cent during troubled periods of war (vide Mr. Amery's statement in Commons on 8th July, 1943) and with more than 75 per cent VC's earned, be suddenly cut down to 50, to enable the Muslims to have his 50 per cent in easy times of peace?

Broadcasting of the reactionary Muslim views and suppression of the corresponding Hindu opinion in the organs of British Imperialism in this country and abroad, unmistakably indicates that attempts will now be made to adopt all the worst features of the Sapru proposals, torn from its context of joint electorates, as the basis for the drafting of the future constitution of India, Zafarullah has forestalled Sapru.

The Home Member's London Visit

According to the National Call, there is something ominous and sinister behind Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member's hurried visit to London. The Call believes that he has been summoned to be beside India Office during the Wavell talks, and that his and Mr. Conran-Smith, the Home Secretary's visit is not entirely in connection with the recruitment of Imperial services although it will form one of the subjects of their visit.

The National Call has already published that Lori Wavell has gone with a valuable gift from India to Britishers in the Army in that they can get into the Indian Civil Service and the Imperial Police Service through selection and nomination and without competition. The process has already begun in and at the cost of Bengal. The Government of India, it appears, has already agreed to the lowering of qualifications giving exemptions in age limits, etc., and what is more, the arrangement would be not merely a wartime expedient but a permanent feature of recruitment of the heaven-born services. The fifty-fifty ratio is being maintained. The National Call understands that a modest proposal that the recruitment may be on the basis of 70 Indians and 30 Britishers was turned down. The Call understands that Lord Wavell has already taken that gesture of goodwill from Delhi. Sir Francis Mudie and Mr. Conran-Smith should not be needed for that purpose unless the India Office is not competent to frame rules granting facilities and exemptions A liberal Hindu, Rei Bahadur Chunilal Roy, to British personnel in the Indian Army now in United

An independent India will certainly require that the indian administration be run by fully nationalised services, solely in the national interest. The existence of foreigners in the highest administrative posts of a country, specially where such foreigners are recruited from the ruling class, is a hindrance to the progress of the country which pays them. Egypt bitterly realised the force of this obvious truth and India is doing it now. In the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, drastic regulations against the inclusion of foreigners in the Administrative Services have been provided. In India also, a complete liquidation of the existing I.C.S. and I.P.S. is necessary. Highly efficient Civil and Police Services can be built up in this country at a much lower cost if the recruitment is confined solely to the test of merit, and to the complete exclusion of nominstion and selection on any grounds whatsoever. Minority representation on the services may be confined to the giving of a full and fair opportunity for qualifying for the competitive examinations. If services of any foreign expert be necessary for any branch of the services, special contracts may be made to that effect. Knowing the growth of such sentiments in India, the authorities at White Hall have become eager to get India committed to the inclusion of Britishers in the a number of Moslem students of the London, Camservices to such an extent that she will be compelled to retain them for fear of paying a staggering amount by way of compensation in case the services are liquidated. This argument however has not much force in it. If India can pay alms to the white men of Europe, through the U.N.R.R.A., to the extent of Rs. 8 crores, she can certainly find means to purchase the British pets in the services.

Political Motives for Mudie's Visit The National Call writes:

It is wellknown in New Delhi particularly among political quarters that there is always an inner cabinet for every Vicercy. The Home Member, the Director of Central Intelligence Bureau, the Foreign Searctary and the Pointeal Adviser form this inner circle. Sometimes suitable additions are made for special objectives. This inner circle, it is said, is not happy over the proposed changes in the Central Government. It wants the status quo at least for the duration of the war and has already ex-plained to high quarters now that the coming in of popular governments would prejudice war effort! Sir Francis Mudie belongs to this inner group.

This group has its spokesman in the person of Sir Reginald Maxwell as adviser to the Secretary of State for India. Sir Reginald was Home Member here before Sir Francis Mudie came and everyone in India knows how ill-disposed he was towards the India knows now in-disposed he was towards the political parties in India. Sir Reginald made Mr. M. N. Roy the adopted son of the British bureaucracy here with Sir Maurice Hallet, the Governor of the United Provinces as Roy's goditather.

According to lobby talks Sir Francis is being called to strengthen the reactionary forces in Whitehall and to sabotage the Wavell Mission, supposing that Mission, supposing a callidate of the wavell Mission, supposing that Mission had according to artificiation of architical callidates.

hall and to sabotage the Wavell Mission, supposing that Mission had the objective of a political settlement in India. The question of the recruitment of services may be a side-issue, an issue on whoh the Elema Secretary, Mr. E. Conran-Smith would be able to have a better say.

Sir Francis Mudie according to his own speech is the Legislative Assembly last week (which a local nontenanceary characterised as 'remarkable' and conditionally said that he did not believe that the Con-

gress had given up the 1942 spirit. It is said that gress had given up the least suits. It is said that he thinks that the move to get the Congress into the Central Government and the provinces was intended mainly for the rehabilitation in New Delhi represented by the Inner Cabinet would not like to facilitate such a state of affairs. Sir Francis Mude has not taken lessons from Sir Maurice Hallet in vain, is the comment heard in political quarters.

The attempt to revive reactionary Muslim League activities in London and Cambridge just at the moment when Lord Wavell is banking on the Desai-Liagat Pact may not be without significance. It is not possible to guess the precise intention of Lord Wavell's visit and the cause of its prolongation, but from the report quoted above it may be understood that the Viceroy's visit has caused some amount of nervousness in dichard quarters both at New Delhi and in London.

Opposition to the Formation of London Muslim League

Sheik Abdul Gaffur, a Moslem barrister in London, has decided to form a new organisation called the Muslim League of Great Britain, in collaboration with bridge, Manchester and Edinburgh universities.

The object of the new League will be to support the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. Two prominent Muslim organizations in London, namely, the Indian Nationalist Muslim Association and the New Indian Centre opened by Syed A. M. Qureshi, have decided to oppose the move for establishing a new communal organization in London.

Syed Qureshi stated in an interview that any member of the new organization would not be eligible for membership of the Centre. 'A majority of members of the Centre are against the formation of any communal

or sectarian organization in this country, he said.

Mr. Horace Alexander has pointed out in his admirable little book India Since Cripps that the first germ of Pakistan was planted at Cambridge by a Muslim named Mr. Rahamat Afr. This same gentleman has of late been publishing nicely got-up pamphlets explaining his Pakistan scheme with maps specially drawn for the purpose which shows that the whole of India should be painted green with occasional white Hindu spots. It is therefore only to be expected that attempts would be made to convert Cambridge, together with London, into centres of League activity on the eve of the drafting of a new Constitution for India.

Bombay Planners Support Economics of Pakistan

The Indian Social Reformer writes:

Sir H. P. Mody and Mr. John Mathai have maintained in a memorandum submitted by them to the Sapru Committee that Pakistan is economically possible. We called attention some months back to an article in the American Foreign Affairs by a geologist who analyzing the available data, pro-nounced that Pakintan would have few of the mineral noused that raining would have leve to be inherent resources needed for important industries. Exery-thing is economically possible. If there is not enough food to go round, you may schieve the economic possibility by tightening your balt. Some American industrialists have framed a scheme to make the Sahara desert an economic paradisaMuscilial's achievement in making Libra a sumaning Ralian colony evoked the administration of observers, including the eminent English Spainted Brailsford. In any case, the issue of Pakistan cannot be decided on econome counsiderations. If mineral recourses are the chief factor to be taken into account, Great Britain would not be entitled to be an independent State. Pakistan, again, itsy be a land overflowing with milk and honey. But that would not outweigh the moral and historical considerations which make it out of the question. It is not for the industrialist or the conomist to the conomist to the side on questions of national boundaries. If all deside on questions of national boundaries. If all that the two Bombay magnates intended to say wes that Pakistan need not be put out of court on the ground of its economic insufficiency, they would be right but the relevancy of the opinion at this juncture may be questioned. Anyhow Mr. Jinnah should be duly grateful to the good Samaritans for intervening to prevent Pakistan from perishing on the wayside.

The memorandum of these two gentlemen is no doubt fraught with great mischief. They have supported what men like Sir Sultan Ahmed and Dr Ambedkar believed to be an absurdity.

Separate Representation for Ahoms in Assam

Separate representation for Ahoms in the Local Boards has created a great controversy in the Assam Valley The Sylhet Chronicle writes that charges are being levelled against the Congress Party in the Legislature for agreeing to such communal representation for Ahoms in the Local Boards Emboldened by this success, the Ahoms are now claiming separate representation in the Legislature as well It is reassuring to note however that the progressive Ahom Leaders have denounced this separatist tendency and the present concession of separate representation in the Local Boards has been very much resented. This is a new thing in the political life of Assam, Sj. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly, has been compelled to issue a statement to clear this position but he does not seem to have succeeded in removing all doubts. He has emphatically said that till the Congress could not function as a lawful body, they must maintain status que ante with regard to questions of a controversial nature of this sort. It is difficult to follow this argument. The last Sandullah Cabinet had no doubt made this mischief in spite of the futile protest of the Congress Party which then was in a hopeless minority But now that the Congress in Assam has come to hold the balance of power in the Legislature and has entered into an agreement with Sir Md. Saadullah, the repeal of this mischievous measure should have been demanded. But not only that nothing of the sort has been done, Mr. Bardoloi has come forward to support status quo ants. Moreover, Mr. S. N. Bargolain, President of the Ahom Association and the chief exponent of this separate representation for the Ahoms, continues as a Minister in the Saadullah Cabinet functioning with Congress support.

It must be noted here that the Congress Cabinet in the Prontier Province has drafted Hills for introduring joint electorates in Local Boards. The late electorates for Local Boards in Sind which

reposted by the Ghulam Homein Califast which took over the administration after him. The addition of one more separate communal constituency for raprasentation to the Local Boards under Congress patronage participally detracts from the Congress ideal.

Government Price Control Measures

Mr. J. Humphrey, Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, in his presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Chamber, criticised the Central Government in regard to their price control and trade policy. He said that the systems of controls appeared to have been hastily conceived and introduced, followed by constant additions, amendments and corrections which could not help acting to the serious detriment of honest trading. His Chamber feared that in the measures and methods now adopted, the foundation of normal trade might be so completely destroyed or at least weakened as to seriously imperil its future

Mr. Humphrey emphasised that the Chamber would view with grave apprehension any suggestion on the part of the Government-Central or Provincial-to become traders He said . "I mention this because there seem to be indications of this happening.

Intelligent opinion in the country will perfectly agree with Mr Humphrey in this respect Ninety per cent of the present-day bungling and mismanagement in the distribution of food, fuel, cloth and other essential commodities have been due to the Government's entry into trade and distribution Sir Hugh Dow. Governor of Sind, who addressed the Chamber, seems to have admitted the soundness of Mr Humphrey's views when he said that he would like to see war-time controls over trade and all attempts at Government trading abandoned at the earliest possible moment. When we remember that the Government have been relentlessly planning and preparing for post-war controls over trade and industry, we must take Sir Hugh Dow's opinion as purely personal and indicating no change in the official policy.

Sumner Welles on Asia's Freedom.

Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State for U.S.A., writes in the New York Herald Tribune:

This time the desire for freedom will be even more widespread since many people will be inspired by the principles of the Atlantic Charter. If the United Nations Conference fails to deal with this great problem in the same spirit in which this war for free-dom has been waged. Mr. Gandhi's prophecy that unless the peoples of the Bast obtain their fundamental liberties another and bloodier war will be inevitable will bid fair to be realised. . . The people of the Orient are not going to be satisfied this time with unimplemented promises.

Mr. Welles has suggested international trusteeship for the administration of colonial areas to which countries like India will not certanly agree.

Death for Devotion to Duty

Two incidents of a revolting nature have been an Bahadur Allah Bux had also introduced joint reported during the last University Examinations, One was happened at Rangpore where a Pandit who had in-

curred the displeasure of an examinee taking unfair give below relevant extracts to illustrate the achieve. means at the Matriculation Examination was stabled ments of Sriniketan : on the street and was removed to the local hospital in a precarious condition. We do not know definitely if he is still alive.

The second one is of much more serious nature and happened in broad day-light in the city of Calcutta, A gentleman named Makhan Lal Chanda, who had been acting as an Invigilator in the University B.A. Examination at the Darbhanga Buildings was murdered. On April 8, according to a report published in the Asad, the Bengali organ of the Muslim League Party, his dead body was taken in a rickshaw to the Calcutta Medical College where the two men accompanying the body, desired first aid for the man saving that he had fainted. When his body was being taken in a stretcher, they together with the riskshaw-pulle, disappeared in broad day-light. Nothing has since been heard about it during the last three weeks.

We call this incident a disgrace for the police and the University authorities alike. What has so far been done to detect the criminal who is responsible for taking away the life of a man who did nothing more than his duty? If these things are allowed to happen unalloyed goondo raj will be established in the country. We refuse to believe that the police is powerless to detect the criminal. Did Chanda incur the displeasure of any examinee? Does the present Controller of Examinations know it? Was that examinee produced before the Controller? Has the police taken serious steps to ascertain facts that led to this murder? Nobody will ever believe that this incident had happened without any history behind it,

We draw the attention of the Governor of Bengal to this incident particularly for two reasons. He is the Chancellor of the University, and it is necessary that to maintain the fair name of the University, he should move to find out the oulprit or culprits who murdered Chanda for doing his duty to the University. The other authorities of this body have done nothing during the past three weeks, and it is now necessary that the Chancellor should step in Secondly, the maintenance of law and order in the entire province is now under his sole charge, and as the Chief Magistrate of the Province we think it is his solemn duty to set the entire machinery of the Executive Government for detecting the foul criminals and bringing them to justice.

Rabindranath as an Economist

The Commerce and Industry gives a graphic sccount of the achievements of Sriniketan. Rabindranath had pronounced economic ideas. He believed in the rehabilitation of rural life and the advancement of the economic condition of the village folk through cottage industries. He differed with Gandhiji in some fundamentals of rural economics. Tagore, unlike Gandhiji, wanted to apply and in fact did apply electric power to cottage industry. He understood the efficacy and usefulness of rural industries but he did not believe that charks alone could bring political salvation for the country. Tagore started a centre of rural economy and agriculture at Srinikstan. He did not live to see its complete fruition, but his eccaomic ideas reach us today through his dressn centre at Sriniketen. We

This is an ideal rural colony in a part of Beneal free from heavy rainfall and from the industrial exploitation that goes on the area not far off. The total number of workers is 456. On the industral side the following figures of the average monthly earnings per month per head will be found interest-

1940-41	••		Ra. 9
1941-42	• •	••	Rs. 13
1942-43	**	• •	Ra. 15
1942-44			70 a 00

The total sale and production from 1938-39 to 1943-44 was as follows:

Sale		Production
20,000		 18,000
40,000	••	 42,000
81,000	••	 82,000
1,40,000		 1,50,000
2,90,000		 3,00,000

Apart from the abnormal year of the war the figures show a gradually rising level of income as a result of better organisation and better output.

In terms of individual industries the following

figures of income per head will be found useful.

Lattice work Rs 37, weaving Rs 32, carpentry
Rs 35, pottery Rs 28, book-binding Rs 24, paper
making Rs 8. Of high quality is bathick, (handprinting), some of it is copied from Java, where it had gone from India.

The weaving shed contains some beautiful machinery of the Japanese model and can be used by power which, unlike in Sewagram, is permitted

In passing, it might be stated that only forty workers reside in Sriniketan and work regularly, one hundred come every day from the villages around, while in other cases work is taken to the villagers' homes, material being given to them for being converted into marketable products after a period of

The Sriniketan farm is the tour de force of the planners of the experiment. First-rate sugarcane crops are being grown here and all kinds of experi-ments of an intensive nature are being made. Special attention is being paid to seeds and cuttings which are supplied to the villages around. Besides the twenty acres under sugar cultivation, 30 acres are devoted to the cultivation of paddy, vegetables and

Like Tagore's poetry the fruit garden numery is beautifully varied: Every type of fruit that can be grown in the soil is being tried. Like Tagore's metres, grown in the soil is being tried. Like Tagore's metres, all kind of experiments are being made in grafting one variety to another. Attempts are being made to produce mangoes which if successful would make the farm best every record in India, for at no single plate can you get the language of Benares and the bungamapatties of Madras. In fulfilment of the spirit of exploration the great workers here are trying a unifere outton plant which will also yield fign. They are also trying to mow rubber.

theque cotton plant which will also yield nam. They are also trying to grow rubber.

The dairy is a study in veterinary suganics. Not all experiments are successful but the cross-breeding is yielding valuable results. The Harianis have not found a natural home in Hengal, while two Sindhi bulls have settled down comfortably to produce a

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

Berlin, with the colossal weight of 15,00,000 men and tens of thousands of mechanized weapons. The defences Fire and fury and carnage followed and the world is linking-up of the Americans with the Soviets' forces the continuity of resistance measures has been sundered into two and the already desperate odds against which Germany is fighting are likely to be immensely increased in the immediate future. The end is in sight according to Mr Churchill and he may at last have made a correct prophecy.

The actual course of the battle-or rather battles for Germany is fighting three desperate battles on disjointed fronts-is blacked out under the fire and smoke of war. The occasional flickering glimpses we do get through the news seem to indicate that there is still direction and organisation behind the defenders though their resistance is crumpling up under the vast preponderance of numbers and the weight of arms. The strain is telling, and the resignation of Goering is a pointer, but as yet there is no sign of the defence folding up. The defence has assumed a form of fanatic fury that does not give up till death, and what the Nasis met at Stalingrad and the Americans are meeting at Okinawa may well be duplicated in another form in the several theatres of war into which the Reich is being rapidly split. There is not much to write at this stage beyond indicating that the Wehrmacht is making a last desperate attempt at reconstructing and rearranging its defence strategy in order to prolong the war and to make its costs even heavier to the United nations than what it stands at for the present. It was stated a little while back that Germany has got about a hundred divisions in Bayaria and the South-Eastern parts of the Reich. Further the defence that is being put up in those areas has not appreciably diminished in fury. It is to be seen whether all these moves at prolonging the war, which is but four months short of the beginning of the seventh year, can be checked in time by the Allied and the Soviets' strategists. The world has come very near absolute ruin, specially where the Western civilizations are concerned, and further prolongation might mean that the Allies would win a Pyrchic victory. In Italy the Allies have crossed the Po at last and with the approach of summer deci- the Allied strategists. sive moves should follow.

This last scene in the European theatre is fast. In Burma things have started moving with some approaching with the Russians battering their way speed at last. Air opposition by the Japanese has been across Berlin. The final thrust was delivered at the last knocked out for all practical purposes and that has barriers, put up by the Wehrmacht across the road to made the matter of supplying the fighting forces by sir-and servicing them by the same means-a dependable and very considerable factor. This has substantially cracked and the Gargantuan spear-head surged forward solved the main problems that faced the Allied forces until it bit deep into the nerve-centre of the Reich, and now we see the tempo of advance considerably accelerated. The monsoons are not very far off now in now awaiting the news of the finale; the climax has Lower Burma but now there are hopes that the 14th come and history is being written and re-written with division may beat it in the race to Rangoon. With the fast moving pen of Mars. The warning has been broad- freeing of the Arakan coast and the occupation of cast that this is not the end, and that Germany of the Lower Burma one of the main headaches of the Allied Nasis might yet try to stage another suicide attempt Command in South-East Asia would be removed. Seaat resistance along the bulwarks of the South. It is borne expeditions will find some scope and the War for true that organized resistance has not yet come to an Burma, Malay, the Dutch East-Indies and further end and the much-hoped-for sudden cracking-up of the beyond, which seems as yet to be merged into the dim Wehrmacht has failed to materialise. But with the distant future might leap in sharp relief in the not-sodistant future.

> In the Far East and the Pacific there has not been any sharp change. In China drave and counter-drive of the trans-continental railway is continuing in the same ding-dong fashion as before. The Chinese have achieved some successes but as yet the peril of the Japanese in the areas concerned is still very real as is evident from their latest moves. At Okinawa the Japanese resistance is as furious as ever and it seems to follow the pattern of the defence of Iwojima very closely. Further the defence here is greater force, with considerable airsupport and therefore suicide defence to the last seems to be a foregone conclusion.

> The most significant point in the war against Japan has been the extreme effectiveness of American airpower. As at Iwojims and before that in the Philippines-in Okinawa the Japanese have been unable to refit or reinforce the defence forces to any perceptible extent due to the terrific far-flung weight and hitting capacity of the American air forces. Even in Burms the American tactical air force has knocked out the entire supply and relitting organisation of the Japs from the air and has been thus instrumental in isolating the individual garrisons that are opposing the Allied advance. If to this complete supremacy in the air we add the tremendous volume of air-borne supplies that are sustaining the Allied advance in Burma, we get a real and true picture of the main factor in the defeats that have been and are still being inflicted on the Japanese. In no other field has the supremsey been anywhere near as complete, though thanks to the titanic volume of American production the Allies are in a superior position in every sphere where the weight and variety of arms are consumed. With the continuous elongation of supply lines the strain on Allied supply and maintenance organisations is increasing and contrawise Japan's capacity for aerial opposition is increasing and this is the problem that is taking definite shape out of the Pacific campaign for

> > No the second

JOINT ELECTORATE

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

THE insistence of the Sapru Committee on the acceptance of joint electorates is, perhaps, one of the most important decisions arrived at after the bitter experience of many years.

Separate electorates based on communal considerations are a creation of British Imperialism which has found it handy to perpetuate British domination in Far-sighted Mahomedans, like far-sighted Hindus had been opposed to separate electorates—even to fixing a number of seats in representative bodiesfixed on communal considerations.

At the second Bombay Congress (1889) an amendment was moved by a Mahomedan delegate demanding an equal number of Mahomedan members on the Legislative Councils. The amendment was opposed by no less a person than Mr. Hamid Ali Khan who claimed that he represented the Mahomedan community as also the Hindus. He first adduced the argument that such a claim was preposterous and said :

"I honestly believe that while no good can come out of demanding or even obtaining an equal number of Musalman members on the Legislative Councils, you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards, your Hindu brethren, by attempting thus, without any just cause or reason, to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based, in furtherance of what some of you suppose to be your own special class interests."

He next referred to a possibility which has, since, become a positive danger :

"Moreover, you directly incite other communities, who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded, to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard-if you say, no matter if the Hindus number 15 crores and we only 5, we will have as many members in the Councils as they—why, by a parity of reason or unreason, should not the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Eurasians. each and all claim to have as many members in the Councils as you or the Hindus? Gentlemen, the thing is absurd."

He paid a compliment to the Hindus when he said:

"The educated Hindus have never,—and history is my witness attempted in any way injure the Mahomedana."

The amendment which Mr. Hamid Ali Khan opposed ran as follows:

"That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and recentitution of the Council of the
Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations,
and the Provincial Legislative Councils is adopted,
and that the President of this Congress do submit
the same to Charles Bradiaugh Esq., M.P., with the
respectful request that he may be pleased to cause
a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this
skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the
Buitish Henra of Congress ** British House of Commons.

The Scheme was thus adumbrated:

"(1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of Members not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than see-fourth to att ar-efficie, and the rest to be nominated by Government.

"(2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily

territorial units for electoral purposes

"(3) All British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.

"(4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which

will be settled later.

"(5) All the representatives to be thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every 5 millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsis, Christians. Muhammadans or Hindus are in a minorit, the total number of Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsis, Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which will be settled later.

"(6) All elections to be by ballot."

The resolution embodying the scheme was moved by Mr. Eardley Norton. Among the speakers who supported the resolution were Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.

This was the beginning of an important demand by the Indian National Congress; and the Congress rejected the demand made by a Mahomedan delegate to have Mahomedan representation in excess to the

numerical strength of the community.

It was a far cry from 1889 to 1906. The intervening period was remarkable for the Swadeshi agitation emanating from the determination of the Government to perpetuate a partition of the province of Bengal. The attempt to drive a wedge between the two major communities of India can be traced to the anti-Congress activities of British administrators in India. And it is worth recalling that when "the ablest work in the anti-Congress literature"..."a pamphlet which bears the name of Oday Pertap Singh, Rajah of Bhinga" was examined by Sir Charles Dilke he remarked:

"The title is Democracy not suited to India'a phrase which in itself seems to have the ring of a Lieutenant-Governor's study."

Though the attempt of the officials to wear away Mahomedans as a community from the national movement in India was not as successful as they wished it to be it certainly acted as slow-poison and its results clearly manifested themselves during the agitation over the partition of Bengal, when the first Lieutemant-Governor of the short-lived province Bestern Bengal

Communal passions were played upon by unscrupulous generally called the Congress-Muslim League Scheme emissaries of reactionary leaders with the result that of Reforms. The fourth clause of the Schame man as communal riots broke out in various places and a follows: leaflet was issued in which the following appeared:

"The Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody could be punished for plunderng and oppressing the Hindus.

The experiment of dividing Bengal into two provinces against the wishes of the people failed and what Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India called a "settled fact" was unsettled. But the experment of setting one community against another was encouraging so encouraging that Lord Minto as Vicercy and Governor-General of India tried to continue the ingenious policy of dividing the people of India into hostile sections. On 28th May, 1906, he wrote to Lord Morley :

"I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress arms."

Thinking soon became crystallised in acting. And on October 1st, 1906, a Mahomedan deputation headed by the Agha Khan presented an address to the Viceroy. It was a "command performance." In the address which was verbose in composition and vacillating in tone it was said:

"We would . . . suggest that local authority should, in every case, be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohammadans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such population to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their the Surat split in his address: relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representa-

In the service of the State it urged the rejection of Moslem candidates "on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence." Lord Minto replying to the address said :

"The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community. . . You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you."

An entry in Lady Minto's diary on the day interesting. It is called "a very eventful epoch in Indian history." On that day she received a letter from have been accepted without vigorous opposition in a an official in which it was written:

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that for self-government at Surat. a very big thing has happened to-day, a work of The statesmanship that will affect India and Indian torstes history for many years. It is nothing less than the which pulling back of & millions of people from joining foster, the ranks of seditious opposition.

Mahamedens from the national movement was success. Reforms.

and Assato—called the Mahomedane of that province ful would be evident from the fact that by 1915 the his "favourite wife" and a situation areated in which Muslim League had made such headway that at the the Mahomedans hoped to dominate in Bast Bengal. Lucknow session the Congress assepted what is

"Adequate próvision should be made for the representation of important minorities by shotion, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions-

Punjab—one half of the elected Indian Members. United Provinces 30 p.c. Bengal-40 p.c. Bihar-25 p.c. Central Provinces—15 p.c. Madras—15 p.c. Bombay—one-third.

"Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate m any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except

those by electorates representing special interests.

"Provided further that no Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council con-cerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution."

It has to be remembered that this resolution was adopted at a session of the Congress in which both sections of Indian nationalists had met after long years of separation. The President referred to the union after

"After nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of misunderstandings and the mases of unpleasant controvermes, each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation, both the wings of the ladien Nationalist party have come to realise the fact that united tho; stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers, and embraced each other with the gush and ardour peculiar to a reconditiation after a long separation."

There is no gainesying the fact that the two wings of the Indian Nationalist party had travelled from widely different points, through the valleys of dis-illusion and disappointment to meet by the unifying waters of a common suffering but during the period that had intervened between the session of the Congress held at Surat and the session that met at Lucknow the Indian National Congress had lost that vigour which it retained once more at its session at Calcutte the next year. And there will always be room for doubt if the resolution acquiescing in separate electorates would session dominated by leaders like those who had stood

The acceptance of the principle of separate electorates dealt a severe blow at the ideal of mationalism which the Congress workers had suffered sacrifices to

the ranks of seditious opposition. The effect of this blow manifested itself in the That this policy of wearing quite a section of Montagu-Chemistord Report on Indian Constitutional

As the opinion expressed by Lord Minto was "inspired" time was not lost to advance the experiment adumbrated and in 1909 the Mahomedans were given especial representation with separate electorates. And the Lauknow Congress made the best of a bad bargain in the bope that with the advance of nationalism the Mahamedan leaders will realise the retarding effect of the gystem of separate electorates on the making of a nation and reject it.

induized in especial pleading when they admitted the evil that must emanate from separate electorates and yet supported its retention in the case of the largest

ing observations .

"We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the actions who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance, against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

They continued .

"Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citisens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or shortsighted.

They even put stress on the serious results of the system which they admitted to be "opposed to the teaching of history" and remarked:

"A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is posi-tively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of the strong second which it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority. On the other hand, the latter will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen, and that they are free to use their power for their own purpose. The greened-take which is the essence of political life is ladking. There is no inducement to the one ade to forbear, or to the other to exert itself."

They even regarded any system of communal electorates "as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing princes." But they only chuddwind at the prospect of its extension and not at its "settled sxistence" in the case of the Mahomedans. Here they indulged in elaborate especial pleading:

"We must face the hard facts. The Muhammadans were given special representation with separate electerates in 1999. The Mindus acquisemence is established in the present agreement between the political leaders of the two communities. The distance charity even for the distance has a settled facts, and any different to go back on them would rouse a shorm of histor protest and put a severe strain, on the cause of nationalism by preferring the species of a community which has behaved with to the heat of friction to achieve attance of a storm of the cause of nationalism by preferring the species and during a period of very great and lasting peace among ourselves.

difficulty, and which we know to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare under a section of popular government. . Much as we report the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Muhammadans at all events are concerned the the present system must be maintained until sonditions alter, even at the price of slower program towards the realization of a common citizenship."

Thus the case of the Mahomedane was placed on The algustories to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report a footing different not only from that of nationalism but also of the other minority communities.

The only remark of importance made-"But we can see no reason to set up communal representation minority community in India. They made the follow- for Muhammadans in any province where they form a majority of the voters"—was afterwards conveniently forgotten and subsequently "weightage" was prescribed for this community and the Hindu community divided horizontally by the recognition of the separate rights of the so-called Scheduled Castes, after the division of the nation vertically.

> When the time for a fresh move arrived and the Round Table Conference arranged, the experiment of the British keeping India as a subject country by pursuing the policy of "divide and rule" had manifested its possibilities And when Mr. Garvin wrote a three-column article in the Observer on "A Saving Plan for India" he urged the framing of a federal system for the United States of all-India, he examined the demand of 70,000,000 Indian Moslems and remarked that this huge formidable element—"the world's big-gest minority", but virtually a co-equal force—must possess in any new system political "weightages" very largely in excess of its numbers He remarked :

"That this strength of Islam is not a sure support favourable to the British position as formerly is our own fault. If the federation plan is to succeed a 'Moelem Charter' will have to be granted almost to the full extent."

He voiced the opinion of the sun-dried bureaucrats and said to the British nation :

"On all things we must be sympathetic, on many things we must be hardy and even daring in concessions, on same things we must be firm as a rock."

And a "Moslem Charter" was one of the things on which he asked the Britishers to be "firm as a rock."

The history of the so-called Communal Award is too recent to require detailed treatment. But it is an "accomplished fact." That in the interest of nationalism and the progress of our nation we want it to be unsettled goes without saying. But if we are sincere we must be prepared to suffer sacrifices, if need be to sonvince the various communities which must ocaleste and come together to form a united nation to go back to the old order of the joint electorate and any meridice that we may be delied upon to mafter will only redound to its glory,

The time will come when experience will convince and some win come were experience was convince all consumptions in India that our political salvation best in ex-speciation. Till then we must have patience and outlivate charity even for the weakness which others may manifest through misconception of the ultimate good, and win them over to the common cause of nationalism by preferring the energy of action the the heat of disting to achieve the desirable of the state of the second course. to the heat of friction to achieve and cherish a just



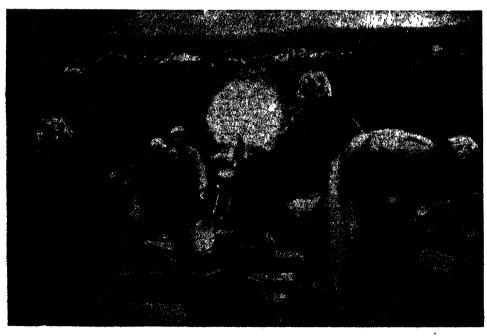
En route to the Rhine, a 3rd U.S. Army convoy crosses a tread-way bridge built by U.S. combat engineers over the Prum River



After crossing the Roer River in Germany, infantrymen of the minth U.S. Army march through a wrecked town Courtesy: USOWI



The Japanese set fire to the Manila buildings to bar the progress of U S troops



U. S. Marines fire at Japanese positions on Iwo Jima

Courtesy: USOWI

RIGHT OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION Its Theory and Practice

By PROP. C. L. GHEEWALA, M.A.

The demand for the right of 'Self-determination' on behalf of small nationalities is one of the most complicated and baffling problem of modern politics. Theoretically almost every nation pays homage to the principle but in actual practice varied and conflicting interpretations, dictated by political and economic considerations, have been put upon it. The history of post-war Europe provides numerous examples of the application of this principle leading to the fragments ion of the middle and eastern Europe into a number of sovereign states in the name of national Selfdetermination.

The most eloquent exponent and champion of this principle of Self-determination was President Wilson who was responsible for formulating the "War-aims" during the last World War. Emphasizing the "rights of small nations" he laid down "that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful." He further observed in his address to the Congress in February 1918 that "Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which the statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril." However, it is amply demonstrated by the post-war period that these pronouncements that the war was fought for the defence of democracy, justice and liberty, were largely meant for popular consumption and that the Allied Governments utilized the slogan of Self-determination primarily to encourage the disruption of the enemy states.

The principle of Self-determination must be exammed in the context of the three important aspects arising in the process of its application. Firstly, the basis of the demarcation of a nation; secondly, the channel for the expression of the nation's will; thirdly, the limits of the national will.

(1) The first aspect raised a number of complicated questions. What is a nation? By which criterion can it be determined? Different writers have emphasized different aspects of group homogeneity ranging from language, race, religion, civilization, and territory. Space does not permit any discussion of the various theories relating to the term nation, but it may be stated that in the contemporary world the demarcation of a nation is based on either the criterion of race or language. It is almost impossible to demarcate a group on the basis of race. Biologists and scientists ad hornatively tell us that "pure races" are a myth of the pseudo-scientist. that "pure races" are a myth of the pseudo-scientist. The population of the modern world is so closely mixed through migrations, wars, conquests, and miscegenation that any attempt to establish the racial purity of any group is doomed to failure. The real fact is that under cover of the racial myth, the Nasis and the Fascista have exploited the volcanic forces released by such irrational appeals to the 'blood', for rationalizing their designs of aggrandisement or persecution of certain minorities. Again, hardly any relation can be established between race and language. As Schuman points out, the one is a biological phenomenon and the other is a part of the cultural legacy of the past if the Swiss nationals can use French, German or Italian and yet be Swiss, the Belgians can speak French or Fremish and yet be Belgians can speak French cor Fremish and yet be Belgians; it is difficult to accept language alone as the critispics of nationality. A nation is a product of a complex of historical forces, and a number of strands combine to produce the sentiment of national con-

A nation in this sense is a very evasive and clusive group claiming a territorial demarcation and political

The demand for the right of 'Self-determination' on independence on the basis of unity in regard to race, alf of small nationalities is one of the most com- language, religion and myllisation. Numerous difficulties ated and baffling problem of modern rolltics, were experienced at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, when a demand was made for translating the principle of Self-determination into a political reality. It became patently clear that in a large number of osses the political boundaries could not be made to coincide with the reality limitation. the racial, linguistic or religious boundaries. Central Europe presented the spectacle of a ventable tower of Babel with its numerous intermingling languages. Mr.
N. Brailaford gives us the classic example of Macedonians who were claimed by six nations as their
nationals! "The question as to which nationality the Macedonians really belonged to was the despair of ethnologists and the nightmare of European Cabinets." connotogists and the nightmare of nuropean Capitals. Though the Macedonians did not speak the Greek language, they were claimed by the Greek propagandists on the basis of a common Greek civilization. The Bulgarians argued that the majority of them were Bulgarians both in speech and sympathy. Serbanas challenging the Bulgarians, asserted that they had much in common with the Macedonian dialects and folk-lore. The Albanians claimed them on the basis of race, whereas the Rumannans discovered affinity in language and civilisation with a certain section of the population. And lastly the Turks, like the British in India, claimed to hold an even balance between the conflicting interests of minorities and establish an account of the conflicting interests of minorities and establish an account of the conflicting interests of minorities and establish an account of the conflicting interests of minorities and establish an account of the conflicting interests of minorities and establish are accounted to the conflicting interests of minorities and establish are conflicted. terests of minorities and establish an imparital government! Of course, the principle was applied to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Jugoslavia, Albania, Finland, Estonia and other states, but the new boun-daries demanded for these states were dictated more by considerations of political, economic and military strategy and territorial aggrandisement than by purely national considerations. It may be even asserted that where such changes were likely to thwart the power or ambitions of the victors, these very champions of 'Self-determined and the manuscript of the such changes are all the determination in the name of democracy and justice, stoutly opposed such changes. Thus the Germans in Tyrol, Alsace and Polish corridor were transferred under foreign rule without their consent, and likewise, the Hungarians were placed under the Rumanian, Czech and Yugoslav authorities. Self-determination thus became a principle of expediency rather than an imperative principle of action as President Wilson claimed it to be.

Again the U.S.S.R. solution of the problem of nationalities is both instructing and illuminating. The Bolsheviks flung the slogan of Self-determination at a conserves nung the stogan or pell-determination at a time when Leain both anticipated and desired what Zimmern describes as 'the break-up of that bourgeois autonalist society which he so detested.' Soviet Rusan has evolved a unique constitution which seeks to hold within itself as many as 180 nationalities with 181 difference. rent languages. The federal structure of U.S.S.R. has rems languages. Inc seceral structure of U.S.S.Kr. has constitutive units which themselves are federal in structure. From the point of view of the application of the principle of Self-determination, it is significant to note that the right to secession as granted by the Article 17 of the Constitution of 1995, applies only to the eleven Union Republics. Here too, the constitution and down is that they must be structed on the frontiers and that accession must be secaraphically feasible. The and that secession must be geographically feasible. The twenty-two autonomous Republics are independent only in the management of local affairs, and cannot assert in the management of social analis, and cannot assist 'Self-determination to the point of secession.' On this same Stalin frankly admitted that the policy in 1917 was dictated more by "the concrete facts of the international situation and the international situation and the international situation." than by any allegiance to the democratic principle of Self-determination. "This is why," he said, "the Com-munists fight for the secession of colonies from the entente, but they must at the same time fight against the severence of border regions from Russia."

In addition to this, we must bear in mind the character of the Soviet political system which is described by Sir John Maynard, 'as one of intense centralisation.' The constituent units of different grades have no right to formulate independent policies in regard to subjects like foreign policy and Defence, and economic programme. All such subjects are to be centrally determined and regulated. What the constituent nationalities actually enjoy in practice is the right to cultural autonomy. In fact any attempt at a declaration of independence or even a movement in that direction, or enacting of any legislation conting to Bolshevik ideas or the directions of the Communist Party, as was amply demonstrated during the Puigcs of 1937-38, would be interpreted as 'treasonable counter-revolutionary activities' and as such would be ruthlessly suppressed

The Soviet achievement in this direction and the propaganda carried on most assiduously in countries like India at the present juncture by the Communist party, need to be accepted with considerable qualifications It must be remembered that the right to secole is a right on paper only. And, further the exercise of the right of secession is effectively prevented by the structure of the Soviet State and the Communist doc time that governs it.'—(Michael T. Flounsky) Agari, the centralisation of power at the centre in important matters and the dictates of Bolshevik ideology through the Communist Party render 'autonomy οf constituent bodies practically nugatory. What exists in Russia is the recognition of the cultural autonomy of the nationalities involving the freedom to use their languages in the sphere of education and administration, and the encouragement of their literature and cultural institutions

It is undesirable, nay dangerous to bring about a fragmentation of the world into a large number of small sovereign-states. They had a chance of surviving in the days of Balance of Power and Nineteenth Century economic hberalism. But with the rise of cconomic nationalism in terms of economic self-sufficiency, the small nation-states have no future. Whereas, when the modern world recognises the need for larger federal umons with a view to minimise national frictions and future wars, the demand for a small independent nation-state represents a revival of an outworn anachronisin. It is necessary to pay heed to the warning given by the eminent writer Frederick Hertz "that national Self-determination is intended for nations and not for fragments of nations. It would be absurd to allow every province or town of a State to claim the right of sec son. This would lead to a paralysing instability in overything and to political and social disintegration."

(2) With the progress of democracy the method of

Plebacate has received increasing recognition as a means of expressing national Self-determination. The two Napoleons made a successful use of the method for securing popular approval of their capture of power or annexations. Plebiscites were resorted to by the Italian States before their amalgamation in the present king-dom. By virtue of the treaties of 1919 nine popular referenda were held, in Schleswig, Allensten, Marien-werder, Upper Silesia, Eupen, Malmedy, Klagenfurt, Burgenland, and the Saar Valley. In Schleswig, the population preferred to remain under German rather than Danish and the East Prussians in Allenstein and Marienwerder voted for German rather than Polish constrol. Eupen and Mahmedy former German territories chose the Belgian rule. In Upper Silesia, the League Council dirided the area to the dispust of nationalists in both countries; and by the Plebisoits of 1935. Sear territory was restored to Germany. In our days, Hitler has proved himself to its a master in the art of manimulating rechisities.

The method of Plebiscite presents numerous dangers and difficulties in its actual operation. It is almost impossible to create the necessary conditions conducte for its normal exercise. In order that the people must be free to second their decisions, the atmosphere must be free from pressure, terror and suggestion. Even when an adequate electoral procedure and neutral policing are provided for, as Schoman points out, plebiscite embitters national feeling and leads to bribery, coercion and terrorism on both sides. The method fails to secure the free expression of the genuine national will. Instead the people record through their votes their fears, prejudges and economic interests, in accordance with the dictates of political expediency and the verdict of force It is well-known that the Nazi method of plebiscit's aims at hypnotizing the masses by an extraordinary technique of suggesiton, ranging from the use of exciting speeches, intoxicating slogans, clever allurements and sinister intimidations through the press, the platform and the tadio The big drums, marked music, the flood of fligs, duzzling illumination, the roar of bombers, all have contributed to the creation of an atmosphere. under which critical judgment or intelligence can hardly function. In the light of this, even the most thoroughgoing democrat will be justified in being skeptical about the utility of plebiscites as a practical basis for the expression of national self-determination. In this connection it may be of interest to note the opinion of the League Council expressed when it refused to approve a plebiscite in the Anland Islands, occupied by Finland and claimed by Sweden The Committee observe "that to concede to minorities either of language or of religion or to any fractions of a population the right of withdrawing from the community to which they belong because it is their wish or their good pleasure, would be to destroy order and stability within states and to inaugurate anarchy in international life; it would be to uphold a theory incompatible with the very idea of the State as a territorial and political unity."

(3) The third question refers to the necessity of recognising the legitimate limits to the rights of national self-determination Nationalism in the post-war world has assumed a bellicose and bellivolent character and has found expression in the doctrines of aggressive economic nationalism and military megalomania. As Germany and Italy have demonstrated, such demands for national self-determination merely serve as a facade for advancing their annexationist ambitions Once the right of self-determination is accepted, other demands emerge in terms of 'historic' frontiers, 'manifest destiny' and economic self-sufficiency. It becomes a basis for national irredentism, a fruitful source of conflict and annexationist policy in the international sphere. Alsace-Lorraine, Upper Silesia, Dansig, Memel were all in one form or other the part of the national 'arredenta' to be liberated or redeemed. As pointed out by Frederick Hertz the militarization of the Rhinelands by Hitler in defiance of international law, was no extension of the democratic principle of self-determination but was "the first step towards his policy of world-conquest and world-enslavement.' In a world of close international interdependence it is imperative to recognise that no nation-state in the name of self-determination can claim to exercise unlimited powers of Sovereignty. The history of Europe after 1919 is full of tragic experiences arising of Europe after 1919 is full of tragic experiences arising out of the application of the principle of self-determination. Having Balkanised' Central Europe, the principle assumed its most dangerous form in the hands of the Nazis and the Faccista, The German minorities became the 'Trojan horses' bringing about the destruction of the very states in which they lived. If the world is to live in peace after this second World War, we will have to relegate 'Sovereignty' and 'Self-determination' to their proper place and recognize the limitations arising out of the imperative needs of a larger world organisation and international interdependence.

A REVIVALIST

Our Debt to the Swami Shradananda

PART III*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

XXIV

We fancy one thing. We build another. Often quite another.

Has the love from which sprang the design proved capricious? No. At least not in nine cases out of ten.

Has the purpose changed? We think it has not. In reality, it has, however.

When the image of our fancy is placed upon the anul of reality and the ten-ton hammer of actuality is striking against it at an interval of every tenth of a second, it begins taking a shape. That shape, whatever it be, fascinates us.

That fascination prevents us from discerning that in the lathe of eternal transition, It was really the child the forehead has not the protuberance that we gave it of this duality that he was to wet-nurse, often, I ear, in our imagination. We do not see that the eyes are oblivious of the duality.

Ah me! Even this nurshing of his was not to be aquiline; the chin ends in a point instead of being permitted to grow undisturbed. Its eves were to be equare, as we had made it in our minds.

extracted and glass eyes put in their place. Its face was

But for the purblindness superinduced by our partiality, we may throw away in sheer disgust the figure that comes out of the factory of fact. With the pride of paternity, however, we hug it to our breast. We his and spit at critics who point to the flat forehead, the slitlike cyes, the upturned nose and weak chin. We deride these men, for, to us they are fools or knaves, or more likely both.

XXV

I watched this great Punjabi, known as Munshi Ram then and as Shradhanand later, as he was coming to terms with reality in the early years of this century. Watching from a distance—half the world was between him and me most of the time from 1905 onwards—I had the advantage of perspective that I otherwise might have lacked.

Since Drona the Acharya was putting the princes and peasant boys from the Kuru and Pandava kingdoms through the paces, the world had moved on. Knowledge had been accumulating during these thousands of years. Science had been evolving, particularly after the Middle Ages. Art had been finding its way into man's life and giving that life an irresistible lift from materiality towards the upper regions of the senses and even towards the spiritual stratosphere.

Peoples who, in Drona's day, had hardly discarded skins and furs for homespun had perfected mechanical processes that archery, however eleverly practised, or the handloom, no matter how skilfully plied, could meet or match. Distance had been largely abolished. What remained of it was being pushed almost to the vanishing point.

The sky had been invaded—tentatively as yet. The ether was being punched and pushed by waves of Herts's discovery, popularly known as the radio waves.

The aggressive spirit that characterized this transition had invaded every nook and cramy of outer life. This invasion was, however, of little consequence compared with the conquest of the mind and the heavy shadow lengthening against the soul.

XXVI

The vision splendid that Munshi Ram, now the Acharya, brought from the banks of the Beas as it flows near Juliundhar to the forest clearing across Ganga Mai near Hardwar, had, of necessity, to be mated with reality as it had been twisted and turned in the lathe of eternal transition. It was really the child of this duality that he was to wet-nurse, often, I ear, oblivious of the duality.

Ah me! Even this nurshing of his was not to be permitted to grow undisturbed. Its eves were to be extracted and glass eyes put in their place. Its face was to be lined—furrowed—tattooed One limb was to be lengthened, another shortened Wholly new feet were to be given it—feet pulled about by wires instead of having the play that Nature gives through nerve-impolled tendous and living muscles.

Worse still was to happen. Acharya Munshi Ram's right to lay down the law as to what was and what was not to be done was to be questioned. He was to be regarded as an amateur in education—indeed, a rank outside. The respect—even the awe—in which he had been hitherto held was to wear thin. The giants of the forest upon which the axe had not fallen and which stood sentinal over the Gurukula, were to be disqueted with the impatient noise of disruption whereas not long before, they had heard only the chirrup of birds and the yauping and yelping of their four-footed fellow-denizens of the forest.

What agony was to be Munshi Ram's portion! How it was to give his life an entirely new direction!

XXVII

All this was destined to happen. It could, however, have been discerned only by a seer. To most mortals the institution had begun under the most favourable auspices.

The boys were the Guru's own, those of his kinsfolk, friends and admirers. It could not have been otherwise. Without faith in Munshi Ram, the risk involved in the Gurukula education could not be taken in the twentieth century.

Fortunately his was known to be a great heart-leonine yet tender as a woman's. Against it youngsters could snuggle. In saugging they would forget the pangs of parting from their parents. That thought consoled mothers and not merely fathers, more easily consoled.

The bosoms of the holpers swelled with pride for the preceptor. Was he not transmuting an age-old

^{*} For Parts I, and H of this socies, please see The Modern Review for March and Ageth, 1948.

them hung upon his words-longed to carry out any and every behest of his with the literalness that is supposed to have vanished from this earth since it rolled out of the Middle Ages.

XXVIII

The path that the boys were to tread was, moreover, made. It was straight, broad and smooth, There was no mistaking it. For years it would need no mending, certainly no adding to or broadening.

The path?

The old Aryan path. Of Munshi Ram's conceiving, to be sure, but that conception quickened by mellennia-old tradition. It led directly-inevitably-to the treasures of the ancient arts and sciencestreasures valuable for the body, mind and soul-valuable for this life and for the life everlasting.

In Munshi Ram's estimation, he had planted in the first decade of the twentieth century, the feet of his boys to tread over the foot-prints left behind by boys of India's Golden Age. As they trod it they chanted mantrams from the Veda-the self-same words and in the self-same intonations of those youngsters of the far, far-away yester years. These verses, he expected, would inspire them in identical fashion.

The more tender the age at which he put the boys to learning the Sanskrit, he felt, the better it would be for them-the better for society as a whole. Their minds would be the more receptive—their vocal organs the more pliable and, therefore, their utterance (uchcharana) the more perfect.

Persons who had accepted the Mahatma's dictum that education was to be broad-based upon Aryan culture had no difficulty in appreciating, with full force, the emphasis he placed upon the acquisition of the Sanskrit. That language was to be mastered by every pupil, whether he intended, in the course of years, to qualify as a Vedic missioner, or a healing physician, or proposed to obtain only an arts degree, with which to enter the shastra-prescribed "householder's stage" that lies next to the vidyarthi's (student's).

Instruction in the Gurukulo was to be imparted through the medium of what Munshi Ram called Arya bhasha. This may be translated as the language in use to-day by us, the descendants of the Aryans.

It was called, in my childhood, Nagri-literally of, or pertaining to, the metropolis-the speech of polite (urban) society. Some spoke of it as Hindi.

The effort to popularize it in the Punjab antedated the Swami Dayanand's coming there. The pioneer was an Indian who, even to-day, would be considered remarkable but in the eighteen-cirties and -seventies had hardly any peer in northwestern India.

Babu Nobin Chandra Roy by name, he had been born in Meerut in 1838 A.D. In a circumstance so distressing that it would have disheartened any one less coursgeous, he, while in his early teens, learnt English. He had already acquired a good working knowledge of Persian. All this the boy did while supporting his mother, who had become demented through her husband his father turning away from the world.

vision into a twentieth century reality. Each man of books picked up from booths vending cast-off articles: qualified as an engineer's assistant; became an accountant; rose to the top of the accounts service; and in the evening of his life was the trusted Minister of a Maharaja in Central India.

> Associated with Roy in the Brahmo Samai, of which he was. I believe, the first convert in the Punjab, where he served, was a drawing master from what we now call the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Best known as Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan, he spoke and wrote beautiful Hindi.

> After the coming of the Swami Dayanand, with his soul ablaze with enthusiasm for Vedic revival, the cult of Arya Bhasha, as he styled it, made new converts. It must, however, be remembered that even in the eighteen-eighties, when I first became cognizant of men and matters, the progress made in the Punjab in this direction was slight.

XXXI

The creator of the Gurukula was certainly no child of the free institutions of the Golden Age. He had, on the contrary, been bred and born-grown to man's estate—in the era of subordination. He had, in consequence, climbed up the educational ladder manufactured by Thomas Babbington (Lord) Macaulay or by men who, like him, suffered from race and intellectual arrogance. He had not learnt Hindi in boyhood. He had, in fact, had no choice but to study, at first Urdu and Persian and later English. He was taught no Sanskrit. To the end of his days the Veda in the original remained largely a sealed treasure to hinf. Judging him and appraising his work, we must bear such limitations in mind-limitations for which he was in no wise blameworthy.

When Munshi Ram finally saw the light, he took to the Arya Bhasha with zeal. This, however, exposed him to the wrath of Punjabis who were keen upon furthering the cause of the language of the provincethe Puniabi.

My father, for instance. How many times I heard

him protesting to this friend of his:

"My mother-tongue is good enough for me. You may regard it as the language of yokels all you please."

Some work had, of course, been done in manufacturing text-books in Hindi. It had been begun by Nobin Chandra Roy. Under his inspiration and with his help, Bhanu Dutt, a Punjabi Brahman, and others, carried it on with some vigour.

I am confining my remarks to the province of the Five Rivers. Upon going to Benares in the early years of this century and settling down at Sarnath for a time, I found that Pandit Ram Narain Misra, originally from Amritsar, and his colleagues of the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, were actively and enthusiastically at

With the Gurukula in being, the endeavour was greatly accelerated and the composition of text-books was taken in hand. It was pushed forward energetically. As the boye advanced in age and studies, they found that their needs in this respect had been anticipated; and their progress was not held up through lack of books.

XXXII

As the original batch of vidyarthis completed the elementary stage of education, a new phase in the lifehistory of the Gurubula opened. It was a phase of He taught bimself higher mathematics with tattered difficulty, complexity, contention and contest.

and Sanskritic culture must needs be assigned as important place in the scheme for secondary and college education. Even for young men who were to be missionaries in the cause of Aryan revival, these subjects could not, bowever, be deemed to be wholly adequate. They must learn something of sister systems of logic, psychology, ethics, dogma, exegesis and other branches of culture. Without at least an elementary knowledge of comparative religion, they would be pitched and tossed on the sea of controversy in which they, upon leaving the educational haven, would soon find themselves embarked.

Then, too, there were the others whom the Acharya, with all his enthusiasm for Vedic revival, could not prevent from making for other channels. They would need to acquire intellectual and technical equipment for making a success of their "householder's life."

IIIXXX

Impelled by these urgencies as Munshi Ram was, he made a manful effort to hold fast to the past-the past that, to other mortals, was dead and had better remain buried: but to him was alive and life-giving. The other hand, however, he extended to grab the new.

The vision splendid that he had beheld did not blind him to this need. The training to be imparted in the medical faculty serves to illustrate this duality of objective.

The students were to be instructed in the discoveries made by the ancients versed in the science of life (Ayurveda). They were to be taught all there was to learn about the simples and herbs, potions and avplications, which the physicians and surgeons had found effective during the preceding three millenniums. They were to be instructed in the cures prescribed by Susruta, Charaka, and a host of others, and the guides for health and hygiene they, by acute observation in clinics, in hospital, sick room and life in general, and by careful experimentation, had perfected.

The knowledge gained in other lands, particularly in Europe and America, during recent centuries was, however, not to be boycotted. Since the Middle Ages medicine had progressed from witchcraft to science. The advance had been rapid, especially during the nineteenth century and the pace was becoming accelerated.

With a few exceptions, foreign doctors looked superciliously upon Ayurveda. Indians who had studied medicine under them had become largely alienated from the past. Aping their teachers and associates, they derided their forbears' achievements. In their view the ancients were merely quacks. What could medical science (to them only the imported system was "science") have to do with quackery?

If ever there was wrong-headedness, it was this. Munshi Ram was fortunate in having at his beck and call Indians who had the eye to perceive it as such. Some of them helped him to work out a scheme that enabled the viduarthis to derive benefit from both the Eastern and Western schools.

The teaching of history, too, presented a problem, seemingly insusceptible of quick solution. All the books available were written in English by men who suffered from the "superiority complex," or those who had taining to the place to be assigned in the scheme of

XXXIV

Higher studies must now be taken in hand. Senskrit grown up under their influence and, as a consequence, suffered from the "inferiority complex."

Some of these historians were actually cogs in the administration that held any and every Indian in subordination. One may be a member of the Indian "Civil" Service or may have retired a little earlier. Another may be or may have been a unit in an adjunct of that "Service"-the Education Service. A third may have been connected with a learned body in Britain that regarded India as a market for its living products. No openly commercial interest was more solicitous of keeping to itself a market than there graduate-

manufacturing agencies.

When the history texts had been written, moreover, the fires of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny had hardly been extinguished. Passions still burned in the British

Even the men sent out to dig our ruins and to decipher our lithic inscriptions and our numismatio legends, were not free from bias. To them Hellas was the parens parentes of civilization. They, therefore. read into our antiquity an imitative impulse.

XXXV

What good opening the Gurukula if teaching of history, pre-history and proto-history was to be based upon text-books emanating from such sources?

If, however, the text-books were discarded, what was to be substituted in their place?

Improvisation in a department of research such as this was risky. Yet improvisation was the only means that could serve the institution's purposes during its early years-improvisation plus the spirit with which the students handled the hastily prepared text-books in Arya Bhasha under the guidance of the professors.

Upon my shelves repose certain paper-bound volumes in Hindi that were among the products of such improvisation. They are from the pen of Rams Deva, of whom I have already written and to whom I shall refer again in the instalment that follows, Considering the rapidity with which they were compiled and rushed off to press, they are no mean achievement.

The soundness of teaching in history is attested to by the work done by some of the Gurukula Snataks (graduates). To this I shall refer in the article that follows this.

XXXVI

What I have said of the "history schools" applied with equal force to the departments of politics and economics. As text-booked and taught in institutions dominated by Universities, themselves not independent of a Government, itself in the Whitehall leading strings, they have been the politics and economics fit only for people in subservience.

The Gurukula authorities could not possibly escape that conclusion. Not having escaped that conclusion, could they have rested until they had evolved literature in their own medium of instruction that would nourish the students' minds and inspire their spirits to bring nearer the day when we, too, would walk among the peoples of the world with head held erect and high. like theirs.

XXXVII

Lastly-or was it initially?-was the problem per-

linguistics and literature to our rulers' mother tongue Firstly, was it to have any place there at all?

The Acharya Drona and his contemporaries could never have been bothered by that question If they had heard of it at all, they would have quickly dismissed it from their minds, as a language manificently developed to be of any great use for the purposes they had in view.

Had not Macaulay, however, boasted, in 1835

". . . The claims of our language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us with models of every species of eloquence, with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled, with just and lively represen-tations of human life and human nature with the most profound speculations on metaphysics morals, government, jurisdiction, and trade, with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health to mercase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of men. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which 300 years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together"

To quote Macaulay further he declared

"I have never found one among them (Orientalists) who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia"

And again

"It would hardly be disputed I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is portry. And I certainly never met any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskirt poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of migmation to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskirt language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical and moral philosophy the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same."

XXXVIII

There seems to have been method in Macaulay s madness. The reader may judge of the real raison d'etre from this extract made from a letter he wrote his father a little later:

"... The effect of this (English) education on the Hindoos is predigious. No Hindoo who has received English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy; but many profess themselves as Deists, and some embrace Christanity. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without efforts to procelytize, without the smallest interference with religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection."

Macaulay's brother-in-law, Sir Charles Trevelyan, put the copying stone on these statements when he wrote in a memorandum he submitted to the Committee set up by Parliament in 1853 to enquire into Indian affairs.

Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigner. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same pursurbinth ourselves, they become more English than Hindoos just as the Roman provincials became more Roman than Gauls or Italians

As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is, the immediate and total expulsion of the English. It is only by the infusion of European ideas that a new direction can be given to national views. The voung men brought up in our seminaries turn with contempt from the barbarous despotism under which their ancesto is groaned to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model they have no notion of any improvement but such as mixely their connection with the English and makes the independent on English protection and instruction."

The comparison between our culture and theirs was as odiously phrased as it was inaccurate in substance Despite the lapse of time, it stinks. I make no comment concerning the political motive behind the educational effort. The language used is plain. It stands in no need of gloss.

XXXIX

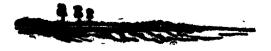
Though the references to the treasures created by the Sanskritists and Arabicists emanated from one completely ignorant of those languages, and litterateurs, Macaulay knew something of the creative effort of his own people Since his time that effort has continued

It would have been madness for any Indian to have turned a blind eye towards this acquisition of knowledge. I am glad that the creator of the Gurukula, who himself spoke English fluently and wrote English effectively, did not display such perversity

He fitted it into the scheme of studies much as a carpenter would put an adze from Europe into his tool chest. This was, in my view, the rights course to pursue.

To smore English would have been as fatuous as to set it up as a fetish. I am glad that either extreme was avoided.

(To be continued)



THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER Britain's Responsibility and Duty

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THE DECLARATION OF AUGUST, 1940

I have dwelt above upon the question of separate representation through communal electorates and some of its evil effects. I shall now refer to the second factor which has contributed to the complication of our communal problem and the consequential intensification of communal bitterness in this country. This factor is the Declaration issued by the Governor-General of India on 8th August, 1940, with the authority of His Majesty's Government-popularly known as the Declaration of August, 1940-, and the explanatory speech which Mr. Amery made in this connexion in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940.50 Among other things, that Declaration contained the following statement :

'It goes without saying that they (i.e., His Majesty's Government) could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government "

On the face of it, this statement is very innocuous, and apparently breathes a flattering sympathy with minorities But in effect it has in the peculiar circumstances of India, materially contributed, together with what Mr Amery said in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940, by way of its explanation and justification, to mordinate ambition, communal or sectional fanaticism, and political intransigence on the part of some of our minorities. Moreover, it has practically invested them with the power of "veto" on even all reasonable proposals for the solution of our constitutional problem. "Apart from Congress," said Mr. Amery in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941. with reference to the Declaration of August, 1940, "the Government's major policy for the constitutional future may be said to have relieved the anxieties of the various elements which compose India's national structure." This was only natural, in view of the power of "veto" principle embodied in the statement quoted above from Majesty's Government would, if the Province or

the August Declaration, in relation to those "liberated" countries, and also to what extent it has so far followed the same principle in practice in France, Belgium,

Yogoshivia and specially in Greece, Further, although I do not support all that the Congress has done in India since 1937, yet I cannot help feeling that what Mr. Amory said, in the course of his speech in the House of Commons referred to above, with regard to the position of "the great Moslem community, 90,000,000 strong" to quote his own words, vis-a-vis the Congress, is open to criticism and challenge. The same thing also applies to his statemen, in the speech, with regard to the Scheduled Castes. Considerations of space, however, do not permit me to go into details here. "Agreement, consent," said Mr. Amery in the course of the speech, "is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true demo-cracy." True, but what is to happen if a fanatical section of the population of a country, intoxicated by the spirit of exaggerated egotism and the lust of power politics, is determined to pursue a course of which is based upon unreason, which policy is definitely anti-national, and which is certain r destructive of the future peace, prosperity, and security of the country ? How to deal with men in such a state of political intoxication, who will not even listen to the voice of reason? And what value is to be attached to their views either? And what policy, I ask again, has His Majesty's Government itself pursued in "liberated" Greece with regard to such men? I would, therefore, carnestly request His Majesty's Government to think over these points in a dispassionate and unprejudiced mood. And I would, in particular, request Mr. Amery author of the famous speech on "India First," seriously to reflect upon them, also in a passionless spirit.

THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF 1942 OR THE CRIPPS OFFER The third factor which has contributed to the present situation in India is what is popularly known as the "non-accession" or "non-adherence" provisions" which the said policy in effect placed in the hands of in the Draft Declaration embodying the "conclusions" some of these elements, on all proposals for constitution of His Majesty's Government with regard to the future tional reform to which they were opposed." But it Constitution of India, which was published on 30th should not be forgotten in this connexion that in a sub. March, 1942, together with the Prime Minister's stateject country, particularly on the eve of its attaining ment in the House of Commons on 11th March, 1942, freedom, conflicting, sectional interests do naturally tend foreshadowing the said Draft Declaration. These nonto emerge, or are even sometimes, unfortunately, made accession provisions have undoubtedly given a great filling to emerge by interested parties. We all know what is to the partitionist movement in India. Among other happening today in the "liberated" countries of Europe. things, they declared that with such Province or Pro-And I really feel tempted here to ask the British vinces of British India as were "not prepared to Government whether it is prepared to act upon the accept" the proposed new Constitution for India, His

⁵⁶ See Amery, India and Freedom, Appendix I and pp. 66-76.

^{\$7} See 15id., p. 85,

⁵⁸ See in this connexion the Proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, held at Nagpus p. 27), the Draft Declaration was first announced by Sir Stafford in Docember, 1941. MARL Y M

⁵⁹ See Amery, India and Fraedam, pp. 84-89.

⁶⁰ See clause (c) of the Draft Declaration as published on March 36th. 1942. According to Professor Coupland (The Cripps Mission, Crippe et his fourth Press Conference en 29th March, 1962.

Provinces in question so desired, "be prepared to agree more to the not-very-important, interim constitutional upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full provisions in the Draft Declaration than to the funda-status as the Indian Union."

Now let us see the full mental change insidiously proposed to be introduced by

implication of this declaration.

During his Press Conferences at Delhi on March 29th and 31st, 1942, certain questions were put to Sir Stafford Cripps, and he gave his answers to them, obviously at the spokesman of His Majesty's Government. Among others, there were the following questions and answers.

"Will the Indian Union be entitled to disown its

allegiance to the Crown?

"Yes. . . . The Dominion (i.e., the Indian Union) will be completely free either to remain within or to go without the Commonwealth of Nations.

"Will the Indian Union have the right to enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world?

"Yes.

"Can the (Indian) Union join any contiguous

foreign countries?

"There is nothing to prevent it. Canada can join the U.S. A. tomorrow if it wants to.

"Can it?

"Of course it can.

"Exactly at what stage does the British Government propose to leave this country?

". . . . the moment the new constitution comes into operation, the change-over takes place."

And in reply to another question Sir Stafford stated that the Indian Union would be free to take all measures which are open to a sovereign State to take."

Now these were to be some of the rights and privileges of the Indian Union as envisaged by the Draft Declaration. And, as we have seen before, a non-according Province of British India, say, on the North-Las: or the North-West of India, was to have, under the terms of the Draft Declaration, "the same full status as the Indian Union", and, therefore, all the rights and privileges of the proposed Indian Union. That is to say, it would be entitled to take all measures open to a sovereign State. It might, for instance, "go without the Commonwealth of Nations"; might "enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world" and even join any contiguous foreign country; and might not have, if it so chose, any relationship with the Indian Union itself, although located within the geographic unity of India. If we now put all these things together, what really we obtain, as a result, is a partition of India-and I am, for the time being, leaving out of consideration the question of the Indian States-, pure and simple, into two or more sovereign, independent States. This is exactly—if not, in some respects, more than-what Mr. Jinnah had demanded. I am, therefore, not at all surprised to find that "the reaction of Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League to this part of the scheme (i.e., its non-accession provisions) was naturally and that "it apparently contented Mr. favourable". Jinnah. It is, however, a thousand pities that some of our foremost leaders claiming to be nationalists. concentrated, in their shortsightedness their opposition

provisions in the Draft Declaration than to the fundamental change insidiously proposed to be introduced by it into the body politic of India by its non-accession provisions a change fraught with incalculable danger not only to the unity and integrity of our Motherland. but also to its future peace, prosperity, and security. And in so far as His Majesty's Government was concerned. I really wonder how it could, with a clear conscience and a full knowledge of what was implicit in it, recommend an innovation which went against one fundamental principle in all the past declarations of British policy towards India! These declarations, it is well-known, had never envisaged anything other than a unified-although not necessarily a unitary-political system for the whole of this country, "We have spoken of unity", said the Parliamentary Joint (Select) Committee" on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933-34, over which the Marquess of Linlithgow presided, "as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India." And in 1942 His Majesty's Government decided to destroy this "greatest gift" of British rule in India, thus completely undoing the work of generations of British statesmen in the past. And did not this decision amount to a great betrayal of the trust which the latter had left behind as a sacred legacy to the former? And what was behind this decision? I sincerely trust that it was neither Congress-phobia nor League-mania. Was it the presence of the enemy "at the gates of India"? "The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance," said the Prime Minister in the. House of Commons on 11th March, 1942, "has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life, to guard their land from the menace of the invader". If that was the objective behind the proposed change, then His Majesty's Government, I am constrained to say, betrayed a deplorable lack of imaginative insight by trying to "save" India by dividing India-by destroying its unity and integrity and, thus, endangering its whole future. It should have had political foresight enough to see that it would never be able to enthuse nationalist India and rally its forces to face the crisis in front of India, by pursuing a policy destructive of the future peace, prosperity and security of this country.

It has been insinuated by some people that the Draft Declaration was an astute piece of Machiavellism on the part of His Majesty's Government; that it knew beforehand that the constitutional scheme embodied in it, would founder on the rock of its non-accession provisions; but that the British Government would take credit before the whole world that, although it had offered full self-government to India immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, yet nothing came out of this generous offer owing to its serious internal differences. I do not know how far this insinuation is based upon facts. I can only hope that this is not true. But I cannot, having regard to the past attitude of the British Government towards the aspirations of the Indian people, account for the undue-and almost unseemly-haste it showed in 1942 in trying to meet the particular demand of the Muslim League, namely, its demand for the partition of India. This Muslim-League demand for the partition of India had been made by a resolution adopted at Lahore on 26th March. 1940, and before even two years had elapsed the British

^{61.} The italice are mine.

^{63.} See R. Coupland, The Cripps Mission, Oxford, pp. 25-32.

^{62,} See thick, pp. 32-32.

^{48.} The Steller are toler.

^{\$6. 264}d., p. 36.

the opposition of nationalist India and in total discepart indeed, that if some sort of Indian unity had not of the principle of unity which it had consistently existed it would have to be invented." If India were Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional their own heart's de Reform that the scheme of "Pakistan" was "only a Again," in the I student's scheme", and that another member of the 1941, with reference to the Muslim-League demand "for Muslim delegation had said before the same Committee: the complete severance from the rest of India of the "So far as we have considered it, we have considered it north-western and north-eastern sones . . . and their chimerical and impracticable." Thus what had been establishment as completely independent states controlconsidered in 1933 by responsible Muslim opinion as ling their own defence, foreign affairs and finance":---"only a student's scheme", "chimerical and impracticable"-and the whole scheme of "Pakistan" is really nothing else than that-received in 1942 the solemn project, stated in this its extreme form. Nor need I so approval of His Majesty's Government, This is, indeed, back to the dismal record of India's history in the strange, if not mysterious!

through the Draft Declaration as one "which struck as world, a unity of whose achievement we have every fair a balance between contending points of view as it right to feel proud." was possible to attain," and also as one which was "essentially sincere and fair." But what had the same spokesman of His Majesty's Government in his capacity and Moslem dominions":as the Secretary of State for India? In the course of a speech on "Our Indian Record" made before the my mind, insuperable objections to such a scheme, English-speaking Union on November 21st, 1940. said:**

That is the fundamental historic and political feature of necessary despair." the Indian problem . . . Only in political unity can India find peace and stability.

Also, in the course of his speech on "India First" on 12th December, 1940, at Foyle Luncheon Clubⁿ:-

"Once broken up into separate independent entities India would relapse, as it did in the decline of the with which to defend itself against external attack shadow on the wall." whether by land or by sea.

Manchester Luncheon Club :--

"Beneath all the differences of religion, of culture, of race and political structure, there is an underlying unity. There is the fundamental geographical unity which has walled India off from the outside world, while at the same time, erecting no serious internal barriers. There is the broad unity of race which makes Indians as a whole, whatever their differences among themselves, a distinctive type among the main races of mankind. There is the political unity which she has enjoyed from time to time in her history, and which we have confirmed in far stronger fashion than any of our predeces-

Government resolved to concede to it, in defiance of development and of communications. I would set followed with regard to the governmental system of this broken up and reverted to chaos tomorrow, Indiana sountry ever since 1773. It should not also be forgotten would have to set about trying to invent for her at any in this connection that only in August, 1963, the spokes- rate some minimum of unity against the dangers from man of the All-India Muslim Conference and the outside. Why then should they not take her over now Muslim League had declared before the Parliamentary as a going concern, though one remoulded nearer to sire?

Again," in the House of Commons on 22nd April,

"I am not concerned here to discuss the immense practical difficulties in the way of the so-called Pakistan eighteenth century or to the disastrous experience of the In a speech delivered before the House of Com- Balkan peoples before our eyes, in order to point out mons on April 28th, 1942, Mr. Amery tried to defend the terrible dangers inherent in the break-up of the the "solution" offered by His Majesty's Government essential unity of India in its relation to the outside

And lastly," in the House of Commons on 1st August, 1941, with reference to the League demand "for Mr. Amery repeatedly said before as the responsible the complete breaking-up of India into separate Hindu

Moslem dominions":—
"I need say nothing today of the manifold end, to any rate in its extreme form. I would only note this, that it merely shifts the problem of permanent mino-"India, within the rough quadrilateral of her rities to somewhat smaller areas without solving it. It mountains and seas, has no natural internal frontiers, is a counsel of despair and, I believe, of wholly un-

> In spite of these declarations, Mr. Amery had no hesitation in defending in 1942 the proposal of His Majesty's Government for the partition of India m certain circumstances! In his Essay on "Self-Reliance" Emerson has said:

"A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little Mogul Empire, into a welter of contending powers, in minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and which free institutions would inevitably be suppressed, divines. With consistency a great soul has simply and in which no one element would have the resources nothing to do. He may as well concern himself with his

I do not know how far Ekmerson is right in this Also, in the course of his speech on "the Indian view, or whether Mr. Amery belongs to this category Constitutional Problem" on 19th November, 1941, at the of great souls. One thing, at any rate, is true: politician is perhaps above this foolish weakness consistency and Mr. Amery is a politician.

In this connexion, I should like to touch on another point. The persistence of the Muslim League in unreason and intransigence has naturally provoked a serious reaction in a powerful section of the Hindu community, and it has begun to insist that since Indiaand, particularly, the northern half of it-has been known for centuries and centuries together as Hindusthan—the Homeland of the Hindus—and inhabited by the Hindus from times long, long before the birth of Mahommedanism in Arabia, it should be governed by sors in a unity of administration, of law, of economic the Hindus alone. May I ask Mr. Amery, and through

^{66.} See Coupland, Indian Politics, 1936-1942, Oxford, pp. 199-200.

^{69.} See Amery, India and Freedom, p. 104.

^{73.} The italies are mine.

^{74.} See ibid., p. 88.

^{75.} The italies in this

See fild., p. 15.

him His Majesty's Government, whether they are pre- upon India and not on ourselves. . . . " This is, on pared to pay any heed to this demand on the part of the whole, an honest and straightforward attitude. In a these Hindus a demand as absurd and as unreasonable in the present circumstances of India as the demand of the Muslim League for the partition of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan? We know what the answer that it was our responsibility; we could not escape it will be, and should be, to this question.

CONCLUSION

I have analysed above the factors which have primarily contributed to the present political deadlock in this country. I am quite prepared to admit that some of the policies pursued by the Congress "High Command" and some Congress Ministers during the period from 1937 to 1939 may have given the immediate provocation to a section of the Muslim community in India and accentuated communal bitterness in it. But these policies in themselves could not have led to the suicidal demand by the Muslim League for the partition of India but for the seed of separatism carefully and deliberately sown, as we have seen before, by Lord Minto in 1906, and then duly-watered and nurtured into a big tree by some other Britishers in responsible position. And the action of these people has been endorsed and confirmed by the British Government and the British Parliament. Britain, therefore, is primarily responsible for the present situation in India. It itself has created the monster of communalism through the institution of communal electorates, and then duly fed and nurtured it with the August Declaration of 1940 and the non-accession provisions in the Draft Declaration of 1942; and the consequence is the present deadlock. How can it, honestly speaking, disown its own responsibility in the matter and shirk its duty to India at this stage? It has created the tangle and it must conscientiously do everything possible to unwind it. Otherwise it will be guilty of a serious dereliction of duty, and may legitimately be charged with political insincerity, hypocrisy, and dishonesty. Mere professions of sincerity of purpose or intention on its part are not enough: They must be so translated into action as to convince others of this sincerity. At the same meeting on 26th October, 1943, at the Caxton Hall at which Mr. Amery spoke, Sir Alfred Watson also spoke. And what did he say? "Speakers that afternoon", Sir Alfred has been reported to have observed," "had fallen into the too common error of saying that responsibility for the future was wholly Indian. The British could not divest themselves of responsibility. The present uneasy balance of parties in India created conditions in which India in the future might become the centre of another world war. Our responsibility was the greater, inasmuch as we had imposed upon India a form of constitution which was utterly out of touch with democratic principles. When we consented, unwillingly (?), to communal representation we clamped upon India a form of government in which there could not be an alteration of parties in power such as there was in this country. Practically the composition of the Legislatures was sattled before a vote was cast by the electorate. The stem of communal representation was not confined to the Muslims and Hindus. . . . This system had to be got rid of if progress was to be made. There (then?) We could say that the responsibility for change rested

L. Box The Arietic Review, Juneau, 1961, etc. 23.29.

In conclusion, I should like to say that if Britain means well by India, as it always professes to do, it must, in the first place, bring under control Frankenstein monster of communalism which it has itself created and, if this monster is not amenable to logic, reason and persuasion, it must either take steps to destroy it, or, if this is not feasible, ignore it altogether. And I believe that Britain can do any of these things if it wants to. It must, for instance, make a categorical and unequivocal declaration that it will not destroy with its own hand its own child of "unity" upon which it often prides itself as its "greatest gift" to India; that, speaking geographically, economically, politically, ethnologically, and strategically, India is a single unit and does not, consistently with its true interests, permit of any division into two or more sovereign independent States; that the maintenance of the unity and integrity of India is one of its primary obligations: that it will, therefore, never be a party to any partition of India as contemplated by the Muslim separationists; and that it stands by the Cripps offer minus its non-accession provisions. It is true that, since this offer was made, Britain has in a way done this through some of her responsible representatives. The parting messagest of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester to India in 1942, the speeches of His Excellency Lord Linlithgow and His Excellency Lord Wavell before the annual meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, on 17th December, 1942, and 15th December, 1944, respectively, the speech of His Excellency Lord Wavell before the Indian Legislature in February, 1944, and, lastly, the speech of Mr. Amery himself in the House of Commons on 28th July, 1944, have all laid stress on this geographical unity of India and on its economic, political, and strategie implications. Yet, what is now necessary is not any further policy of drift and temporization, but a firm and unequivocal declaration by His Majesty's Government that the future Constitution of India must duly recognize this fundamental unity of India and respect it in its provi-

Secondly, His Majesty's Government must reaffirm its faith in, and its adherence to, the ideal of an All-India Federation as the only proper and legitimate solution of the Indian problem, and must declare that it will henceforth stand by this ideal and do everything possible in its power to hasten its realisation within the shortest possible time. If words have any meaningand there should be no shilly-shallying about it on the part of His Majesty's Government-, then the missage

more or less similar vein spoke Mr. Godfrey Nicholson. M.P. when he said at the same meeting: "Either India was our responsibility or it was not; the answer was by saying to India, You must work out your own constitution'." This remark may have been a little blunt and forthright; but it is at any rate refreshing, compared with the sanctimoniousness we often notice in some of the speeches of Mr. Amery and some other British politicians.

^{79.} The italies in this quotation are mine.

^{80.} Hid., p. 31.

^{22. &}quot;India in a d by Nature great and powerful beyond measure."

religious minorities in India, in respect of their lanrights and privileges.

Lastly, pending the final settlement of the Indian constitutional question on the lines of the Cripps offer minus its non-accession provisions, Part II of the Government of India Act, 1935, popularly known as the Federal Part of the 1935 Act, must be immediately brought into operation after a few such minor amendments in it as may be considered absolutely necessary for its smooth working. In particular, sub-section (2) of Section 5 of the Act which has laid down an almost impossible condition for the establishment of the Federation of India, should either be altogether deleted with consequential changes in the preceding sub-section, or so amended as to make the establishment of the Federation easy. This may entail one or two other minor amendments in the Act. Besides, a few healthy conventions in regard to the constitution and powers of the Federal Executive and its relation to the Federal Legislature may be agreed upon so as to ensure the harmonious and successful working of the Federal Part of the Act. Let the nucleus of an All-India Federation be once brought into being, and it will, in the course of its working and accretion, gather sufficient momentum and then everything will be all right. It was to my mind a sheer stupidity on the part of some of our leaders to have opposed the introduction of the Federal Part of the Act of 1935 in spite of its defects and anomalies, and it was a serious error of judgment, if not an exhibition of moral cowardice, on the part of His Majesty's Government to have yielded to this foolish opposition in 1939. Perhaps it was hoist with its own

of His Royal Highness and the speeches of their petard, and paid the penalty for its folly in framing Excellencies Lord Limitingow and Lord Wavell and Mr. sub-section (2) of Section 5 of the Act in the way is Amery referred to above, unmistakably point to the had done. More than once in recent years Mr. Amery imperative necessity of the establishment of an All-India has characterized the India Act of 1935 as "a remarkable Federation composed of autonomous constituent units, feat of constructive statemanship", and I, therefore, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial and sincerely hope and trust that he will have courage enough to bring the most important part of this Act. guage, religion, culture, traditions, and other reasonable namely, its Federal Part, into immediate operation, notwithstanding any opposition on the part of the irreconcilables in India or elsewhers. A discased system sometimes requires a drastic remedy as the only cure. This is as much true of the body politic as of the body natural. His Majesty's Government should not again try to make, as a plea for inaction, a fetish of "consent" or "agreement" on the part of this party or that in India, How often in the past did it wait for the consent of parties in India for bringing into operation constitutional Acts? And did it wait for obtaining the consent of parties in India when it involved it in this present War? And we all know what this involvement has meant to this country! If His Majesty's Government acts as I have suggested, there may be a little squealing here, a little frothy ebullition in another place, or, at most, a few paper shot in the form of wordy and angry resolutions in a third place. But we shall be able to stand all this brutum fulmen. The central body of opinion in this country will support the action of His Majesty's Government out of sheer disgust at its present situation, and there will be no difficulty whatsoever anywhere. What is now really needed on the part of His Majesty's Government is true sincerity of purpose and a genuine determination untainted by any selfish or Imperialistic considerations, to end the present deadlock in India. Perhaps His Excellency Lord Wavell who has already made a good name in this country for his well-meaning frankness and realism may play a great role in this connexion.

(Concluded)

A POPULAR FOLK-SONG OF BUNDELKHAND

By AMBIKA PRASAD VARMA 'DIVYA', M.A.

"Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

of this land has, rather, a certain tale of wee to tell.

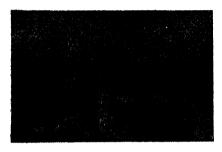
By the side of the river Betwa, a few miles away from Jhansi, stands the deserted city of Orchha, the ancient capital of Bundelkhand. Although the city has now dwindled into a village, the few palatial buildings, which have not yet surrendered to the ravages of time bear testimony to its past glory and grandeur. The splendid Jahangir Palace, the majestic temple of Ram Raja, and a few other historical monuments standing here and there, yet present exhibits to a visitor worth his toil. The fresco paintings in the Rajmahal and Baxminsrayan temple afford a curious subject for dinner and serve him poison in the food. The Maharani study and an interesting pastime as well. The natural pleaded her innocence as best as she could, but the scenery, which the city has about it, will not fail to Maharaja was adamant. attract even a layman, little gifted with aesthetic sense.

I was dolefully reminded of a folk-agaz, which I had come to know the will of the Maharaja bravely accepted

Bundelkhand, though a beautiful parlour of nature, heard long before from the women folk of my house is not wanting in sad things. Each nook and corner at the time of my marriage. It related an event which had happened at Orchha during the reign of Maharaja Juiharsingh, a contemporary of Shahjahan, the Moghui king.

Jujharsingh had a younger brother named Hardol. Jujharsingh's wife, the Maharani had, as ill luck would have it, conceived some motherly affection for Hardol and used to meet him very frequently. Some mischiefmongers of the court thought ill of their relation and informed the Maharaja accordingly. Jujharaingh became suspicious of the Maharani and subjected her to a very severe ordeal. She was asked to invite Hardol to a

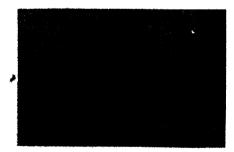
She had at length to yield to the dictates of her Last, when I had the occasion of visiting the city, husband and poison Hardol to death. Hardol who had poison at the hand of the Maherani and died the death of a martyr. The song runs thus :-Lais You ever before my eyes, You were born at Airsch, You are known far and wide, You sojourned over the world's domain as you have blessed me with your Darshan, bless all. You loved me as people do their mother,
Nothing foul betwirt us there was.
No social laws we violated,
as you have behaved hitherto, behave on.



A general view of the city of Orchha wherein still haunts the spirit of Hardol

Beloved! carry home to your heart my advice, Cook the food with such skill, As may prove your worth aright.
Your Lala is from his birth my enemy, poison him off.

My Lord! lend me your ears please How have you harboured this evil thought,
Who is it that led you astray,
Let not your wing be broken off.



A side-view of the river Betwa which still bemoans the death of Hardol

Oh Lala! please bless me with your Darshan, Your Khawasin has come to invite you, Your Bhabhi is bewailing aloud.

Wherefor does she, asked Hardol. Let me know the cause Khawasin, Her own sons may prove disloyal, not L Be it: what she has been advised to do Will descend on me as my fate. Hence you go back Khawasin, And console my mother thus.

Lala! you are invited to dinner. How may I serve you a separate dish. Ill omens forecast evils,
Take care of your life hence,
So saying the Bhabhi fell down in a fainting fit.

All his paraphernalia went with him, His pigeons, his parrots and Mainas, All breathed their last with him As to you, you reached heaven, take care of me too.

Kunja wept to hear the sad news, She struck her forehead against the ground, Let the living ones go to their doom, she said. Hardol though dead will stand by me. She sent for a bullock cart,

And loaded it with all necessaries, She undertook the marriage of her daughter, And at Datia she invited Hardol

When Hardol made his appearance,
A great tumult was there adoot.
Kunja ran to accord him a welcome. The manage post cracked by his mysterious approach



A part of the fort which witnessed the great tragedy

Kunja beheld him come

Harold served the marriage party so well That all talked very highly of

The bridegroom persisted on having his Darshan Hardol had to accede to his request at last

The theme of the song is worthy of notice. It is not simply a narrative of facts beginning and ending like a fable All that can touch the subtle human feelings has been wisely accumulated and put effortlessly in sweet homely language. The final is a tragedy and we reach it without limping with the burden of superfluity.

Hardol and his Bhabhi, the Maharani, are accused of unlawful morbid relations, which are not uncommon and unbelievable. Really it is very hard to prove oneself innocent of such accusations, for people on such occasions generally become indiscriminate and

revengeful and leave no room for reason and sympathy.
But Hardol uses the word "Mother" for his Bhabhi.
No person however had is supposed to misuse it. Thus Hardol instantly wins over our unshakable sympathy and is spared all pleadings against the charges. Our anger rebounds upon the socusers themselves for fabricating such base and hateful allegations against an innocent person.

Redn: Younger brother of the husband.

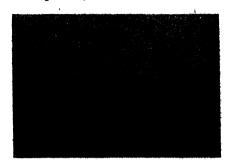
Magniciae Pumph belber. Madifi i Wife er die piffer breth

our hearts and we feel inclined to share all her impending sorrows.

Thus the words which she utters at the time of serving poison to Hardol, inject in our minds all the restless agitation which she was subject to. Between motherly love and womanly duty we too fail to determine which way to turn. Resignation to fate seems to be the alternative. Thus when the Maharani finds herself helpless and the mother in her overwhelms hershe gives a desperate warning to Hardol to save himself from the poison, and falls down in a fainting fit. Here we reach the climax and cannot help our tears.

With Kunja, the sister of Hardol, another chapter of our sorrow begins. Brothers and sisters, as we all know, have by nature a certain well-marked affinity. More so in Bundelkhand where the girls think it a great curse to have no brothers at all. To see their brothers at their husbands' houses coming to fetch them is an unparalleled joy to them. On the occasion of their sons' and daughters' marriages their brothers' presence is supposed to be even an indispensible necessity. The bereavement of a brother is an untold misery on such an occasion. What a melancholy fate Kunia had, Her brother died just when her daughter's marriage was going to be celebrated. The news fell upon her as a bolt from the blue. She struck her forehead against the ground and began to weep. Hardol, it is said, had given her word, when alive, to look after her daughter's marriage personally as a token of special affection to her. How this word must have now tormented Kunja, one can hardly imagine. In the heat of agony she made a vow not to celebrate the mariage at all, if Hardol did not keep his promise. Our faith in the omnipotence and immortality of the soul is so strong that we cannot but give credence to even the greatest of absurdities. Kunja had her victory. Hardol's spirit, it is said, appeared before her and served the wedding party incognite according to his promise. But it could not pass off as a secret. The bridegroom came to know of it and persisted upon having Hardol's Darshan. In ing sadness.

The pleadings of the Maharani are no less appeal. Bundelkhand it is supposed to be a holy precept with ing and striking. They have a simplicity, only the Hindus to accede to the requests of the bridgeroom characteristic of guilties souls. Thus she too wins over and Hardol did not forget it even after his death. Me blessed the bridegroom with his Darshan and made the occasion ever memorable. Since then he has come to be worshipped in Bundelkhand as a presiding deity of the wedding festival.



A view of the fort where Hardol used to see the Maharani

Notwithstanding the historical value of the song it has something most enjoyable. It has so impressed my memory that Orchha seems to me to be resonant with it. Each dome and turret of the mysterious buildings, each splash of the waters of Betwa, each breath of the moaning breeze tunes with the song in a vibrating symphony. Sadness seems to reign supreme. But it is not so painful. My very inner self, transcending above earthly limitations feels free from all worldly pangs. Be it the magic of the song or the place surrounded all around by the emblems of mortality, or of both combined, it has a very soothing affect upon my mind.

But as I left the place all the outlines of its picture grew faint in my memory. But the song still rings in my ears fresh with all its sweet and sooth-

THE MAN WHO MADE COAL MINING SAFE

By DAVID THURLOW

On looking back through the records of achievements but Britain's coal mines, like all coal mines throughout in the scientific field, one will find endless examples of inventors who, being presented with a problem, never rested content until they had found the answer to it. These were not men to whom some precious revelation, some flash of inspiration came to dispel the gloom through which they were groping in their normal source of study. They were men who applied themselves to a task and found the answer to it—an answer which, perhaps for generations, had eluded their fellows.

Such a man was Humphry Davy, the British author of a score or more of the most important scientific discoveries, who will always be remembered for his invention of the miners' safety lamp.

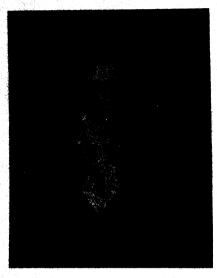
the world, face the almost constant risk of explosion.

On an August day in 1815, Humphry Davy, who was already famous for his inventions and discoveries, received a letter calling his attention to the distressing loss of human life due to explosions in British coal mines. The problem which confronted Davy was this; how was it possible to provide miners with a light which could be guaranteed not to explode the firedamp which is present in every mine?

DAVY SETS TO WORK

In spite of the fact that he was burdened with a great deal of other work, and that his health, which was Coal is Britain's most valuable natural resource, so soon to fail him, was even then not of the bess,

the answer to it, it would mean that countless thousands resisted the passage of flame, so he surrounded the flame of his fellow men would, in the course of succeeding generations, be saved from almost certain death.



Sir Humphry Davy, as he appears in a contemporary print

Within three months Davy was able to reply to that letter saying that he had discovered a lamp which would be safe to use in mines. He had discovered that if a piece of metal-gause were placed between a flame



Sir Humphry Davy examines the safety lamp which he devised and which still forms part of the lamp used in modern mines

explods in tubes or feeders of small diameter. At first, to a surgeon-spothecary at Pennance. It was when he glass tubes were used in the experimental lamps, but was 19 that he first began to specialise in the study of

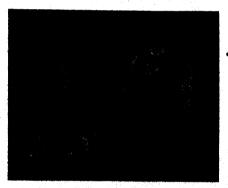
030

Davy set to work on this new task. If he could find Davy discovered that tubes of wire-gause cousily of his lamp wilth wire-gause. That, reduced to simple terms, is the principle of the Davy Lamp.

In its original from this tamp consisted of a small cylindrical oil burner covered with a tube of wiregauze about six inches long and 12 inches in diameter. Across the top of the tube was a flat piece of gause of double thickness as a precaution against the metal being worn into holes by the combustion. The gauze was mounted in a simple frame, the upper part of the frame carrying a handle for the miner to hold, the lower part being fixed to the oil container at the bottom of the lamp. The flame of the lamp, thus encircled in its tube of metal-gauze, could not escape at a temperature high enough to fire the explosive mixture in the mine.

ACCIDENTS REDUCED EIGHT TIMES

That lamp was devised by Humphry Davy nearly 130 years ago. It has seen many developments and refinements since then, and the number of accidents due to explosions in British coal mines has been reduced from an average of as many as 80 a year to only ten or a dozen a year.



Michael Faraday assisting Sir Humphry Davy with his work on electrolysis

British miners' lamps now not only provide the men with light, but act also as gas detectors. By watching the appearance and size of the flame in their safety lamps today, British miners can calculate to a very fine degree of accuracy the amount of firedamp present in the seam where they are working. With this knowledge it is infinitely easier to take the necessary extra precautions in the more dangerous sections of the mine.

Humphry Davy, strangely enough, was a poet as well as a scientist. The poet Coleridge said of Davy that if he "had not been the first chemist, he would have been the first poet of his age."

Humphry Davy was born on December 17, 1778, and an explosive gaseous mixture, the heat of the flame at Pensance, at the extreme end of the Cornish toe would be absorbtd and conducted away so that the of England. He went to school in Cornwall, but he did gaseous mixture, or firedamp, would not explode. At not show any indication then of his later spientifis. the same time he found that firedamp would not ability; this was not revealed until he was apprenticed

chemistry and mathematics. He was astonishingly keen, the room for sheer joy when he had made some fresh and nothing would keep him away from his experiments discovery. which he conducted with any materials and odd bits of apparatus he could find.

EARLY DISCOVERIES

been established to investigate the medicinal properties on a tour of Europe, taking with him as "assistant in of gases. He made several discoveries there which experiments and writing" that other famous scientist, brought him and the institution to the notice of promi- Michael Faraday, who had been helping Davy in the nent scientists in London. The result was that Davy laboratory at the Royal Institution. was engaged in 1801 as Assistant Lecturer in Chemistry

His fame and reputation spread quickly. He was still greater fame, soon appointed lecturer and professor. His chief interest at the Institution was the study of electro- for his signal service to industry. He was made chemistry. His paper on "some chemical agencies of Baronet. Within five years his health, impaired by his electricity" won for him from the French Institute the ceaseless devotion to his work and his long and tiring made each year on "galvanism."

tant, recalls how Humphry Davy used to dance about on a spring day in 1829.

PARADAY AS ASSISTANT

When he was 30 his health broke down, and he had for some time to take a rest from his concentrated research work. When he was only 84 he was knighted When he was only 20, Davy was appointed superin- for his services to science. In the same year he was tendent of a scientific institution at Bristol which had married, and then soon afterwards went with his wife

It was a few months after his return to London and Director of the Laboratory at the Royal Institution in 1815 that Sir Humphry Davy, as he then was, in London.

Yet another honour was conferred on him in 1818 medal offered by Napoleon for the best experiment periods of research, showed serous signs of failing. By 1826 he had to take a complete rest, and after spending Davy, for all his wisdom and success, was at heart the remaining three years of his life abroad in an a youth, and his cousin, who was his laboratory assis- effort to regain his flagging strength, he died at Geneva

CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAMNIK V. SHAH

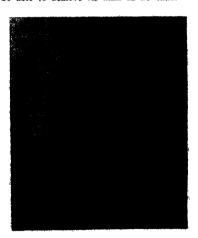
Balkan-ji-Bari is a Sindhi phrase which, according to solutions of all problems connected with children up to wellknown Association, the chief aim of which is to will be able to achieve its aims in no time.

Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, has been adopted in Hindustani, the age of sixteen years. The Association has been and it means "children's garden". It is the name of a progressing slowly and steadily, and it is hoped that it



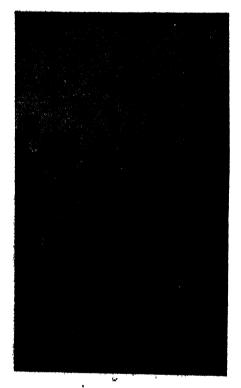
Mr. B. G. Kher, Chairman, Balkan-ji-Bari, The All-India Children's Association

*keep shildren as happy as possible and to let them develop by themselves. According to our President Shri Sind who prefers to be known as Dada (an elder



Miss Sheila Motwani, Child-Editor of "Pushpa-The Children's Own Paper a monthly organ of Balkan-ji-Bari

Balkan-ji-Bari was started in 1926 by a brother in B. G. Kher who recently spoke about it, Balkatrij-Bari brother). He felt that as we grow older in years should become a body which studd be referred to for we become more selfish and hence we begin to loss our stal hattoiness. who were already happy should be able to retain their in number, one at Karachi and another at Sukkur. happiness even as and when they grow old. Thus happinew which everyone is after, which everyone yearns for, would come to stay. With that idea in view he first started writing for children, then collected a few of them and arranged programmes for and by them, and later their profincial and all-India gatherings were held. Children who did not know even one another's language felt happy in one another's company. And Dada's expectations of children of all castes and creeds forming into one great brotherhood were going to be realised.

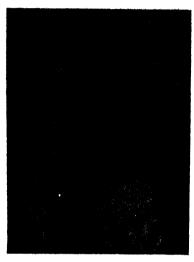


Children's Guard of Honour to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu during her visit to Balkan-ji-Bari

At present Balkan-ji-Bari has provincial organisations only in two provinces. Bombay and Sind. Its branches, however, are spread almost all over the country, including Bengal, Bihar, U. P., Delhi, South India, and the Punjab, totalling more than 120, and its membership is nearly 24,000. At Bombay there is a network of local branches at Vile Parle, Santa Crus, Than Bandan Mathema Challenge. Khar, Bandra, Matunga, Ghatkopar, Tardee, Chow-pathy and Marine Lines, Boys and girls meet in these

He thought that children one another. It has also its own children's schools, two

Balkan-ji-Bari has two Children's Own Libraries at Khar and Karachi, which comprise books for children in different languages. They, however, are small libraries.



Shrimati Parvati T. Gidwani, President, Sind Provincial Balkan-ji-Bari

and need to be expanded. It also has a Poor Children's Fund, out of which study scholarships are awarded to its poor deserving members. It contributed last year about Rs. 500 each to the Sind Flood Fund and



Balkan-fi-Bari children "out in the fields with God"

Bengal Famine Relief Fund respectively, and about Rs. 4,000 to the Kasturba National Memorial Fund. The centres once a week at least, and oftener at certain Association conducts its own four monthly journals: laces, and irrange different programmes every time. Pushes, in English and Gujarati, Homore Balet in beides, the Association has a Pen-Friendship Section. Hindustani and Guliston in Sindhi, as well as Children's dish brings children of different places in souther with Corners in Sembay Chronicle and Free India (English), papers.

Balkan-ji-Bari has been holding its periodical exthe last year the biggest children's excursion for Bombay and Suburban children was arranged at Uran in which nearly eight hundred boys and girls took part. Children's Volunteer Corps and thereby to increase the



Balkan-11-Bari children on a boat excursion Borivli and Ghatkopar. The last time that children were taken on a distant trip was in 1941, when a party of forty Bombay children went as far as Sind and toured round Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana, Mohen-jo-Daro, Sukkur and other places. At that time an All-Inda Balkan-ji-Bari Workers' Conference was also held. During the present abnormal times, owing to difficulties of travel and food, it has not been possible to hold all-India gatherings of children or workers.

What concrete results the Association intends to achieve with a view to fulfilling its aims and objects is narrated here. First of all, it wants to educate children in such a manner that they may grow up to be patriotic and selfeliant Indian citizens having power of endurance and selfsacrifice. To achieve this, undoubtedly the process would be a very long and sustained one, out our organisation will continue to put forth its efforts. However, whatever it is able to do will more or less be symbolic, inasmuch as education is the concern of parents and homes first and then of schools and wholetime institutions.

Balkan-ji-Bari, at present, is sible to do some WOrk only for about ten or twelve hours spread over one whole month, as it is active only on Sundays, and that will contain all kinds of books meant for and relating too for not more than two hours. Within such a short to children. Its All-India Children's Own Museum will time the work that the organisation would be able to contain whatever the boys and girls might collect for do, could just be symbolic and a directive type hobby or as their aesthetic sense directs, as well as things of look. Wherever the organisation has a centre and materials which interest and educate them. It will for a branch, it will do only such work as is establish study classes on Child Psychology and on necessary in the interests of the children, and legislations regarding children of the country and also

Yugantar (Gujarati), Swadeshmitran (Tamil) and other tion—a pointer both to the parents and schools. Over and above all this, this organisation will, in short, try to supplement the home and school cursions and tours, as well as Workers' Camps. During activities with a view to directing the children's emotions in a proper channel,

The organisation has a desire to start an All-India The Workers' Training Camps were held at Kandivlee, children's physical and mental efficiency. Then it wants



Teaching the Balkan-ii-Bari children to spin

to become for all-India children a single common platform bringing about unity-cultural as well as social irrespective of class, creed, religion, condition, and provincial difference. Besides, it intends to establish a Children's Mutual Aid Centre in each of its branches. Balkan-ji-Bari aims at becoming an organization whose branches will be ready, willing and able to solve any difficulty or problem for parents, society or the Government in relation to children.



Lahore (Punjab) Balkan-ji-Bari boys have their own music band

'The Children's Own Library of the Balkan-ji-Bari which will be a sort of pointer in that direct of other countries, and whenever necessary the orgato have a network of Children's Schools on idealistic our own case, have we done really what is expected of lines everywhere. To sum up, it will establish an All-India Children's University.

I would like to remind the readers at this stage, after having enumerated a number of things-both as a realist and as a visionary—that the Balkan-ji. Barr will work along the lines indicated above, only with a view to so educate children, that they may become patriotic and self-reliant Indian citizens with enough power of endurance and sacrifice for the toughest days that are still ahead of us. To-day the organization works on these lines but on a very small scale. Nonetheless, it is the Bari's ambition to show that all these things are realised and not merely visualised.

I need not stress here the necessity of a large number of sincere workers for the cause in every town and every village of India. One can well understand that if the vision set forth herein is to be realised, workhard and genuine work-as well as faith, courage and hope, is of the utmost importance. Children are the hope of the future and as such need to be so trained that they may be able to acquit themselves well when Balkan-ji-Bari step forward on the path of progress !

nization will agitate for their betterment. It will try the heavy burden of duties falls on their shoulders. Take



A group dance by Balkan-ji-Bari boys and girls

children the spirit of freedom and love for our country. so that they may be able to bring about a thorough change and an improvement in the economic, moral, material and cultural condition of India. Let thus

THE MALAYAN LESSON FOR INDIAN STATES

By A. N. ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A., B.L.

THE resignation of the Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor and far as this is practicable." In a similar vein wrote Simembers of the Standing Committee of Princes early in December, 1944, brings to the fore the question of joint administration of smaller Indian States which is supposed to be one of the major issues over which this dramatic step was taken.

It will be realised that the separate resources of smaller States are infinitely slender and an all-round administrative machinery is not always within their individual means. Even so, functioning on modern standards is considered to be the criterion of their political existence and they have therefore been the source of perplexing constitutional and administrative The essential features of present-day problems. administration include High Courts, efficient police force, popular education and transport facilities, and the question as to how the smaller states could afford an administration with such equipment had engaged the attention of the authorities concerned.

As a matter of fact, the semi-jurisdictional or nonjurisdictional estates or taluks of Western India and Guiarat have been merged by Parliamentary legislation in a large State. But the solution generally outlined with regard to comparatively larger units, is their c.operative grouping and the pooling of their resources. "In no case is the need for co-operation and combination", observed Lord Linlithgow, "more potent, more pronounced and more immediate than in the case of smaller states. Those states whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them. I would take this likely to be somewhat anomalous, since, though opportunity to impress on Rulers of such states with all virtually exercising jurisdiction within the states the the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking adviser is not ordinarily subject to the sovereign authothe earliest possible steps to combine with their rty of any of the states which each state is supposed neighbours in the matter of administrative services so to retain. In the circumstances, there is no denying

Stafford Cripps that "the first step for smaller state: should be to get into groups or into federal relation, among themselves and for this purpose the spirit of the scheme for co-operative grouping should be extended to wider units."

Though new in India, the process of co-operative grouping had before now been introduced in one other part of the British Empire, and as borne out by facts its ultimate usefulness is dependent not so much on theory as on its actual working. It will be appreciated that a system of joint administration necessitates a central administrative authority, and the extent of powers exercised by this authority is chiefly the determining factor for the success or otherwise of co-operative grouping consistently with the distinct sovereign entity of the individual state. The demarcation between federation and centralization is rather fine, and what is prima facie a federation may under certain circumstances, turn out to be really nothing different from de-facto unification or a merger.

The suggestions made by Lord Linlithgow and Sir Stafford Cripps had received the consideration of the regional political authorities, and it seems that the idea in this respect is to divide the administration of a group of states into various branches, each branch being assigned to the care of a joint officer designated as adviser. The Rulers are expected to accept the advice of the joint officer who in all matters felating to a group is also to have more or less direct access to the crown political authority concerned. The position of the advisers vis-a-vis an individual state is therefore

the fact that joint administration involves some adjustment in the status of both the Rulers and the people and it does not seem that the scheme in its broad sense has received general approbation of the princes and the chiefs. Sometimes, there is even hardly any scope for disapproval, for, as in the case of Eastern States, the "advise clause" in the Sanads makes it mandatory on them to agree to any such changes initiated by the authorities.

On the whole, however, the scheme for joint administration in some form or other has gone ahead and the spheres of administration that have been considered to be of prior importance are Police and Justice. Thus, joint police forces have been formed or are already functioning in certain groups of states. In Northern India the states council of a certain group has a scheme of affiliation of administration, in which even leading states have joined and which embodies reciprocal arrangement for mutual assistance in relation to Police, Finance, Justice, Revenue, Education and Medical relief. In Eastern India, some states may avail of a board of medical officers in the agency to inspect and advise the state at their request in matters medical and Public Health. Also, the states in this group which had not got adequate veterinary facilities can make use on a basis of voluntary co-operation, of opportunities provided by the neighbouring states having suitable arrangements In Central India, certain states have informally evolved a scheme which provides for the formation of regional groups for specified subjects, while other subjects of general applicability are reserved for the whole of Central India States groups Yet another group of some small states has a scheme of employment of expert advisers in such spheres as may be found suitable, and of a common District and Sessions Judge. The Control of Advisers is to vest in one Ruler at a time by rotation, who will act in consultation with other Rulers. The appointment of the advisers is also to be allotted to different Rulers of the group by mutual agreement.

As has been mentioned above, in Western India and Gujarat, the problem of some small states has been met by their merger in a large state for the reason that "there has arisen in this part of India geographical, administrative and economic fragmentation" on a scale unknown anywhere else in the country." It may be remembered in this connexion that the purpose either of co-operative grouping or merger is "not only remedying their administrative deficiency but also facilitating their inclusion in any federal arrangement applicable to India as a whole"

To ascertain how far this object is likely to be met by any mere process of co-operative grouping or merger, it is perhaps relevant to examine the evolution of the Federated Malay States. These States in Malaya were a confederation of some four states with a common administrative service and a principal administrator designated first as Resident-General and later as Chief Secretary. The States were thus made one for all administrative purposes. Their early history reads: "The Malay States were at first only places whose nominal Rulers had so failed to keep their house in order that the unruly subjects had become a danger to parabhauring British settlements and the Queens

1. Government of India communique, dated April 16, 1943.

2. *IIII*.

Government sent advisers to strengthen the hands of Malay States and assist them in establishing peace and good Government. Of course, Malay States were not British possessions and could not be so treated but as matters settled down and the States began to prosper, they required many servants and much material which could best be supplied from England."

The idea about Malaya entertained at the beginning will be more apparent from the following words of Lord Curzon: "If I were asked to sum up what were the lessons which Eastern States had given me I should say they were these: In the first place remember always that you are not in India or in any foreign dependency for the benefit of what is called your own nationals."

Despite these ideas, however, as the federation grew the Resident General came to exercise in the words of Sweltenham, "a very large control over the protected states and from that date (1896), the Colonial office in some important matters made its authority felt " Thus the system though suitable as regards cost and efficiency vested very large powers in a person other than either the legal ruler or the representatives of the people To be more explicit, writes Mills, "The evolution of the federated states has been very different and by the twenties federation had become amalgamation. . . . The four Sultans were dignified figure heads and indirect rule had become a little more The Chief Secretary, the principal than a facade. British Official, had become an uncrowned ruler who paid little more attention to his nominal head, the Governor and High Commissioner at Singapore, than the four legal rulers. The situation had neither been expected nor desired by the Government of Great Britain which had an unhappy feeling that the Sultans had been reduced to a position which had never been intended when the federation was established in 1896. The whole development had been so inevitable and gradual that the result was hardly appreciated until it was fast accompli. Reform was extraordinarily difficult owing to the need for uniformity which had created excessive centralisation; and for the past twenty years the problem of State rights versus federal control had been the chief political question of the federated Malay States. . Direct orders took the place of advice and the final and perfectly logical result was that control became centralised in the federal departmental heads and the Chief Secretary at Kuala Lumpur while the four Residents joined the Sultans as the onessentials of the Federated Malay States "

Sir John Anderson, at one time the Governor and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay Status likewise felt "that the Rulers had lost more than what they had anticipated when they agreed to the treaty of Federation." A Federal Council was established in 1909 by an agreement signed by the four Sultans but the vague and careless draftsmanship of this agreement surpassed that of the treaty of 1896: it created a Federal legislature and referred only incidentally to the grant of legislature powers. The problem of overentralisation at Kuala Lumpur was however discussed on various occasions from 1922 onwards and there was

^{3.} Sweltenham . British Malaya, 1907, p. 280.

^{4.} Quoted in Sweltenham's British Malaya, 1907, p. 304.

^{5. 1}bid., p. 338.

^{6.} Mille: British Rule in Eastern Asia, 1942, pp. 5-7.

^{7.} Ibid., p. 49.

had been overlooked in the rush for economic develop- a time, public attention was focussed on the internal ment. The Chief Secretary and even the unofficial conditions of Malays prior to the fall and it was sugmembers of the Council cared mainly for the tin and gested that the disaster was in part due to the apathy rubber industries and the principle that "whatever is and indifference of the local people. As remarked by best administered is best" blinded the eyes of the Lord Cranborne on December 3, 1942, in the House authorities to the substance of the form of the Fedu- of Lords, "There had been people here and abroad who rated Government originally in view. The result was had drawn the hasty conclusion that we had lost that neither the Rulers nor the Malays were happy and Malaya because the local inhabitants had not been fully a time came when the Malays gradually felt for associated with the Government of the country." On changes which admit them to Government employment April 3, 1942, Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., also said in the and authority. In an article in the Malay Times of House of Commons "that a number of people are November 12, 1931, a small politically-minded group seriously concerned at the fact that we have never won referring to the Council, pointed out that the members the loyalty of the native population." of the Council were usually relatives or favourites of the Sultans and urged Malays to show themselves established no roots in Malaya and about the colonial capable of using new powers through State Council, policy in general, a Times correspondent commented as The question had ultimately drawn the attention of the follows in the issue of the paper of August 1, 1942 Home Government and the result was a visit to Malay advisable in a country of the size of Malays to have difficulties both perceivable and formidable." one central Government administering the whole necessary due to the discontent and uneasiness of the criticism obviously on the score that this was a process Sultans. His views about the people were not much positive since he thought that "encouragement of indirect rule will probably prove the greatest safeguard against political submersion of the Malays which would Gujarat States, the Government of India remarked that result in the development of popular government on "the ultimate test of fitness of survival of any state is Western lines."

gonists to decentralisation or to justify its supporters. ment. The minority who looked upon it as the inevitable and own country by the impact of new prosperity is equally true. The non-indigenous people are not averse in selves capable of it."

a growing feeling that the Sultans and the Malays and the fall of Malaya with amazing quickness. For

One view was that the British administration had

"Whenever large issues were at stake, the unin 1932 of Sir Samuel Wilson, the then permanent certainty of road ahead made for official timidity. The Under-Secretary of State for colonies. Decentralisation Colonial Government was inclined to shy away from was considered, and Sir Samuel reported that "from a the important problems which raised political issue purely economic point of view, it would no doubt be even when postponement meant accumulation of later

Thus, the joint administration and the federation territory." Decentralisation in his view was however set up at Malaya has ultimately been open to which conceded no actual powers either to the people or the rulers.

While initiating the merger of Western India and in his (Crown Representative's) opinion the capacity The recommendations of Sir Samuel Wilson did not to secure the welfare of its subjects, and he regards the consequently fit in with the growing political outlook forthcoming qualified merger of these small states as of the Malayan public, for, the Times correspondent in a justifiable solution of any conflict in his obligations Malaya wrote thus in the issue of the paper of October towards the rulers and the ruled".10 The underlying 17, 1933: "When the report was first published it was principle of this view is apparently the evolution of a clear that it had done nothing to reassure the anta- contented Indian India suitable for Federal arrange-

It will be seen that the schemes in respect of the just recognition of the rights of the Malays found little co-operative grouping of the small states of India, support of their views in the report itself." About the introduced or suggested so far, chiefly relate to adminisattitude of the authorities the writer goes on to say, trative efficiency. The question of the people or their "What more do the Malays want, it is asked. The part in a changed system does not figure much in this prosperity is solely due to the activities of Europeans, connection, while, as regards the princes themselves Chinese and Indians who developed their country. If and their Government, some adjustment of individual the powers of the Rulers had been limited it is because authority in favour of the joint advisers is an important of the speed with which development had taken place feature of the proposals. In effect, necessarily, subs-The Malays had neither the experience nor administra- tantial authority is likely to vest in a machinery which tive machinery to cope with it; or those responsible is neither based on popular participation nor is under for opening up the country had themselves set up the the absolute control of hereditary Rulers. The Rulers necessary political machinery. The point of view of are divested of their hereditary rights though remaining Malay Rulers that indigenous Malays were in danger responsible to the ruled. The joint advisers, on the of being swamped numerically and politically in their other hand, are to enjoy all their powers without any responsibility to the rulers or the ruled.

That the schemes may not, therefore, take the theory to the ultimate assumption of political power shape of the Malayan Federation and hinder federal by the Malays but it is always referred to some vague arrangement or the desired solution of any "conflict in and distant date when the Malays have proved them- his (Crown Representative's) obligations towards the ruler and the ruled" is a matter which deserves In this background came the war in the Far East adequate consideration by the States concerned. One wishes they could profit betimes by the Malayan lesson.

^{8.} Report of Brig.-Gen. Sir Samuel Wilson on his visit to Malaya (Part Pap-Cmd 4296, Vol. X, 1932-33), p. 11.

^{9.} Mid., p. 12.

^{10.} Government of India Communique, dated April 16, 1968. 11. Ibid.

WHY THE 'GANDHIAN PLAN'?

By Dr. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJL MA., Ph.D.

it seeks to represent. Mahatma Gandhi himself certifies that the writer has not misrepresented him in any place. In his own inimitable words he explains thus the scope and aim of the work:

"It claims to be a comparative study of the Charkha economics based on non-violence and the of view alone." industrial economics which to be paying must be based on violence, i.e., exploitation of the nonindustrialised countries."

I may add that the modern mechanised and industrial economics is based on exploitation not merely of economically less organised, and "non-industrialised countries" like India, but also of non-industrial classes within the same country, and, in the case of India, such classes form by far the vast majority of her population, her dumb-millions, and inarticulate masses, as they are tragically, but rightly designated, In view of their colossal illiteracy, and depth of degradation and poverty, rendering them incapable of self-defence against scientific exploitation.

There are many plans of economic reconstruction in the air such as the non-official Bombay Plan and the official plans of the Government of India, which are being fashioned and hammered into shape by so many of its Post-War Reconstruction Committees. In my opinion, no plan is more suited to the conditions and realities of India's Economics as established through the ages than the Gandhian Plan. Most other Plans overshoot the mark and become unrelated to the grim realities and the crying needs of India's economic situation. An economic plan to be effective must root itself in these realities instead of ignoring them and seeking to build on other foundations. Besides, a people's economic system is a part and product of its whole Scheme and System of life, its fundamental view and philosophy of life. The Indian way and outlook in life must determine the economic. Economic life is not an end unto itself but only a means of subserving the fundamental and higher ends and values of life. As Gandhiji states in his Hind Swaraj, the characteristic of modern civilisation "lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life," inspired by a "mad desire to destroy distance and time." But this is not the Indian ideal of life which believes in limiting wants, luxuries and pleasures, and in economic self-sufficiency for every individual achieving it as far as possible through his own manual labour, leading up to the economic self-sufficiency of every individual rural unit, or village, functioning as a self-governing Resiblic, as every village was constituted in the incracies which made Ancient India has been given in a sustained may be restored by their exercise.

PRINCIPAL Shriman Narayan Agarwal of Seksaria Col- work which I wrote more than twenty-five years ago lege of Commerce, Wardha, has brought out a most under the title Local Government in Ancient India, and timely publication under the title The Gandhian Plan was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. It ives of Economic Development for India. The worth of the a picture of the system by which India was able to work and of its author is attested by the Foreword preserve her culture and her soul against the vicinsitudes contributed to it by no less a person than Mahatma of her political fortunes and changes in sovereignty. Gandhi himself, whose economic thought and scheme India must recapture this political and economic heritage for purposes of her coming reconstruction. As Lord Haldane put it in commenting on the work, "The life of a nation consists in growth and not in external causation, and that organic growth solves questions that are not capable of treatment from any mechanical point

The fundamental and unalterable fact of India's economic life is that more than 300 out of 400 millions of her total population are on land, pursuing agriculture, and its allied occupations, and that these agricultural millions have to remain out of work in enforced idleness for more than half the year in the off-seasons of Agriculture. This I discovered, to my utter dismay, as a Member of the Bengal Land Revenue (Floud) Commission investigating rural problems of every description in typical regions all over India. Thus the main problem of economic reconstruction is to feed these starving millions by giving them work when they remain without work, and this work has to be brought home to them. They cannot find it out of their homes and native villages. The nation in India still lives in the village and in the cottage from which they cannot be easily divorced. This hard economic fact is as old as India's hills and rivers, and is as unalterable and fixed as her geographical features. No amount of centralised industrial planning can reach these dumbmillions in the villages where lie the roots of Indias life. India's whole civilisation has been built up as a rural and not an urban civilisation. India has thought out her best and highest in her woods and wildernesses. away from the stir and strife of the city, in the silence and solitude of her hermitages and sylvan schools which count as their products the Vedas and the Upanishads, the record and repository of the highest thought ever evolved by mankind. Even now, as shown in the last Census. India still means, as she has been through the ages, a country of about 7 lacs of villages as against only about 40 towns of the Western standard, with a population of a lac and above. The only difference is that whereas in Ancient India, in the days of her national government and planning, every village was a centre of life and light under its suitable government as a self-governing republic, the present-day villages of India are dead institutions without a spark of corporate life left in them, and are centres of decay and degradation with the indigenous scheme of life and government being swept away by the onrush of a Western system of centralisation and over-government to which they were not used and were not able to accommodate themselves. The only way to reconstruct digenous scheme of Indian Polity. A graphic picture and revive these dead or dying villages is to make them of this indigenous political scheme and of the working self-governing once more so that the social tissues by of her untold number of rural republics and demo- which their corporate and communal life can be

that large and heavy industries located at centres and cities here and there can absorb and employ only a fragment of the vast agricultural population of India. It has been estimated that "90 per cent of India's total population are employed in agriculture and allied occupations, 10 per cent in industry of whom only about 2 million (or less than 1 per cent) are working in large-scale industries." On the most optimistic estimate these industries at their best cannot absorb more than 5 per cent of India's rural millions in less than 25 years But these starving millions are already on our hand. We must feed them at once and cannot leave them to feed on the hopes of the future.

The only possible programme of economic reconstruction in India is to promote the good of its greatest number by a scientific planning of those handicrafts which they can ply to profit in their homes and villages. Such a planning must start with the plying of the Charkha. It has been rightly called 'Charkha Economics' as distinguished from the other types of centralised and mechanised industrial economics of the capitalist, socialist, or communist variety, or American, British, or Soviet systems. Charkha Economics is the indigenous Indian system of Economics, the economics of the small industry, of the cottage and home handicrafts

In the Gandhian Plan, there is a comparative study of the Charkha-Economics and the other systems of mechanised and scientific Economics. It rightly points out that Economic planning should mean the least amount of control and coercion by the State. That Government is the best "which governs the least". The maladjustments of the prevailing economic systems are well brought out by Professor G. D. H. Cole:

"And what are we to say of the World in which a farmer, when he sows his crop, has to pray for a bad culties?"

The Fascist Plan involving the totalitarian control of the individual by the State is totally foreign to India's tradition. It has established "the most dangerous idolatry of all ages, the desfication of the state."

The British Planning has been a planning of drift, of piece-meal and un-coordinated planning. It has recently produced the Boveridge Plan seeking to guarantee to every citizen the Minimum of the necessaries of life by means of Employment Insurance, Disability Benefits, Old-age Pensions, Children's Allowances and Medical Services by taxing the rich and the have's for the benefit of the poor and the have-nots, thus dividing the country, as Dean Inge puts it, into 'two nations of the tax-payers and the taxeaters'. After all, earning a living by honest and honorable means is preferable to these artificial devices for securing it by doles and unemployment insurances.

Much has been made of the Soviet Plan on account of its ideals, but in practice it is falling far short of its ideals. Soviet society was planned as a classices society, where the State alone will count and own the factors of production. But the difficulty is as to the ownership of the State itself which under totalitarian control has passed automatically to a Dictator and a new managerial class. The complete regimentation of the people in regard to their political and economic affairs has crushed out individual initiative and freedom. The list of fundamental rights granted to its citizens by the

The planning experts cannot but themselves admit Stalin Constitution does not include the most fundamental and elementary of such rights, the right of freedom of moving from place to place, freedom of circulation, or free choice of one's place of residence. The Constitution assigns everyone to a given domicile, and a place of work to which he remains tied, the factory or the warehouse, which he cannot leave except by permission of its managers. A citizen cannot be absent from home even for 24 hours, without first securing a pass-port and a special visa. The Soviet System is even producing inequalities of income which it was out to abolish. These inequalities are daily growing, showing a difference of as much as 80:1. A more human. natural, and scientific system will be that based on decentralisation and self-government, if we are agreed as to the ultimate values of life and not making mere well-being of the body, by feeding, clothing, and housing it, as best as possible, the chief aim of life and civilisation. Civilisation should not be reduced to mere Matter and Motion. There is no point in conquering Space and Time if it is only for the benefit of the body, and not for Mind and Soul which are left to be starved. There is no point in going in for labour-saving machinery if it only degrades labour. As Bernard Shaw puts it:

> "Those who try to make life one long holiday find that they need a holiday from that too definition of hell is perpetual holiday."

That is why the Bible says that "man must earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."

In this new Economics, production will be immediate consumption and not for distant profitable markets. As Gandhiii puts it, it will be still production by masses instead of mass-production. Under his system, it is the labour that is the current coin, not the metal. It does not taboo machinery as such. "The harvest in order to rescue him from financial diffi- spinning wheel itself is a piece of valuable machinery. Only, as he says, dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machinery represented by the villagers scattered in the 7.00,000 villages of India. As he further states, "The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilise their idle days which are equal to working days of six months in the year." Labour-saving machinery is out of place in this situation. Man is more important than machinery. He must be fed by work. Already the number of workers employed in the domestic industries is about five times that employed in large-scale production, while the percentage of workers in the large-scale industry is also on the decrease. In 1941 it was only about per cent of India's total population.

In the Gandhian Plan instead of mass-production on a large-scale, it is production by masses on a small scale in the people's own homes. The system will, however, "welcome the machine that will lighten the burden of crores of men living in cottages."

As my brother, Professor Radha Kamal Mookerji, puts the case :

"The object of planned economy for India is keither economic autarchy and national aggression as sought in the Fascist countries nor economic imperia sm based on the power and prosperity of a small catilities, istic and directive class, as in the democratic countries, nor again, a bare materialistic and regimented culture as in Soviet Russia. The ideology behind economic planning in India is the broadening of the economic base of a peaceful agricultural civilisation for the purpose of national defence, on the one hand, and the full and free expansion of her ancient, moral and social virtues in the changed economic world, on the other."

I may conclude this note by referring to the observations made by that great administrator and historian, Colebrooke, towards the end of the 18th century with reference to the economic conditions then prevailing in Bengal and are even now prevailing all over agricultural India:

"To a Government as enlightened as British India, it cannot be a trifle consideration to provide employment for the poorest classes. No public provision now exists in these provinces to relieve the wants of the poor and helpless. The only employment in which widows and female orphans, incapacitated for field-labour by sickness or by their rank, can earn a sub-

sistence is by Spinning, and it is the only employment to which the females of a family can apply themselves to maintain the men, if these be disqualified for labour by infirmity or by other cause. To all it is a resource which, even though it may not be absolutely necessary for their subsistence, contributes, at least, to relieve the distresses of the poor.

In this view, it appears essential to encourage an occupation which is the sole resource of the helpless poor."

Colebrooke thus stands out as the champion of Charkha Economics as the most suitable Indian economics, on the success of which he bears the following testimony:

"India has in all times been the country most celebrated for Cotton Manufactures, and even now the finest Muslins of Bengal remain still unrivalled by the fabrics of Great Britain."

CHEMICAL FERTILISERS VERSUS COMPOST

By "CHITTAGONIAN"

Before India is irrevocably committed to the expenditure of large sums of money on the erection of plants for the manufacture of chemical fertilisers it may be of interest to examine the history and potentialities of chemical fertilisers and to compare the result with the possibilities of compost manuring.

The obvious object of applying fertilisers to the soil is to increase production from the soil. Up to about a hundred years ago chemical fertilisers were practically unknown. Farming all over the world was carried on in small units, the soil being worked by hand, by the farmer and his family, with a varying amount of hired labour at sowing time and harvest time. The cultivators had an instinctive knowledge of the soil, its characteristics, its moods, and its possibilities. They knew, above all things, of the necessity to conserve the different components in the soil and achieved this by maintaining a correct balance at all times between woodland, arable land, pasture, water supply, fallow land. They developed the right rotation of crops, never growing a crop of the same species on the same land two years in succession and they returned to the soil everything they took off it, in the form of farmyard manure or compost. They knew the soil was a living organism requiring culture and care like every other living organism.

The rapid advance of Physical Science in the nineteenth century created a school of thought which made the cultivators' conception of the soil appear to be "old-fashioned." Physical Science reduced the soil to its component parts, mineral ingredients, water, organic matter from living plants, organic and inorganic substances originated from the decay of roots, leaves or even entire plants. The purely mineral components. in themselves are unfertile. Fertility is determined by the quality and amount of humus present. Humus is organic and has so far defied Physical Science to evolve an exact, chemical formula for it. All that is known is that in humus we have a mixture of the products of disintegration, more or less rich in carbon, nitrogen and oxygena Soil bacteria and earthworms are the chief factors in the formation of humus. Bacteria also assist in setting free phosphoric acid already in the soil. Usually only very small amounts of phosphoric soid are

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present in an available free state in any soil, so bacteria perform invaluable services by helping to release it. Bacteria also assist in the process of nitrogen-fixation, equally invaluable to the cultivator. When Physical Science had established these facts the theory was postulated, and accepted with enthusiasm by many, that if you found out by analysis what amount of nitrogen. phosphorus or other component a particular crop had extracted from the soil and replaced that component by its equivalent in the form of chemical fertiliser you re-adjusted the balance in the soil and could, with impunity, grow a similar crop on the same soil the following year. From this it was a short step to applying chemical fertilisers not only to replace components extracted by crops but to change the very composition of the soil so that, for instance, wheat could be grown on the same soil year after year, or sugarcane, or tea. When applied first, it was found that chemical fertilisers increased yields. Coming at the time when the industrial revolution was increasing the cry for cheap food chemical fertilisers were widely welcome. America with its vast provinces just being developed, particularly welcomed them and farming there rapidly became scientific. Wheat was in demand overseas. The small, hand-cultivated farm of the old world rapidly gave way to big, intensively cultivated areas operated solely with an eye to yielding the maximum number of dollars from the minimum expenditure. Woods were cut down, single trees torn out by the roots, pasture ploughed up, nothing allowed to remain fallow. The Biblical injunction to Moses, "For six years you may sow your land and gather in your crops, but every seventh year you must let the land alone, to lie fallow", if ever read, was considered out of date. "It might have been all right," Kansas thought, "for the Israelites in the desertbut it doesn't apply to us." Statistics as to the quantities of chemical fertiliser poured in to the soil in U.S.A. within recent years are not available, but there is no reason to suppose they would not be comparable with statistics for the European continent. There, it has been established, the consumption of chemical fertilisers increased by something like three hundred per cent between 1914 and 1987. The yield of barley from an acre in the same period went down from just over 2,100

chemical fertilisers science forgot that the soil is alive and is not composed of lifeless mineral ingredients only. The theory is all right so far as laboratory research goes but it fails in the same way as a theory to tho effect that if you took the known mineral ingredients of the human body and fed a person on those ingredients in the form of synthetic chemicals only the person would continue to live. Few people would accept that theory as applicable to the human body. Yet they accept a similar one as true when applied to the soil, without question. They forget that the soil is a living organism, just as the human body is. The human body stands a lot of bad treatment in the form of wrongly balanced or insufficiently nourishing food. So does the soil. Some of the world's greatest men have been invalids. Many bumper crops have been taken off soils artificially stimulated by the application of chemical fertilisers. But sooner or later, the invalid dies. So does the sick soil. The brilliant invalid leaves his mark on the civilisation of his time. The soil, unfortunately, is gone for ever. Taking the once fertile prairie lands of the middle west of America as an example, the following is what happened.

Accumulating living soil at the rate of something like one inch in five hundred years Nature built up the prairie. The Red Indian inhabitants respected Nature and pursued "old-fashioned" agriculture. As the United States developed commercial farming spread westward, ousting the Red Indian and his methods. First the prairie was extensively over-grazed by cattle, curse our blindness. then, in more recent years, large crops of wheat have been taken off it in addition. Such crops were only made possible by increasing quantities of chemical fertilizers. But as the quantities of chemical fertilizers increased, so the humus content of the soil decreased. produce an exact chemical formula for it. The so,1 bacteria and the carthworms, the main manufacturers of humus, left the prairie soil in exact relationship to the quantities of chemical fertiliser poured in. Deprived of its humus manufacturers, who are also its aerating agencies, the soil developed a hard crust. This, because of its inability to absorb moisture as well as before, In thirty years the nitrogen and the humus-content of chemical fertiliser. the soil in Missouri have fallen about thirty-five per

pounds to under 2,000 pounds. So the era of diminish- but the very important point for India to appreciate ing returns seems to have been reached. What has been is that chemical fertilisers are symbolic of the unnatural established in the U.S.A. is that lands very fertile even methods of agriculture which have created these conditwenty years ago are now desert. In postulating the tions in America. Without the extensive and evertheory of returning minerals to the soil by means of increasing use of chemical fertilisers the wheat-growers of the prairie could not have abandoned rotation farming to the extent they did. The worms would not have gone away, humus would have been produced, the wind would have fulfilled its traditional function of adding small quantities of beneficial dust to the soil.

Yes, even the wind's functions are effected adversely by the excessive use of chemical fertilisers. Winds, blowing over mountain areas with a sufficient humus content, whip up invisible particles of dust and deposit them on the plains below. These dust deposits help to restore the exhausted bases in the cultivated areas and add soluble salts such as calcium, iron, potassium, etc. The soil of Alpine meadows is largely formed by dust particles from the neighbouring mountains The Swiss peasant does not use chemical fertilisers. He knowtheir use would crust his soil then the wind, which now brings him invaluable dust deposits from the mountains, would become an enemy and whip away all his soil, in "dust storms" in a few years. At no place in the world, it is reckoned, is humus-containing soil deeper than twenty-four inches. So we see how short a life agriculture has when one inch is lost in a year as it has been recently in America. As a direct result of the loss of prairie lands the United States this year is being compelled to import wheat. With that example before us are we in India to blindly follow them in the adcr. tion of chemical fertilisers? If we do we shall create conditions which will inevitably lead to crop failures in a few years such as will make the famine of 1943 appear small in comparison. Millions yet unborn will

Protagonists of "scientific" agriculture allege that chemical fertilisers are harmful only when used in excessive quantities and say they should always, and only, be given in the correct proportions in accordance with soil analysis. Like medicine to an invalid. How Humus, it will be remembered, has defied science to completely impractical this is, is shown when we consider how many variations can be found in analyses of the soil of one single field, let alone a farm or district. A practical farmer walking along the furrows of a newly ploughed field can see with his knowledgeable eye at least a hundred variations in soil composition in a hundred furrows. Laboratory analysis confirms this. "Weathering" action, through sun, rain and wind, started soil erosion and disintegration. High winds assisted by soil bacteria and earthworms help to procame along, the now much dreaded "dust storms" were duce conditions suitable for sowing by the time see .created, as much as an inch of topsoil was lost in a time comes round. Soil analyses taken then would single year (that Nature with so much patience had give different results from analyses taken at ploughing taken five hundred years to prepare), the prairie is now time. Analyses taken after a shower of rain give in a fair way to becoming desert. This is in no way different results to analyses taken in dry weather. Truly, an over-painted picture. Many tens of thousands of the practical farmer may wonder on which analysis is homesteads have been abandoned within recent years, he to base his calculations for the application of

Another very strong objection to chemical fertilcent as compared with the original prairie. How much isers lies in the fact that many contain soluble alts nitrogenous chemical fertilizer has been poured in in such as potamium or ammonium sulphate or, highly that period is not known, but it must have been a very corresive substances which quite definitely injure and large quantity indeed. The region being devoured by destroy the micro-organic activity in the soil, togeth dust storms is moving steadily eastward and it is an extent that soils intensively treated with chemical estimated at least a third of the cultivated area of the fertilisers for a number of years lose entirely their United States of America is on the way to becoming former biological activity. The number of years uncless. Chemical fertilisers alone are not responsible before this stage is reached depends upon the to apply sulphate of ammonia extensively, the humus content already is low, so complete cessation of biological activity would not be long delayed. Are we prepared for that with all it implies?

It is not only the soil that re-acts unfavourably to excessive use of chemical fertilisers. The cow does too. "Scientific farming" is not content with allowing the cow to produce the quantity of milk, Nature intended she should. So she, in commercialised dairy farms in Europe and America nowadays, is fed excessively on certain proteins and saits, in order that her milk output shall be increased. Here too, a factor not amenable to test-tube analysis has been encountered, the fact that milk production is a part of the animal's sexual activity. By over-straining the production of milk inevitably the organs of re-production are weakened. The result has been such an increase in diseases attendant upon the birth and rearing of calves that scientists are now being asked to intensify their investigations in the possibilities of test-tube calves. Could Nature be outraged more? The quality of milk output increased in this manner, similar to the quality of outputs from soil stimulated by chemical fertilisers, is often of very doubtful quality. Hence the increasing insistence by Public Health Officials on the need or pasteurisation.

Compost manuring, with all it implies, is the very antithesis of chemical fertilisers treatment, Compost, being itself alive, assists in the rejuvenation of the soil whereas chemicals artificially stimulate it. Again comparing a sick soil to a sick person, who does not know that a cure eventually depends on a rejuvenation of the patient's system? Chemicals prescribed by the Doctor help but the medical profession itself is the first to admit that overdoses are definitely harmful. Yet India's sick soil is being prescribed doses of chemicals in quantities such as no sane doctor would ever prescribe for his patients! Compare the action of compost. To understand its action correctly it is necessary to remember, we do not feed plants when we apply manure of any description. We feed the soil. (Plants actually obtain most of their sustenance from the air, which is another factor overlooked often by advocates of chemical fertilisers). Nature maintains the vitality of the soil by humus-developing activities, bacteria, earthworms, roots that break up the soil, and weathering. Well-prepared compost supplies additional quantities of humus-developers, bacteria and earthworms in an active, living, organic form. These merge in the soil naturally and help Nature in the maintenance of the soil's vitality. The underlying idea is to return to the soil everything which comes out of it. The aim is to develop in compost heaps a controlled fermentation which allows only a minimum loss of nutritive elements and provides the maximum quantity of humus. Often haphazard attempts result in disappointment. Complete success can only follow experience in the preparation of compost heaps, including a knowledge of what is being attempted. But our cultivators know what is required and there need be no fear of them failing India if encouragement of a proper nature is given to

humus content when the first application of chemical than twelve feet. When material is plentiful it is fertiliser is given. In parts of India where it is proposed better to have numerous comparatively small heaps than one big one. First a layer of cowdung is placed on the bottom of the pit, as fresh as possible. Then all sorts of plant refuse, straw, chaff, kitchen garbage, egg shells, fish remains, village sweepings, tank cleanings, leaves. hedge trimmings, wood and charcoal ashes, slaughterhouse refuse, horn and hoof remnants, in fact anything that will disintegrate into humus, are systematically placed on top. It is essential to keep the heaps covered while in preparation. Banana leaves, spread daily immediately after the kitchen garbage, are ideal for the purpose. Farm-vard manure should also be deposited daily. When the heap is about twelve inches high layer of earth should be deposited, not more than two to three inches thick. Remembering that the fermentation which will now be going on inside is a living process, the deposit of earth should be such as to form a skin, just thick enough to hold the heap together, yet thin enough to allow it to breathe. Care should be taken to see that the soil covering is not taken from land which has been treated with chemical fertilises which are hostile to bacteria. The process of layering, with a covering of earth at every foot in height, should be continued until the heap is five feet high. The heap should slope gradually inward as it grows in height and should not exceed six feet in width at the top. This form of structure is convenient to work and also helps in aeration. Along the top a shallow trench should be cut, not so deep as to expose the highest layer of compost material. In this water should be poured daily from a tub into which cowdung and urine has been deposited. It is necessary to keep the heaps moist. An effective way of assisting in this is to insert a few bamboos through the trench at the top. After about a month the heap should be turned, the outside of the original heap being put inside, the bottom at the top. Over-dry sections should be mixed up with over-damp. Experience teaches perfection. Soon a composter becomes proficient. After another month another turning is necessary. In most parts of India fermentation is complete in about three months though this varies somewhat with the seasons.

The final result is a fine sweet-smelling powdery earth. It can be applied to the soil at all times in quantities great or small. The cultivator knows when he applies compost he is assisting the soil's rejuvenation and is adding to the humus content, that invaluable factor in crop production. The process of fermentation in the heaps attract large numbers of soil-bacteria and earthworms, a certain indication that the work is proceeding on the right lines. Nature's way.

As farms exist to-day in most parts of India, denuded of trees and not using correct rotation of crops, it is probable there would not be available sufficient material for compost-making to successfully rejuvenate the soil quickly and we cannot expect the cultivator to put his farmyard manure in a compost heap so long as we impose conditions on him which compel him to use cowdung for fuel, or die. This aspect is not insoluble. Given the will on the part of the leaders of public opinion to solve it, it could soon them to take up compost-manuring on an extensive be solved. Compost from the villages can be supplescaled by compost made in the smaller municipalities To prepare compost it is first necessary to dig a and by fertilizers of a very similar nature made by shallow pit, not more than ten inches deep. The passing corporation refuse through sludge plants in pit should not be longer than twenty-five feet nor wider bigger towns and cities. The process is exceedingly soil would be incalculable.

method and Nature's law being gradual, it takes some years before an appreciable change is noticeable.

quantity of crops are quite definitely increased, and, what is equally important, the humus content of the soil has also increased. Animals as well as human beings fed on crops from compost-treated land improve in health. The crops are so nutritive that smaller quantities suffice, another important aspect, and one which should appeal to India in her present position. It is on record that cows in Bayaria reared on crops grown on compost-treated soil refused to eat when transferred to a farm where chemical fertilisers were used.

present-day cultivator's half-starved cow in India are in a position to do that?

That the benefits to be obtained from widespread compost farming are real and not merely matters of theory is well illustrated in Pennsylvania, U.S.A. There

simple and the sale of the resultant fertiliser at a peasant farmers of Dutch descent adhere to it. the nominal price per bag would bring in large sums of traditional method of their forefathers. The result is revenue from departments at present causing consider- they are still a healthy, happy, prosperous community, able strain on municipal budgets. The benefit to the little affected by booms and slumps in the commercial world. They are very nearly self-contained, most of The results from using compost are not so specta- their wants apart from food (which they grow themcular as from chemical fertilisers. Being a natural selves) coming from nearby villages. In the depression in the early thirties none of the people in this community required State relief whereas people on In five years or so both the quality and the neighbouring sugar farms (where rotation farming is ignored and chemical fertilisers used extensively) required very large sums in State relief. The financial aspect is serious enough but the mental, moral and spiritual one is worse.

The choice before India is clear. To elect to follow the example of the unbalanced farming of the prairie lands assisted by chemical fertilisers and thereby bring certain tragedy and desolation or to return to Nature's way of developing Nature's bounty by encouraging widespread compost farming (including compost made How long will it be before descendants of the from municipal refuse), thereby starting India on the road to that rejuvenation of her people, through rejuvenation of the soil, which is the first essential in preparing the country to take its proper place in the world of the future.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ TO HINDU RENAISSANCE

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

monumental work entitled Renaissance of Hinduism devotes one chapter to the study of Rammohun Roy and Brahmo Samaj and considers in his book, first of all, their contributions to the modern Hindu Renaissance which is still in progress. Raja Rammohun, the illustrious Father of Modern India, was born on 22nd May, 1772, in the village of Radhanagar in the Burdwan district of Bengal and passed away on 27th September, 1833, at Bristol, England. Rammohun was the first reformer of Hindu society and religion, and the pioneer of the present Hindu Renaissance. Rammohun, observes Prof. Sharma, is the morning star of the New Day which dawns with Ramakrishna Paramahansa and reaches its noon in Mahatma Gandhi.

The reaction of Hinduism to the impact of Western civilization first made its expression in and through Rammohun, and took the form of Brahmo Samaj founded by him in 1828. Brahmo Samaj that has in the course of full one century ramified into four branches, namely, Adi Brahmo Samaj, Sadharan Bratmo Samaj, Bharatvarshiya Brahmo Samaj, and Sammelan Brahmo Samaj-has creditably worked out its mission of liberalising Hindu society and religion. Brahmo Samaj, principally a reform movement, has greatly succeeded in removing from Hinduism superstitions and orthodoxies that accreted in the medieval age. The Hindu society is so liberal to-day that it is indistinguishable from Brahmo Samaj. A Hindu is as liberal today as a Brahmo. That the modern Hindus have a broad outlook on religious and social matters is due to the liberalising influence and activities of the Brahmo Samaj for about a century and a quarter. Brahmo Samaj is no longer separate from Hindu society. It is an important part, an advanced section, of Hindu

Paor. D. S. Sharma of Madras in his recently published society. Rabindranath the poet, Jagadish Chandra the scientist, Prafulla Chandra the chemist. Deshbandhu the patriot, Brojendranath the scholar, and a galaxy of great men, all of whom belonged to the Brahmo Samaj are the pride of the Hindu nation, Ramananda, the founder and late editor of The Modern Review, is known all over the world as a Hindu journalist. "Though Brahmo Samaj," remarks Prof. Sharma, "is a pent force now, it has rendered useful service to Hinduism in three ways: It popularised social reform, it prevented conversions to Christianity by creating a halfway house, and it roused the orthodox Hindus to organise themselves and work for a revival of their religion." Historically speaking, as the Arya Samaj of Swami Dayananda saved Hinduism in West India from Muslimisation so Brahmo Samaj saved Hinduism in East India from Christianisation. Hinduism, being originally based on the Vedas, is rightly called Vedio religion. When Buddhism exerted its influence on Hinduism and was about to make it soulless and godless, Sankaracharya appeared and revived the Vedic Dharma and saved Hinduism from Buddhistic pressure. In the modern age, the Vedic foundation of Hinduism was strengthened and upheld by the Brahmo Samai and Arya Samaj-the former revived the Vedic Jnana Kanda or the Upanishads, and the latter the Vedic Karma Kanda or the Samhitas.

> There are ignorant Hindus (now even among the educated section) who are unaware that Rammohun was born a Hindu, was brought up a Hindu and died a Hindu. It is said that one of the last words the Raja was heard to mutter in his death-bed at Briston, was the sacred syllable 'Aum', so dear to the heart of a Hindu. He was as much proficient in Hindu scripture as in Christian and Islamic scriptures. Rammohum

was the first prophet of renaissant Hinduism and was Hindus was not calculated to promote and protect India's all that was good and great in his ancestral religion." He himself says in his autobiographical sketch that the ground which he took in all his controversies society. was not that of opposition to Brahmanism (Hinduism) same forward to fight the battle of Hinduism against the insolence of the Christian missionaries of Serampore who attacked Hinduism at the time in their Bengali organ called Samachar Darpan. But for the defence of Brahmo Samaj and its reforming zeal, a large portion of the Hindu society would have been converted to Christianity as evidenced by the fact that Madhusudan Dutta, K. M. Banerjee and other leading Hindus of the day embraced Christianity and was lost to Hindu Samaj. The Hindu philosophy of Vedanta was first revived by Rammohun, who during 1815-19 published nis An Abridgement of Vedant and his translations of isha, Kena Katha and Manduka Upanishads and two papers on Defence of Hindu Theism. He was a proound Sanskrit scholar and is reported to have stablished a Vedanta College at his own expense. He started with his own money, for the free education of he Hindu boys, an Anglo-Hindu School, where Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the second leader of he Brahmo Samaj, got his early education. It is a housand pities that the great reformer was misinderstood by his people in his life-time as he is today his friend, David Hare, made suggestions to Sir Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for the founding of the Hindu College which later became Presidency College of Calcutta. The idea was originated and sponsored by him but unfortunately for us he had to resign his membership from the Managing Committee of the College as the Hindu members resented his presence there. The orthodox Hindu leaders said that they would rather be reformed by anybody else than him!

By the adamantine efforts of Rammohun, the crude and brutal custom of 'Sati' was abolished and declared illegal in 1829 by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India. He agitated against polygamy, an extensively prevalent evil of Hindu society in his days and showed that it was contrary to Hindu Law except under certain specified circumstances like barrenness or incurable sickness of the wife. He studied the Smritis with their commentaries and quoted from twelve Hindu law-givers to prove his contention. Rammohun was the first Hindu who went to the West with a Mission. In England he was highly honoured and royally entertained. It is wrong to think that the Rajah had any intention of going against the best traditions of his country or breaking away from the religion of his ancestors. The mission of his life was to brush away some of the nasty impurities that had gathered round the Hindu traditions in decadent days, as well as to restore Hinduism to its original purity and develop its social and political aspects according to the needs of the times. In order to make his appeal authentic and supported by Hindu scriptures, he took his stand on the Upanishads and Brahma Sutras, the foundational scriptures of Hinduism. He regretted that the current system of religion adhered to by the ship and causing spiritual sterility. It had also created

in the words of Prof. Sharma "a sealous Hindu, their political and social interests. He therefore thought past . . . proud of the it proper that necessary changes should take place in achievements of his race and was eager to conserve Hinduism for the sake of our political advantage and social uplift. He never contemplated radical reform of our religion or radical reconstruction of our

The Brahmo Samaj as conceived by Rammohun but to a perversion of it. He made himself bold and preserved its Hindu character throughout. The original meditation of the Samaj he founded consisted in the repetition of the Gayatri Mantra, and chanting of the Upanishadic Texts, followed by a stotra taken from the Mahanirvan Tantra. He was not an advocate of idolatry, but never was against it. Like a true and enlightened Hindu, he laid down in the trust deed of the Brahmo Samaj that "no object animate or inanimate that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become or be recognised as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightingly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to." He correctly defines the Hindu attitude of image-worship when be says, "It will also appear evident that the Vedas although they tolerate idolatry as the last provision for those who are totally incapable of raising their minds to the contemplation of the Invisible God of Nature, yet they repeatedly urge the relinquishment of the rites of idol worship and the adoption of a purer system of religion on the express grounds that the observance of idolatrous rites can never be productive of eternal beatitude."

The Brahmo Samaj during its second period which by some biased and perverted minds. In 1816 he with begins with the entry of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore as the leader, practically retained its Hindu character. It was not he but a section of his misguided followers who in their iconoclastic followers widened the gulf between Hinduism and Brahmoism. The Brahmopasana he conducted in the Samaj was almost the same as that of Rammohun. It consisted in reading selected texts from the Upanishads and collective chanting of a stotra of the Mahanirvan Tantra, of course, in an altered form. He sent four students to Benares for the study of the Vedas, so that they might serve the Samaj with their Vedic knowledge. The Maharshi and most of his adherents retained their sacred thread in spite of the opposition of Keshab Chandra Sen, the third Brahmo leader and his party. For the use of the Samajists, Debendranath compiled a series of extracts known as "Brahmo Dharma" from the Upanishads, the Smritis, the Mahabharata and other Hindu scriptures. "In spite of all his rationalism", rightly opines Mr. Sharma, "Debendranath was a conservative Hindu, whose spiritual life was nourished by the Upanishads and who was for introducing reforms in the Hindu society slowly but cautiously." Seceding of the Brahmo Samaj from the parent community and its rejection of the Vedas alienated the Hindus from this movement and this separatistic spirit dealt a death-blow to it. Pandit Sitanath Tattabhusan, a leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and the learned author of The Philosophy of Brahmoism rightly observes as follows in his Auto-biography, published in 1943: "The discarding of Vedantism by the Brahmo Samaj under the Maharshi was a great mistake—one which had done and is doing a good deal of harm to the Brahmo Samaj. It had led to a neglect, on the part of the Brahmos, of our ancient scriptures and was thus discouraging scholarsociety, leading many Brahmos to call themselves non- Tagore, characterised by Prof. Sharma as the Leonardo Hindus and cease from taking a just pride in the da Vinci of our renaissance, has played a very important glorious and spiritual achievements of the Hindu race."

As Maharshi orthodoxly maintained some Hindu customs and usages in the Samaj such as 'Upanayan' rite, Keshab Chandra left him and started a new branch of the Brahmo Samaj. Keshab and his followers became more Christian than Hindu in their belief and outlook. preaching his message of religious synthesis.

Keshab came of a staunch Vaisnava family, hence he could not get rid of the Vaisnavite bent of his religious tendencies. He, therefore, introduced in the took place with the two Hindu princes of Cooch Behar and Mayurbhanj according to Hindu rites. Though he crescent and Hindu trident. Prof. Sharma, "was a sort of conglomerate of Brahmo rationalism, Vaisnava emotionalism, Christian supernaturalism and Vedantic mysticism." His colleague, Gour Gobinda Roy, was a great Sanskrit scholar and wrote a Sanskrit commentory on the Gita and an interpretation of Vedanta in Sanskrit. He met Sri him with his party at Dakshineswar Temple garden. The close contact with this Hindu saint Hinduised Keshab gradually and consequently he introduced the formless worship of God as mother in his Samaj. Sri Ramakrishna loved Keshab dearly and used to come to him to his Calcutta house. Ramakrishna's influence gave a Hindu turn to the Samaj. Keshab's adoption of Samaj from its very inception. He wrote at one time in the Sunday Mirror thus: "Hindu idolatry is not altogether to be rejected or overlooked. As we explained some time ago, it represents millions of broken fragments of God. Collect them together and you get the Indivisible Divinity. Their idolatry is nothing but the worship of a divine attribute materialised."

Ananda Mohan Bose, the first leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, became the President of the who lived on." Indian National Congress held in Madras in 1898. Sitanath Tattabhusan of this Samaj has published good translations of some Upanishads and popularised Vedanta in the Samaj. According to Pandit Sitanath, the main contribution of Brahmo Samaj to the religious development of India is that, it has given a negative to the Hindu Renaissance in which we live. None can and antithetical turn to the old theism of our country, deny that the Brahmo Samaj has broadened and broad-The late lamented Ramananda Chatterjee, another casted, widened and intensified, forwarded and fostered Braking leader, took active part in the Hindu Maha- the modern Renaissance of Hinduism in all possible sables and devoted his long life to the protection of ways.

an unnecessary gulf between the old and the new the political rights of the Hindus. Rabindranath part in the modern renaissance of Hinduism. He was the youngest son of the Maharshi and was once the Secretary of the Adi Brahmo Samaj of which his father was the head. Like a Rishi, he was saturated with the spirit of the Upanishads. The poet quotes freely from the Upanishads and his message is a restatement of the They were in the beginning so influenced by Christianity ancient Hindu wisdom to meet the needs of modern that it gave rise to a popular saying that Brahmoism times. His 'Sadhana' which contains a series of lectures is Christianity minus Christ. But later on he gave a delivered at the Harvard University, U.S.A., shows cosmopolitan character to his Samaj as evident from "how deeply he pondered over the sacred texts of the Bloka Sangraha, a book prepared for use in the divine Upanishads and how clearly he pointed out their services of the Samaj and containing passages from significance to the modern mind." Prof. Radhakrishnan scriptures of all religions—Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, who has written an interesting volume on the philosophy Christian, Muslim and Chinese. Next to Rammohun, of Rabindranath rightly says that the writings of the Keshab went to England and spent there six months poet form a modern commentary on the Upanishads and that the soul of ancient India is mirrored in them. The publication of his Gitanjali in 1912, the award of Nobel Prize to him in the following year, the founding of his Visva-Bharati in 1921 and his delivery of the Hibbert services of the Samaj, 'mridanga' and 'cymbals', the lectures in 1930 are memorable events in the history musical instruments used by the Vaisnavas in their of the present Hindu renaissance, as these epochal Bhajans. In spite of the passing of the Civil Marriage events have made Hinduism known throughout the Act in 1872, the marriages of Keshab's two daughters civilised world. Though Tagore was an opponent of Hindu orthodoxy, he was undoubtedly a prominent leader of Hindu renaissance. The Upanishads, the adopted some Christian rites, he retained the Hindu Himalayan source of the Upanishads, were the scriptures rites of 'Homa' and 'Arati' and some festivals. The of his spiritual life. Like his father, he never considered banner of his Samaj bears the Christian cross, Islamic himself as being outside the pale of Hinduism. His "His religion", remarks novel Gora contains an impartial criticism of the Brahmo Samaj as well as the Hindu orthodoxy. Tagore has broadcasted to the distant corners of the globe the age-old message of Hinduism through his poems, stories, novels, and dramas, which are now read almost in every country of the world.

In the light of history, Brahmo Samaj may be Ramakrishna Paramhansa in 1875 and frequently visited described as a Neo-Hindu movement, a protestant sect of Hinduism, like the Arya Samai, Lala Lajpat Rai, a great patriot and leader of the Arya Samaj, says: "The Arya Samaj is a champion of Hinduism in more senses than one. Its members are proud of Hinduism. They have no hesitation and will never have any, in staking everything they possess in defence of the Hindu community. Hinduism created the Arya Samaj. Hinduism Hindu rites brought him perilously near justifying has vitality enough to save itself by other means, if idol-worship which was abhorrent to the Brahmo the Arya Samaj should fail it." Miss Adrienne Moore the Arya Samaj should fail it." Miss Adrienne Moore in her thoughtful book Rammohun Roy and America observes that though Rammohun during his life-time was more esteemed by the West, yet after his death he has been more appreciated by India which now acclaims him as the Father of her Renaissance. Rammohun was more influential during the generation after his death," concludes Miss Moore, "it was Rammohun the Hindu, shorn of Christian embellishments,

> From the above short study, it is clear that the line of demarcation between the Brahmo Samaj and Hinduism is nothing but imaginary and that the Brahmo Samaj has made substantial and significant contributions

MENACE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

By SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

Ir is reassuring to note that Mahatma Gandhi has thing to do. The news of police shooting of strikets advised Indian businessmen not to co-operate with of an European concern near Calcutta could not be British capitalists on fifty fifty basis. We are of the published until after 3 days agitation culminating in opinion that this and similar proposals would not have a bonfire of certain newspapers. It is our considered been made by responsible men like Professor A. V. Hill had not the Bombay Planners invited foreign capital specially from America to the amount of Rs. 700 crores. Speaking in 1916 on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission Sir William Clarke, the then Commerce Member, said, "The building up of industries where capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians is the special object we all have in view." He deprecated the taking of any steps which might "merely mean that the manifacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." It is an irony of fate that exactly this has happened and sections 111-116, Government of India Act incorporating what is known as commercial safeguards for Britons run counter to the views expressed by the Commerce Member In protected industries like paper and cement Britons hold the superior position. A Czecho-Slovak shoe factory is throwing millions of Indian shoe-makers out of employment without having to bear the burden of unemployment relief which in other countries falls mainly on industry. Two motor tyre factories, one near , Calcutta owned by the British and the other at Bombay owned by Americans, can meet the needs of the country and, therefore, make Indian venture in this direction not only superfluous but impossible in view of the fierce competition that will follow. In soap, since the establishment of a British factory in the country, indigenous concerns find it difficult to maintain their existence. These are only a few instances. In old established industries like jute and coal the foreign concerns hang like a mill-stone round the country's neck. Indian-owned jute mills have been forced against their vehement opposition and under a Government Ordinance to obey the mandate of the ring of the British jute mills in the matter of working hours. Otherwise each such mill would have served the purpose of three or more such establishments and the position of Indians (which is negligible now) via-a-vis the British in the industry would have improved. Indian colliery proprietors with their limited capital can not generally buy screening plants and coal-cutting machines with the result that their cost per ton of coal raised is higher than that of British-managed collieries. Judged by the pre-war wagon basis of each colliery Indianowned mines have been getting very much less wagons than the British-managed since the beginning of the war. The same thing happened during the last war, Soft coke used by the poor and middle classes in cooking food has been placed down in the list of priorities. Otherwise Indian colliery proprietors who generally manufacture soft coke would have fared a little better. Foreign capital so much dreaded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale has become the greatest menace in modern India. The situation is more serious than we generally comprehend. Vested and sectional interests are being created in the country and fissiparous tendencies carefully promoted and financed A section of the nationalist Press drawing a substantial part of its revenue from advertisements of foreign concerns no longer carries on. es in the days of Surendranath Baneries and Matilal Ghose, the ceaseless propagands against goods prothe boycott of goods even made with duced by foreigners but devotes most of its leading foreign capital. The technique of the Swarticles to Mr. Leopold Amery, which is rather a safe ment of Bengal in 1906 may be followed.

a bonfire of certain newspapers. It is our considered opinion that in spite of Mahatmaji's warning Indian big business will ultimately form an alliance with foreign capital specially American if not on 50:50 at least on 70:30 or 75:25 basis. This fresh invasion in addition to what already exists will mean parcelling out India to different nations of the West and creating a second China. At this critical hour of the country the Indian National Congress which is the salt of this earth has lost its savour and become capitalist-ridden. The future historian will describe the entertainment of Mahatman and the Viceroy in different parts of the same house and at the same time as the first nail in the coffin of Indian nationalism. Our veneration for Mahatman is boundless but the serious danger that faces the country leaves us no alternative to presentation of truth in all its nakedness. History and literature, as in the case of Shakespeare's Brutus, provide examples of high-souled patriots being made tools in the hands of designing men who did infinite harm to society. The Radical Democratic Party whose leader is declared to be in the pay of the Government has very strong words against Indian big business but nothing against British industry which sets the pace of exploitation. The Communist Party about which searching questions should be put in the legislature tries to fasten all blame on profiteers whose nefarious career of crime would end in no time if high officials were not their partners. In the recent Kishan Sabha Conference at Netrakona, Bengal, it sowed seeds of discord between the peasants and the landlords keeping mum over the exploitation of jute-growers by jute mills mostly under British management. The annual income of landlords whose number is 783,000 does not exceed Rs. 12 crores while the undue gain made by jute mills in a year is at least Rs. 40 crores. Foolish criticism has been made of moneylenders. The Bengal Money Lenders' Act and the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act made it impossible for anybody to advance loan to agriculturists who had to sell their land outright during the last famine. The condition of rayats in Khas Mahal areas and in provinces not under Permanent Settlement is not better but far worse than in Zemindary tracts. At least 20 crores of rupees are allowed to fall into arrears in Bengal by Zemindars and may thus be considered as agricultural loan at a low rate of interest. This is inconceivable elsewhere. The speeches of the President and Swami Sahajananda at the recent Krishak Pra a Conference at Rajshahi follow much the same lines of uninformed criticism. Now all these parties designed to vivisect India are gaining in strength only because the Congress does not dissociate itself from Indian big business which should be neither exterminated nor petted. The entire forces of the country should be marshalled against foreign capital within or outside the country. This can not be done until rural people get industrial goods like cloth at a cheap price, which means curtailment of profits at the top. Eire would not be a free country now if the Irish did not spurn the repeated offers of British capitalists to indus-trialise that country and boldly declare that they were content with their potatoes and sprat (fish). A strong movement should immediately be started in India for the boycott of goods even made with 5 per cent foreign capital. The technique of the Swadeshi movo-



Book Reviews



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ENGLISH

WHY PAKISTHAN ?—AND WHY NOT?: By K. T. Shah. Published by Pratisha Publications, Peoples Building, Sir Phirozsha Mehta Road, Bombau. Pp. 284 Price Rs. 6.

Recognising the fact that nearly all discussions of the Pakisthan proposal as laid down in the 1940 Lahore resolution of the Muslim League have come either from those who stand for it or those who are opposed to it, and that they are all characterised by the lack of that detached outlook which only can bring about a solution, the learned author has gone back to a long disused form, the Socratic dialogue, in order to place all points of view before his readers. This has been done because he believes, and that rightly, that no problem whatever its nature, has ever only one side and that a scientific treatment presupposes the examination of all points of view.

amination of all points of view.

It is therefore that Prof. K. T. Shah who already enjoys a unique reputation as one of our foremost economists and political thinkers has presented his thoughts on the Pakisthan problem in the form of a round table conference lasting for six days in which representatives of all shades of opinion find a place. These discuss the ethics, economics and politics of the proposed homeland of our Muslim brethren, and examine not only the Pakisthan resolution in all its implications but also such definite proposals as the Punjabi's, the Aligarh Professors, the Latif and the Sikandar Hyat schemes Some reference is also made to the Ambedkar proposal.

Though it cannot be said that the discussions lead to any final agreement among those participating in

to any final agreement among those participating in them, there can be no doubt that the unbiased examination of every aspect of the problem has admirably

clarified the issues.

While the nature of the form adopted has prevented the learned author from giving any definite solution of his own, those who read between the lines will not experience much difficulty in finding at least the outlines of what Prof. Shah seems to regard as a more or less satisfactory way of solving this problem.

This is one of the very few books which has attempted, and that successfully, to treat this vexing problem and the success attained has been due onty because the author has handled his subject without prejudice and without passion. It is recommended as a thought-provoking work which should set every lover of his motherland thinking furiously.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

DARKENING DAYS: By Ela Sen. Published by Sueil Gupta, Calcutta, 1944. Pages 179. Price Rs. 4-8.

Pen-pictures of familiar scenes of the Bengal famine—pictures of the threatening clouds, the bursting of the storm, the human and social wreckage left behind and the general aftermath—pictures drawn by a deft and

skilful hand, constitute the subject-matter of this book. The authoress has not devoted much space to the assessment of the total human loss or to the apportionment of responsibility for the Bengal disaster of 1943. That remains a wide field of controversy. She has been more concerned, and rightly so, with the disastrous consequences of the impact of famine on the frail structure of Bengal's economic and social life. The bodies of children and the honour of women have sold cheaply, and human greed no less than human cruelty has deepened the tragedy, the ominous shadows of which have not yet disappeared from our midst. Admittedly, the book has been written from a woman's point of view and the entire tragedy has been seen through the sufferings and humiliation of women trapped in the meshes of famine. That does not, how-ever, mean that the sufferings of men have been overlooked. The short stories which make up the major portion of the book bring back to life all those poignant scenes that have been imprinted on our memory for ever. Lakshmi, Juthika or Sukhi are not imaginary characters; they are real, so are their tragedy and humiliation. If rehabilitation is to have any meaning it must secure, before everything else, the salvage of this human wreckage and the resurrection of their sense of honour and self-respect. Ela Sen rightly focusses the attention of her readers on the extreme urgency of this aspect of the rehabilitation problem, even though in places the striking realism of her narration is clouded by the vapours of sentimentality. The sketches of Zainul Abedin have added to the realistic as well as artistic quality of the book Abedin's treatment of the pariah dog and the scavenging crow is something unique in the entire gallery of artistic representation of this dismal tragedy. Frankly, I failed to appreciate the printer's choice of the crimson background for Abedin's sketches, and without being dogmatic, I might say that a pale blue background would have perhaps been more in consonance with the theme of the book as well as the spirit of the sketches.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIE

KEATS'S CONCEPTION OF THE POETIC VOCATION: By K. B. Roy, M.A. Mesers, Ram Krishna & Sons, Lahore. Price Rs. 8-8.

Mr. Roy, while a research scholar in the University of Lucknow, undertook the study of Keate's conception of the Poetic Vocation as revealed in his letters and poems. Prof. Amaranatha Jha introduces the results of that study embodied in the volume under review as a valuable monograph. Certainly there is still scape for much fruitful work in this direction. Dr. Takeshi Saito broached the subject twenty years ago and his chapter on the function of poetry deserves wide publicity even to-day.

Throughout his letters Keats had scattered numerous observations on the poet and his vocation,

and they have been liberally laid upon contribution by all students of Keats ever since their publication. Some of them have been quoted in the book, but one feels that Mr. Roy might have used them more freely. Keats who found that he could not exist without poetry, who declared 'there is no greater sin after the seven deadly than to flatter oneself into an idea of being a great poet', thought a good deal on the greatness of his vocation and made strenuous efforts to advance towards his ideal. In his verses he says, with reference to poetry:

A drainless shower
Of light is possy; 'tis the supreme of power;
'Tis might half slumbering on its own right arm.

Most of the chapters are descriptive and some of them are interpretative. But it is difficult to understand why there is duplication of matter. The Odes and La Belle Dame Sans Merci are both fondly dwelt upon again and again. Pages 145 and 167 may be compared. This might have been easily avoided. The interpretation of La Belle Dame Sans Merci appears also to be a little fantastic. Selincourt had no doubt referred to its conception as 'invested with a sense of tragedy' and Saito commented: "Sympathy could not be deeper." But that is a far cry from Mr. Roy's interpretation (?) of the 'hero' (the Knight) as 'self-effacement and self-annihilation and throwing one's lot in common with fellow-sufferers. There are also certain typographical errors, in fact, too many of them. There is also a peculiarity (?) in the printing, the last word of a page is repeated in the next page just as they carry it on in typing. This unusual 'feature' might have been avoided without any loss of contents, and with some gain in space, etc.

P. R. SEN

UNITY: Hamara Hindostan Publication, Bombay. Pages 79. Price As. 8.

This is a very timely publication being a collection from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the late Mahadevbhai Desai, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas and Srijut K. G. Mashruwalla on Hindu-Muslim unity and other allied subjects with Gandhiji's interpretation of the Gita and Moulana Azad's interpretation of the Quran in the Appendices.

India in spite of differences of religion, race and language is one and undivided and the same ancient reasons. It is claimed by all at their own. It is the third party i.e., the alien rulers who are responsible for the gulf of the differences that divides the Hindus and the Muslims. So long the third party controls the political destiny of India there is hardly any possibility of a united India growing undisturbed. Almost all the political leaders and thinkers are of opinion that the Constitution of India must be drawn by Indians themselves and so long the British Parliament retains its sovereignty and the English nation refuses Indians the right of self-determination, the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and a compromise with other minorities and interests cannot take place. It is almost a vicious circle between Unity and Independence—which to come first.

pendence—which to come first.

A book of this nature deserves wide circulation among the politically-minded people of the country.

WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL: By Karl Marz with an Introduction by Frederick Engels. Published by Control Publishing Union, Lucknow. Pages 32. Price As. 8.

The original essays criticising the then classical Economists by Marx appeared in the form of leading newspaper articles in 1849. Subsequently Marx changed some of his views and these articles in a modified form

(as Marx would have himself done) were edited and published by Engels from London in 1891.

This publication is a cheap reprint meant for the students of Marxian literature.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS: By Sophia Wadia With a foreword by Mahalma Gandha Second Edition. Published by International Book House Ltd., Ash Lane, Bombay. Pp. 288. Price Rs. 3.

The learned authoress is the distinguished editor of that high-brow journal, the Aryan Path and Indian P. E. N. as well as the leader of the Theosophical Movement, Bombay. Though English is not her mother-tongue, yet she is a charming speaker in English. Sine has devoted her life to the establishment of Brotherhood of religions in India, her adopted mother-land. Deeply she loves India and her eternal wisdom and says that she is inspired by India, the modern hear of ancient Aryavarta whose immemorial wisdom has made India the motherland of all those who love the

path of the spirit.

The book, under review, is a compilation of lectures "chosen from among many delivered at different places and under different auspices during five years" on almost all religions. These lectures, observes Mahatma Gandhi, in the foreword, "show at a glance how much similarity there is between the principal faithe of the earth in the fundamentals of life." Madame Wadia examines all religions with reverence and brings out pointedly the essential unity underlying them. She rightly distinguishes the essentials of religions from their non-essentials and emphasises the need of following the former and setting aside the latter as the sine qua non of true religious living. The root of all religious quarrels is an appalling ignorance of the essentials of one's own faith as well as other faiths. This ignoble ignorance will be dispelled and our religious outlook broadened by a comparative study of various faiths to which this book will serve as an excellent introduction and dependable guide. An elaborate index and a glossary of Pali and Sanskrit words used in the book are appended.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

DOCTRINE OF KARMA: By Swami Abhedananda, Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19/B Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta, Price Rs. 3.

This is the second edition of Swamiji's lectures on Dootrine of Karma and philosophy of work; and to these have been added two other lectures on Delusion and Heart and Mind. These are fascinating studies on Karma in all its aspects—on its nature, on laws governing it as well as on Karma Yoga. The lecture on the law of compensation will remind the reader of Emerson's lecture on the same subject and both should be read together.

ISAN CH. ROT

BENGALI

BANGLA SAMAYIK SAHITYA (Bengali Periodical Literature): By Brajendra Nath Banerji. Vievo-Vidya-Samgraha Series No. 33. Vieva-Bharais, Caboute, 1945. Pp. 36.

Any work from the industrious and careful pen of Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji hardly requires a recommendation but speaks for itself. The present aketch, included in the well-known Visva-Vidya Series, which has already popularised itself by thoughtful contributions of eminent writers, is a short and clear version, within the limits of some eighty pages, of his more elaborate and fully documented History of Bengali Periodicals; but it does not loss its importance on that

reader, no pains has been spared to make it complete, deserves well-merited praise for putting such a useful accurate and interesting; but the specialist also will work on the market for the benefit of Kannada Ayur-find in it some matter which is new and valuable. No vedic students and public. better work can be recommended to the busy reader who wants to have a short but reliable account of an extremely interesting subject.

KHELAR MATH: By Jogendra Nath Gupta. Published by the Author from P&51A, Mahanirban Road, Calcutta. Pages 256. Price Rs. 2.

Mr. Gupta as Editor of the Sishu Bharati (the Children's Encyclopaedia) is well-known among the juvenile readers of Bengal. He has contributed a good number of books to the Bengali literature and not a small number for the young readers. Khelar Math or the Play Ground—when it was being published in instalments in the Kashorak, kept young readers anxious from month to month till the story was concluded. It is a fascinating tale with tit-bits of juvenile adventure—all around the game of cricket. School students, teachers, villagers all meet and part full of life and reality and the hobby of adventure to find the missing foreign stamps is really exciting and keeps the young minds in suspense. We shall not be surprised if some young readers fail to go to the play ground being absorbed in its study.

young and as such deserves wide circulation among

those for whom it has been written,

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SHILINDHRA HAMARE MITRA TATHA SHATRU: By Kameshwar Sahaya Bhargava. Allahabad University, Allahabad. Pp. 29. Price not mentioned.

This is a pamphlet which deals with Fungus and its several uses in medicine, industry and food as well as some of its indirect uses. It traces the history of Fungus from the earliest recorded times both in East and in West. On striking the balance of its advantages and disadvantages, the writer-whose capacity for research is quite evident-comes to the conclusion that Fungus is at present more a foe of man than his friend,

PRAKASH-CHIKITSA: By Dr. Sudhir Kumar Mukerji. Allahabad University, Allahabad. Pp. 72. Pp. 72. Price not mentioned.

This is a Hindi translation of two chapters of Dr. Nilratan Dhar's New Conceptions in Bio-Chemistry, dealing with the value of sunlight in curing certain diseases and in increasing the "vitaminness" of a number of edibles. Had the style been simpler the usefulness of the book to the lay reader would have been enhanced considerably.

CANARESE

CHARAKA SAMHITA-CHIKITSA STHANA Part I: Edited and published by Ayurveda Teertha Adya Anantacharya, Bijapur. Price Re. 8.

The book under review is a Kannada rendering of the original Sanskrit work of the same name. Charaka and Sushruta are the two important works extant on the ancient lore of Ayurveda. Charaka is regarded as the most ancient and authoritative work on Ayurveda and as such is held in very high esteem. Its very ancientness has lent scope for variations in readings and interpolations. The editor has tried his level best to consult different texts available and determine the correct readings. He has further added a few prescriptions of medicines in the light of his own experienced practice ranging over a lengthy period. The translator cas done a very useful work in appending the Kannada

account. Meant chiefly though it is for the general equivalents for different herbs and drugs. Sit. Adva

V. B. N.

GUJARATI

HRADAYANJALI: By Mrs. Indumati Desai, Broach, Printed at the Patidar Printing Press, Kadi. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 84.

These are rhapsodies in the vogue of Miran Bai's devotional songs addressed to Krishna. They are both in prose and verse, and show a good command over language. She is a disciple of Arvind Babu of Pondichery and a genuine believer in the following verse which she prints on the last cover, "With the Divine all is bliss."

NAVIN KAVITAVISHE VYAKHYANO: By Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (Retd.). Printed at the Sadhana Press, Baroda. (1943). Pp. 189. Price

The Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, has opened a Post-Graduate class, before which Prof. Thakore delivered lectures on the New or Modern poetry of Gujarat. The lectures are divided into four sections and embrace almost every phase of recent poetry, as represented by numerous young and rising composers. The lecturer writes that the period is one This is an innocent story of adventure for the of transition, and is bound to give rise to "Revolutionary" writers. The reviews are so thorough and couched in such trenchant and fearless language that they have become a milestone in the path of criticism or review in the literature of Gujarat. It is not as if the reviews are unsympathetic or harsh : on the other hand, at numerous places one finds words of encourage-. ment, and appreciation, which go to hearten the young K. M. J. composer.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



My Pictures

We give below the first part of the article, as published in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, on "My Pictures" by Rabindranath Tagore, written in London on July 2, 1930:

When, at the age of five, I was compelled to learn and to repeat the lessons from my text-book, I had the notion that literature had its mysterious manifestasupernatural tyranny of an immaculate perfection.
Such a despairing feeling of awe was dissipated from my mind when by chance I discovered in my person that verse-making was not beyond the range of an untrained mind and tottering handwriting. Since then my sole medium of expression has been words, followed at sixteen by music, which also came to me as a surprise.

In the meanwhile the modern art movement, following the line of the oriental tradition, was started by my nephew Abanindranath. I watched his activities with an envious mood of self-diffidence, being thoroughly convinced that my fate had refused me passport

across the strict boundaries of letters.

But one thing which is common to all arts is the principle of rhythm which transforms inert materials into living creations. My instinct for it and my training in its use led me to know that lines and colours in art are no carriers of information; they seek their rhythmic incarnation in pictures. Their ultimate purpose is not to illustrate or to copy some outer fact or inner vision, but to evolve a harmonious wholeness which finds its passage through our eyesight into imagination. neither questions our mind for meaning nor burdens it with unmeaningness, for it is, above all, meaning.

Desultory lines obstruct the freedom of our vision with the inertia of their irrelevance. They do not move with the great march of all things. They have no justification to exist and therefore they rouse up against them their surroundings; they perpetually disturb peace. For this reason the scattered scratches and corrections in my manuscripts cause me annoyance. They represent regrettable mischance, like a gapingly how or where to move on. But if the spirit of a dance is inspired in the heart of that crowd, the unrelated many would find a perfect unity and be relieved of its hesitation between to be and not to be. I try to make my corrections dance, connect them in a rhythmic relationship and transform accumulation into adornment.

This has been my unconscious training in drawing. I find disinterested pleasure in this work of reclamation, often giving to it more time and care than to my immediate duty in Iterature that has the sole claim upon my attention, often aspiring to a permanent re-

cognition from the world.

. Yeats on India

In the case of Yeats, the "superhuman" or harmony in human life. "supernatural", in short the non-rational, played

an exceedingly important part in his evolution as a writer and poet. Dr. Alex Aronson writes in The Aryan Path:

Yeats was not the first to discover that poetry is born out of a mystical experience, a kind of supernatural trance where all earthly conflicts are solved and the subconscious itself is transformed into artistic creation. Many before him had experienced a similar

spiritual awakening.

The fact that, from his childhood onwards, he felt attracted towards things Eastern, and particularly towards India, indeed proves that not only intellectually,

but also temperamentally he was drawn towards the subconscious of the human mind. And more than once he found in India what was so sadly lacking in the West: an intuitive approach to life, a religion born of an inner need, a challenge to materialism.

Yeats was a dreamer and more than once he de-

ceived himself into believing in an India of his own creation, the India of the Romantics; indeed, as to so oreation, the india of the romanus; indeed, as to so many other European thinkers and poets before him, India was to him a wish-fulfilment rather than a reality. And first and foremost it was an escape, a looking back rather than a looking forward, an India looking back rather than a looking forward, an India coloured by the nostalgic emotions of a dissatisfied European poet

Yeats's discovery of India can hardly be called an intellectual and even less an academic achievement.

His poetry, indeed his love for all that is primitive and simple and rooted in the soil quite naturally led him towards India.

Yeats, in his early manhood, was intensely preoccupied with the past, that dim and primeval darkness of ancient times. "There are two ways before literature," he says, "upward into ever-growing subtlety downward, taking the soul with us until all is simplified and solidified again." (1906). This was written six years before Yeats discovered Tagore's English rendering of Gitanjali. And it was quite in the nature of things that he found in Gitanjaki just those elements of poetry which were lacking in the West: the living tradition of the past, a continuity in the life of the people whose roots are deep down in the soil.

It is from this time onwards that we find Yeats definitely turning towards the East for inspiration. Sometimes, indeed, Years feels that Europe has outgrown her past, that every seed has borne its fruit;
"... it is now time to copy the East and live deli-berately."

A poet's approach to a foreign civilization must necessarily imply a valuation. In the case of Yeats we may safely say that many of his values, both literary and cultural in general, were derived from that revivalist movement which he himself helped to create and which was by no means determined by purely literary considerations. It was a return to the primeval simplicity of the past, the unsophisticated civilization of the "people." There is no doubt that India was to him the fulfilment of many of his dreams, a vision of the final

The Rhine Front

The New Review observes:

It is important to note that the Allied offensive could not get well under way earlier than one month ago. As the Ardennes counter-offensive was petering out in early February, Marshal Montgomery passed to the attack, but was stalled by the German skilful defence. Crerar's Canadians fought bravely through mud and water, hopping from dry spot to dry spot and from dike to dike, pushing their way across minefields in a murderous frontal assault which reached the Rhine-The American Third Army bored through the West Wall, painfully inching forward in the Eifel forest. But in the centre the American First and Ninth were stopped. The dams of the Roer and Urft rivers had been blown up by von Rundstedt, and let loose a flood which widened the Roer up to one thousand yards and barred the access to the Cologne plain. The Americans captured the Urit dam but had to wait for the ground to dry before resuming their advance. It was only by the fourth week of February that the Allied offensive could develop on a large-scale.

Then things went well, and in three weeks the Allies had taken 150,000 prisoners, many more than the Russians in their well-publicized Warsaw-Oder drive. Crerar's troops went on slithering through slime, slosh, sludge, and pushed from the Maas-Rhine corner southwards up the Rhine valley. The American Third plodded on east of Ptum. The American First and Ninth jumped the Roer, broke through in the centre. on and on, to Cologne, to Bonn, to Coblents and even sprinted across the Rhine at Remagen. Then Patton's Third took on, rushed down the Moselle, leaped across the river, swerved south and hemmed in the German northern flank whilst the Seventh forced back the southern flank so as to squeeze and crush the German pocket. The west bank of the Rhine was clear of the The manoeuvring had been brilliant and the victory complete.

Several points stand out in a retrospective view of the last months. The first is the failure of the German High Command to gain the time they wanted. For three months they delayed the Allies by the Ardennes' counteroffensive, by timely flooding of valleys, by desperate delaying tactics. The delay partly worked against them since it meant a more thorough and proplants, but it was considered imperative since they reflect on a turn of the war in April. By April, they hoped new secret weapons would be ready, and they knew that in any case a new class of 17-year olds would supply a number of fanatic divisions.

Lastly one remarkable development of last month's operations was the sudden appearance of an American Fifteenth Army, and disappearance of the British Second. The American Fifteenth has no special feature, but the British Second is a very mobile weapon. It was the British Second under General Dempsey which, at the close of the Battle of France, made the spectacular rush to Brussels and Antwerp, Along with Along with our Parachute Army, it was rested and refitted for the

coming break-through.

The Way the Political Wind is Blowing in India

In the course of an article in The Hindustan Review under the above caption, 'An Onlooker' observes:

Islam is, on a correct interpretation of its teachings as embodied in the Quran, a religion of concord and

tolerance, and of goodwill towards all human beings. and it is not limited in its scope to Muslims alone.

It was in this very sense that the greatest Muslim, born in India, under British rule, Sir Syed Ahmad (the founder of the great educational institution at Aligarh. which had long since developed into the well-known Muslim University) interpreted the true spirit of Islamic teachings when, applying them to the political conditions of India, he observed, in the course of a speech, at Gurdaspur, in the Punjab, made in 1884, as follows: "From the oldest times the word 'nation' is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Muhammadan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burnt on, or buried under, the same soil? Do yiu not tread, an! live upon, the same ground? Remember that the words 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' are only meant for religious distinction, otherwise all persons—whether Hindu, Muslim, or Christian—who reside in this great country of ours belong to one and the same nation. As all the different sects in this country can only be described as one nation, they must each and all unite for the good of the country, which is common to all."

Indeed, in a later speech, at Lahore, Sir Syed went further, and declared: "I call both these communities which inhabit India by one word, 'Hindu', meaning thereby that they are inhabitants of Hindustan."

One year earlier, addressing a public meeting at Patna, Sir Syed Ahmed had spoken to the same effect:

Both my Hindu brethren and my Muslim coreligionists breathe the same air, drink the waters of the sacred Ganges and the Jamuna, cat the products which God has given to this country, live and die together. Both of us had shed off our former dress and habits, and while the Muslims have adopted numberless customs belonging to the Hindus, the Hindus have been vastly influenced by the Muslim habits and customs. I say with conviction that in all matters of every-day life the Hindus and the Muslims really belong to one community as children of the soil, and not two. grieve at the sight of those who do not understand this basic point, and inculcate views which would ultimately lead to a permanent cleavage between two sections of the Indian community. I have always said that our land of India is like a newly-wedded bride, whose two beautiful and luscious eyes are the Hindus and the beautiful and luscious eyes are the Hindus and Muslims; if the two live in concord with one another. the bride will remain for ever resplendent and becoming, while if they make up their mind to destroy each other, she is bound to become souint-eved and even one-eyed.'

He was equally eloquent when speaking at Lahore, a little later, he expressed himself as follows: "In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Mahomedans because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it. We inhabit the same land, are subject to the some rule, the fountains of benefits for all are the same, and the pages of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, i.e., "Findus", meaning that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan."

Contrast the above noble sentiments—ins. iring to a degree—with those expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in his discussions with Mahatma Qandhi, in September last year, and the effect is a mental depression which looks irremediable.



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writes in The Calcutta Review:

Their ships were not well-equipped to repel the onslaughts of the pirates, who were ever an the look-out for Indian vessels laden with riches. They would seem, on the other hand, anxious to seek help from the European East India Companies, Every sort of pressure was brought to bear on their Presidents, resident at Surat, to grant passes of safe conduct for Indian ships sailing to other countries. Even the attitude of the English at Surat could not be sympathetic to-wards the netarious activities of the pirates. In view of the mental and physical hardships in prison and the financial losses they had to undergo, including the serious menace to the safe prosecution of their trade, they themselves thought it essential to take measures to stop the robberies on the seas. The system of issuing passes was considered the best, though these passes were not always a guarantee against piracy. The pirates belonging to the English nation were requested not to molest the Indian ships furnished with English passes as that was likely to produce an injurious effect on their (English) interests Moreover, expeditionary ships were sent by the English both from India and England to search out the haunts of the culprits, encounter and extirpate them.

The Mughal authorities did not, however, yield to the situation easily. If they were not strong on the sea, they were not weak on the land They did not sit idle after a ship belonging to India had been subjected to the pirates raids. They were not slow to inquire about the nationality of the culprits. This known, the government compelled the members of that nation in India to compensate the sufferers. If a ship was looted by some Englishmen, the President of the English East India Company at Surat had to face a difficult situation. The merchants concerned demanded justice from the Mughal authorities. The latter at once ordered a guard to be placed over the English Factory. The President was taken into custody and asked to make up the loss. Sometimes, the members of the Council as well had to suffer imprisonment. If this proved unavailing, they would threaten the English trade throughout India. The English factors at Agra, Ahmedabad and other places were imprisoned and their goods sealed.

The pirates, almost all of them, belonged to European nations.

They were English, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Swedes. Besides these, there were the Maratha warships which cruised about their newly built forts in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the "habshis." Then there were the Sakans; they were also notorious for their acts of piracy. But the were also noncous for their acts of piracy. But the Maratha and Sakan pirates were not so dangerous as the European ones. The piracy in the Indian seas grew with a corresponding growth of Indian trade.

Two Mughal vessels, one of whom had a pass from the Surat Factory, were looted in 1635 at the mouth of the Red Sea by Gobb, the captain of a ship licensed by Charles I of England.

Charies I of England.

The looting of a Surat merchant-vessel early in April, 1636 put the English to great trouble. As soon as the news of the piracy was whispered into the ears of President Methwold, he went to see the 'governor' (oustoms-officer). There he had to face the angry looks of the persons who had suffered losses. He returned home and soon found that his house had been placed

An Account of Piracy During the Reigns
of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb

The neglect of sea-power by the Mughals cost them much. They were never able to secure their seas from pirates. Prof. S. P. Sangar writes in The Calcutta Review. Their most terrible experience was the 'clamourous swarme of the offended multitude of pretenders' which they brought upon us.' These people showered upon the two a whole tirade of contemptuous epithets. while, the Taufiki, the looted vessel, arrived. Methwold was called before the 'governor' in the darbar where he cross-examined the nakhuda of the junk.

The English President was not prepared in any case to acknowledge the fault of his own countrymen But he was helpless to make a

stand against the facts.

To put further pressure, certain English goods from Agra and Ahmedabad were taken possession of and the English at Surat complained to the Company that unless the goods at Ahmedabad were released, the Discovery must sail partly empty. The outcome of all this was that the company had to pay the huge sum of Rs. 1,10,000 to satisfy the demands of the robbed merchants. The President and Council at Surat decided to send the

Blessing to search and seize the offenders.

Just upon the heels of this incident came the news of another act of prracy. A Dieu junk was looted by some prracts and the charge was levied against the English. The merchants at Ahmadabad became clamoraffair brought about, first of all, the imprisonment of the factors at Ahmadabad, They were not to be released until they found suretues. Then came the order forbilding them to go outside the city walls. They found, moreover, their effects sequestered. At Agra their house was seized and their broker kept under surveillance. They had to suffer in Sind as well; the goods and money there were confiscated. The Dieu merchants had petitioned the Viceroy for justice and the latter was making enquiries. Matters lingered on in this way for over a month, when the king ordered the release of their persons and goods at Agra, Ahmadabad and Thatta.

In October of the same year some English pirates again looted an Indian vessel. The departure of the interested parties for the court of justice frightened the

English at Surat.

In 1638, Indian vessels were plundered and their crews tortured by an English Captain. The English Surat had to suffer for these misdeeds of their fellow-countrymen. They were kept in prison for two months and could not secure their release before the payment of Rs. 1,70,000 as compensation.

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The Niagara Falls

Review:

Six million horse-power stampeding in wild waste over a 165-foot precipice—that was Niagara Falls up to a generation or two ago. Counties generations of Red Indians wove the "Thunder of Waters" into their myths and legends. French missionaries of the 17th century, venturing through a wilderness, brought back amazing tales of wild waters leaping down a mountain-

It was an obscure fur-trader, Chabert Joncaire by name, who first saw both power and beauty in Niagara Falls. Sometime in 1757 he dug a little circular ditch just above the American Falls. With a six-foot fall he ran a saw-mill that may have used 20 horsepower. The lumber thus produced was used in building ships to

bring down furs from the Upper lakes.

Modern methods in the Niagara power industry agan in 1852 with the digging of what is known as the Lydraulic Canal. This canal was part of a project to ke water from a point about a half mile above the American Falls and bring it across the city of Niagara falls to the cliff wall of the gorge below the Falls. By atting the canal water flow over the cliff ways could be comparated to the contract of the co tting the canal water flow over the cliff, power could e developed on a far greater scale than had ever been indertaken before. As in 1852 electricity had only been cently applied to telegraphy, the dream of the agara power pioneers of that generation never went wond water wheels directly connected with machinery.

Even so, it was a great dream.

Some pioneers sacrificed careers and for- multitudinous populations. nes to a dream they never saw come true.

Bryant Walter friends struggled and his Dr. H. L. Pasricha writes in The Indian

against unexpected obstacles until they had lost
\$300,000. Horace H. Day and others who then took up
the challenge sunk \$700,000 in the project before they confessed failure.

> But the hour produces the man. In 1877 Jacob F. Schoellkopf and his associates bought the canal property at public auction and set doggedly to work, building, experimenting, testing, perfecting. They struggled and persevered. Soon a flour mill was using 900 horse-power developed from the canal water.

> Then came electricity which revolutionised the entire Niagara power industry. In 1879 Prospect Park in Niagara Falls was lighted by arc-lamps fed by Niagara power. By 1881 water wheels of 2,000 horse-power capacity were connected with dynamos by rope-drive, and the electric power developed was sold for commercial use.

> Others came to share in the great power development. The trial had been blazed. Capital was slowly obtained for the necessary experimental work. Great electro-chemical industries spread about the Falls. Constant and dependable low-cost power in the quantity production of ferro-alloys, chlorine and alkalies, electrodes, graphite phosphorus compounds, sodium, potassium, aluminium, and a score more basic products was the magnet that attracted them.

> New water-ways, tunnels, receiving basins, grew to mammoth constructions of cement and steel and stone. Improved electrical machinery continuously increased in size, efficiency and power, until units of 70,000 horsepower were reached and a vast web of transmission lines radiated from the Falls to serve wide country-sides and

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Scientific Co-operation

A. L. Poole and I. E. Coop, both of whom are New Zealand scientists, discuss the need of 'scientific collaboration between the United Kingdom and New Zealand in war and peace' in the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts:

The term scientific co-operation is axiomatic. Scientists the world over consciously or unconsciously assist one another in so far as they work upon and develop the accumulated knowledge of other scientists. It is true to say that the flow of scientific knowledge is free because of the practice, and indeed the necessity, for scientific workers to publish their results. Some work might remain hidden for a time, but eventually it finds its way out.

The importance of this scientific knowledge to a community cannot be gainsaid. It will be appreciated that any country, if it is to give a good account of itself in a world rapidly changing under the impact of science, must develop the science of those industries which are its main livelihood and keep abreast of scientific development in other fields. In times of war this becomes

a matter of the utmost urgency.

New Zealand has attempted to do this: but with a population of only some 1,600,000 in a country a little larger than England, Scotland and Wales, she cannot have scientific services on the scale of larger countries; she must necessarily lag behind these, with their better equipped laboratories, in the development of funda-mental science, as well as of much applied research. She endeavours, however, to keep abreast of this, particularly of applied research, by specialised co-operation, and has given much thought to the development of this service.

The foundation of wider scientific co-operation was laid in the early days of the history of the Domimion, when the University of New Zealand was established. The first teachers were recruited from Britain, and the University itself was modelled along the lines of British Universities. The practice of recruiting British scientists into the New Zealand University still son, and so keeps it abreast of the most recent British teaching.

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The custom has also grown up of many New Zealand graduates in science coming to Britain, either independently, or as holders of scholarships, to further their training and experience. These graduates are not compelled to return to the Dominion and many remain in Britain. Those who do return take back with them the advanced learning of British Science and those who remain frequently impart a freshness of outlook acquired

from a young country.

In medical sciences it is the practice for a number of graduate doctors to proceed to the great English hospitals to specialise in some branch of surgery or

medicine.

When we look beyond the sphere of university training to the field of research, we again find the closest co-operation with Britain. The exchange of literature and the personal exchange of views and in formation between scientific workers in both countrie. is proceeding all the time. Moreover, visits of scientist from one country to the other are frequent, and scientific representatives from both meet at imperia and international scientific conferences.

All the above methods of scientific co-operation have become common between many countries. Be specialised scientific co-operation in the form c scientific liaison services. This is being done unde the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

War Artists of the USSR

Vsevolod Shevtsov writes:

In Stalingrad, in the Crimea and now in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Prussian territory, among tankmen, sap-pers and tommygunners you will come across people with a sketch book in their bands and knap-sack across their shoulders. They are war artists from the Moscow Studio called after the well-known Soviet battle scene painter Mitrophan Grekov.

Fifty studio artists have made it their goal to depict in their pictures the grandeur, of the Patriotic War which the Russian people are conducting against the Nazis. In order to attain their goal they have selected front line surroundings to be their "workshop." All the artists in the Grekov Studioshava been at the

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KAVIRAI BIRIENDRA MALLICK. B.Sc.. Chemist-in-charge, Ayurved Balinanik Hall, KALNA, BENGAL. front as soldiers or commanders. They have seen belo-Russian Front from the very beginning of its quite a bit of fighting as implement or tourney unness. Some of them were in partison units. They have bid extensive experience in battle and they all have good knowledge of the technique of the war and people fighting it. For them the front has become a kind of "art academy". Many artists were awarded orders for their bravery and courage. Mikelai Obrynba, an excellent painter, destroyed 37 Germans with firs tourneygum while he was fighting in a partison unit. When he was not fighting Nikolai Obrynba was busy in painting.

In an article in The Cathotic World, C. J. was not fighting Nikolai Obrynba was busy in painting. During the three and a half years he spent in the partisan unit he painted ten pictures depicting the life

parties that he painted ten produces deputing one me of his friends, people's avengers. Nikolai Zhukov, an outstanding Soviet graphic artist and Stalin prise winner, is at head of the studio. Together with studio artists he tours the front making drawings and collective materials for large canvages. In the last year and a half he has made more than 300 sketches at the front. Sketches cover a wide variety

of themes.

In his poster-leaflet "Lebensraum" we see an endless snow-covered field dotted with upright crosses crowded with German helmets. Over the field a crow hovers menacingly. Another fine example of Zhukov's work is the series "Soldier's Slang." The word "In Order" is popular among fightingmen and is applied in Order" is popular among fightingmen and is applied in a great variety of meanings. The artist created a series of sketches under this title. A picture showing a dead German is entitled "In Order", a soldier shaving in a trench "In Order" and so on. In the series "Frontline Lyrics" is the sketch "Frontline Vase". It depicts a soot-covered soldier's pot with a bouquet of field flowers. At the front artists portrayed heroes of the Patriotic War, Nazi war prisoners, trophy material, and events of the front laving marrhed with the teroomet the from the front having marched with the troops of the

In an article in The Catholic World, C. J. Eustace notes the conflict of interests in Canadian politics between the English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians:

It is an interesting fact that, according to the latest Canadian census (1940), Canadians of British stock ceased to be a majority. Today less than 39 per cent of the Canadian population is of Anglo-Saxan origin. The three major ethnic groups in Canada are the English, the French, and the European Canadians. The numbers of those of British stock are slightly in the majority amonest the three groups but while the majority amongst the three groups, but while the birthrate of the French and European Canadians is to creasing, that of the British Canadians is on the the decline.

Canada today is a melting-pot, in which the various racial and religious groups are attempting to find a modus vivends which will allow them to develop, a module overace which will allow them to develop, each according to their religious and cultural peculiarity, although walded together by the common federal basis of Canadian politics. This process of "becoming Canadian" is not achieved without difficulty, nor without bitter recriminations from the different interest groups, which attempt to exert pressure on the social structure, chiefly through the instrumentality of provincial politics.

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About 70 per vent of the Anglo-Canadian population is now horn in Canada, so that although the first generation of immigrants spend most of their lives looking back to the "Old Country," to the soil of which they remain attached, their children become Canadians without much difficulty. On the other hand, the French-Canadians are 95 per cent Canadian born, and inherit the specifically French-Canadian culture of their forefathers, of which they are extremely proud and isalous.

French-Canada is solidly Catholic, and today, of modern life.

amidst the uprush of secular humanism which has in sommon with the other secularized countries of Western civilization, seized hold of the Dominion, Cueboc is amongst the few Catholic nations that remain

in the world.

Mutual recriminations between French and tier:

English-speaking Canadians have been violent during this war. The broad divisions between the two racial agreeups in matters of religion, language, and culture, have their repercussions in the political field, so that the cause of Canadian national unity has not been the cause of Canadian national unity has not been the deep recent years. French-Canadian provincialism, and their nationalistic ambitions, account for a good deal of the suspicion with which their English-Canadian compatriots view them, while English-Canadian pragmatism, financial and industrial exploitation, make the Thoma French suspicious where often no suspicion is justified.

Respectively.

"The French, like the English, Pretend to maintain their rights— There is the resemblance; The French by equity, The English by duplicity— Here is the difference." Certainly Quebec is worth watching, being in a sense a microcosm in which religious, rapial, and cultural traditions are clashing with the new acutral colored, agnostic civilisation of money and technology, which threatens to engulf the world. The French Cahadians are well aware of the advantages of maintaining a balance between the best of their Christian tradition, and the best of what scientific humanism can offer them. Their task is the difficult one of finding a via media between these not irreconcilable tendencies of modern life.

Thomas Mann and Anatole France

Waldo Frank writes in the Jewish Fron-

When I was an undergraduate at Yale, I prized among my possessions the picture of a white-bearded man in a grey moleskin robe and a red satin skull cap, above which was printed The Greatest Living Writer. This was Anatole France. Thirty years later the same quasi-literate middle class opinion would probably append the title to the portrait of a shrewd, clean-shaven burgher, with the scuare head, cropped hair and prominent nose of a German peasant, named Thomas Mann. Anatole France was not the greatest writer of his time—not by a long shot. But his gifts explained his vast contemporary glory. From Voltaire to Renan, from Proudhon to Flaubert, an atmosphere had gradually ripened in the bourgeois mind, which likes its reading to flatter its pride of connoisseurship: a stylish cult of anti-clericalism, social revolution, and a romantic horking back under the guise of realism, satire and erudition, to colourful classical pasts. Anatole France, in lucid prose and accessible mild mood,

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94 ,4

Conident accepted in him what they had been cool to in several generations of pioneer writers, who thus at last vicariously forced themselves upon them.

Mann is the very different paragon of an age with a very different climate. His democratic lasth, no longer like the Frenchman's political and comounic, is moralistic. His realism reveals the decay, not of a class but of a world. His satire, unlike his predecessor's, is neither social nor (as in La Revolte des Anges and L'lle des Pengovisse) classically universal: but intimate and psychonalytic. Whereas Anatole France, a skeptic in religion, was a believer in the rationalistic faith, in the simplistic psychology of nineteenth-century progress, Mann applies the psychology of Jung to the soul's arcana and to the myths behind history. And in place of the classical learning which helped Anatole France to write his delightful sensual tales of Gallie France, of Rome and of Greece, the new where, doubtless, he was in close contact with Jung and Tieck in a civilization rapidly going to pieces from within. The hour was ripe for great astethate from within. The hour was ripe for great astethate for the tetralogy were written.

Zauberberg (1924) is Mann's more obvious inventory.

record the experience of hyper-sensitive sons of Novalls and Tieck in a civilization rapidly going to pieces from within. The hour was ripe for great aestheto syntheses of this collapse: hence Joyce and Proust. Der Zauberberg (1924) is Mann's more obvious inventory. The symbolism of the sanitorium on the top of Europe, where German, Italian, Jewish, French and Russian consumptives of the leisure classes depict the character-portrayal is the competent, heavy un-distinguished realism of a whole generation of French

of the times. And deeply significant it is that the Hebrew story has evoked from Mann the very best of his writings. Surely it could not have done so if the subject had been alien to his European spirit—if, indeed, it had not revived his European spirit. We disease of the world through their personal pathologies, indeed, it had not revived his European spirit. We is too schematic for great art. The book's texture of have here a convergence between a man and a theme, too profound to be fortuitous.

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Discovery of the Central Temple of Tlatelolco

In Mexico News Martines Del Rio tells us about the archaeological discovery of the central temple of Tlatelolco in Mexico City:

The majority of the writers of the daily press in Mexico are already acquainted with the archeological discoveries which have been made during the past few months in a big vacant lot which extends to the west of the old church of Santiago Tlatelolco. By a rather cruel irony of destiny, the territory just mentioned, so active in prehispanic times and during a great part of the colonial period, is today one of the most quiet and peaceful districts in Mexico City. It takes quite a bit of imagination to picture that the garden with its luxuriant trees and its green lawns which are so inviting, coincides (as has been proven) with the busy market place and the noisy fairs, as described by the conqueron Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and that the place was, without doubt, the greatest centre of all the New World.

Bernal Baz del Castillo, and that the place was, without doubt, the greatest centre of all the New World.

The history of Tiateloloo can be summed up in a few sentences. Its date of founding is still far from being precisely figured out, even though there exists a sort of tradition that it was older than the twin city of Tencohitilan. It is certain, however, that both cities were founded during the times when they were subject to the hegemony of Assapotsalco. Much later, on the downfall of the political power there, conquered by the forces of Izcoati of Tencehitilan. Nesshualcoyoti of Texcoco and his colleagues, around 1428, Tiateloloo was made free and independent and was kept that way for about half a century when, in 1473 it was conquered by Assayacati, master of Tencehitilan, who took away its independence and made it part of his city. During the Spanish Conquest, Tiateloloo put up its final resistance, presented by Cusuhtemoc and his noble fighters. Shortly afterwards, on the ruins of the buildings of the old sacred temple (which lay in front of the market to the west and which coincide in general terms with the block today occupied by the church of Santiago, the Military Prison, and the adjacent barracke) there

appeared a magnificent convent in which worked Sahagun, Torquemada, and other distinguished men.

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Fully-loaded military trucks start along the pontoon causeway to the shore from the dock of the artificial harbour, set up off the Normandy beaches to speed supplies to Allied landing Armies



Okinawa civilians return to their villages on the largest island in the Ryukyus which U.S. forces invaded in March, 1945

Courtesy: USOWI

MAHENDRAS VOTAGE TO CENLON By Khagen Roy

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY



1045

Vol. LXXVIII. No. 1

WHOLE No. 463

NOTES

The Wavell Plan

The long awaited Wavell Plan has been announced. The main features of the plan are:

- 1. It seeks to establish a purely interim government at the Centre within the framework of the present constitution.
- 2. The veto power of the Viceroy will remain unaffected but he has assured that it will be sparingly
- 3. The Defence Department will remain unaffected under the Commander-in-Chief, but Home, Finance and Foreign Affairs will be transferred to Indian members.
- 4. The Executive Council will not be responsible to the Legislature but will reflect popular opinion as the members will be chosen from the main political parties.
- 5. The Council will contain mainly an equal number of Caste Hindu and Muslim members.

After the announcement of the plan, a conference of Indian leaders was summoned at Simla which is now going on. Judging from the reports published so far it appears that an agreement on matters of principle has has been reached between the Viceroy and the political parties attending the Conference, the only difference has now centred round the question of the nomination of members to the Council.

At the very outset, we desire to make two things clear. It must be clearly understood that the proposed Government must be of the nature of a caretaker one and nothing beyond that. It must always be remembered that it is a mere interim government and its main function lies in paving the way for the drafting of an agreed constitution for the country by generally removing the mutual distrust so prevalent among different communities today and creating confidence

The second point is that as a caretaker government. it has no power to bind the country into long term agreements, either with Britain or with any other country, of any character whatsoever whether political or economic. We have repeatedly said that no government or party has any right to sell the unborn generations into slavery. Whatever action they take must not go beyond the limits of the life-time of the character mentioned above. In his statement on

the section of the section of

present generation which has had an opportunity to discuss intelligently the proposed measures. The world is fast changing, and in such a dynamic world nobody. however representative he might be, has any right to fetter the freedom of the generations which are vet to be born.

With these reservations we welcome the Wavell Plan and believe that it has potentialities to do good to the country.

Communal Implications of the Wavell Offer

Protests against the communal proportions proposed to be maintained in the Vicerov's Executive Council have been made from several quarters. We would like to mention here that when Lord Wavell suggests equality of representation on the Executive Council of the so-called Caste Hindus and Muslims, he is seeking merely to stereotype the existing position. There are at present four Caste Hindus and four Muslims. The parity is already there. There are also one Scheduled Caste representative, one Sikh and one Parsee, thus making the total number of Indian members eleven. The real point is that the present composition of the Executive Council is not the result of agreement between the different communities or political parties, and the mischief of the present proposals lies in the attempt to obtain the approval of the people to the present communal proportions. If we had joint electorates, the communal proportions in the Council would be of little importance. The Wavell Scheme will work within the framework of the present constitution. This means that if any real constitutional advance is possible to be made, it will depend upon the conventions that may be agreed to. In case the Congress finally decides to retain the present communal proportions, which it is very likely to do, attempts should be made at the earliest possible moment to reintroduce joint electorates in every field of our political life. Conventions built up now should be given statutory recognition with the least possible delay.

There are many points of detail in regard to the working of the Executive Council which will be required to be covered by conventions of the

such points when he says:

Both Government and public delude themselves into the belief that the mere increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council is a boon. Till these members can function as a Cabinet under a leader with constitutional initiative, till they can insist that every major decision shall be the decision of the whole Government and not merely the decision of the Viceroy and any particular members acting together mere numerical enlargement is a danger. We know how at present members complain bitterly that their opinions are not called for till vital matters are determined and that they therefore have responsibility for the acts of the Central Government, without any power or oppor-tunity to influence its decision. If the Vicercy or the Home Member can settle the attitude of the Government to Congress, 13 or 30 members is equally an encumbrance. There is an ominous passage in the Viceroy's statement which says that the interim arrangement will work within the present constitutional limits. If the disability of members continues the constitutional advance stands in danger of being made nominal.

Administrative Implications of the Wavell Offer

Another such point may be mentioned by way of illustration. Certain provisions of the Government of India Act 1919, which are mentioned in the transitory provisions in the Government of India Act 1935 still operate at the Centre and certain provisions of the Act of 1935 which depend on the establishment of Federation are not in force. In the result, certain anomalies have arisen making the position of the Governor-General more autocratic than it was even when the Act of 1919 operated in full. A section in the present Act, which deals with the question of future recruitment to the I.C.S., I.M.S., I.P., etc., expects the Governor-General, acting in his discretion, to report to the Secretary of State. The duty of the Governor-General will be to keep the Secretary of State informed as to the operation of recruitment, and he may even make recommendations for the modification thereof. This point arose specially during a debate at the last session of the Central Legislative Assembly. The Government took the view that as this was a matter left to the Governor-General, acting in his individual discretion, the Governor-General in Council had nothing to do with it. This position is constitutionally correct, but the draft Instrument of Instructions to be issued to the Governor-General when Federation comes into being, which is already adopted by Parliament, contains a direction to the Governor-General to consult his Ministers, even though the matter concerned is to be decided by him, acting in his discretion. It states, "Although it is provided in the said Act (Act of 1935) that the Governor-General shall exercise his functions in part in his discretion and in part with the aid and advice of Ministers, nevertheless it will be our will and pleasure that our Governor-General shall encourage the practice of joint consultation between himself, his counsellors and his Ministers." This instruction extends even in the Governor-General's administration of the department of defence.

The attitude taken up by the Government at Delhi was that as the Instrument has not yet been issued, the instruction referred to has no application. Muslims' of India?

Wavell proposals, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri touches one of In the result, the position is that the Governor-General is to-day in a position to do whatever he likes in a matter of this kind without consulting his Ministers. although under the provisions of the Act of 1919 such powers were enjoyed by the Governor-General in Council and not by the Governor-General acting in his discretion. In such matters of utmost importance, even a resort to veto power is unnecessary because the Governor-General is not required to consult the members of his Council at all. In other words, a power which the Governor-General shared with the members of his Executive Council under the 1919 Act, has been left to him alone to be exercised in his own discretion, and the direction to consult his Ministers as contained in the draft Instrument of Instructions does not operate in this case according to the interpretation of the Government.

The Act of 1919 did not contemplate the Governor-General to act in his discretion in administrative matters, this distinction having been introduced for the first time in the Act of 1935. This matter has been discussed on more than one occasion during the last winter session of the Assembly. The present transitional constitution at the Centre is a hotch-potch of some provisions of the 1919 Act and others of 1935 Act. the net result being to make the position of the Governor-General more autocratic than it was prior to the enforcement of the 1935 Act and than what it would be if the whole of the 1935 Act relating to Federation comes into force. While much attention has been given to the veto power of the Governor-General, no specific mention has yet been made of the powers which the Governor-General is now enabled to exercise by himself without even consulting his Executive Council, Demand should be made now that in future all such powers must, as a matter of convention; be exercised by the Governor-General jointly with his Executive Council and not by himself alone.

Mr. Jinnah Intransigent

As was expected, Mr. Jinnah is playing his usual game to collect the largest number of loaves and fishes. His usual demand for Pakistan and self-determination is heard no more. He is now bent upon dividing the spoils and to get as much as is possible for his Muslim League. So long his demand was for parity between Hindus and Muslims. Once this parity has been conceded, he has started pointing out that the Muslims will be one-third of the total number of members in the Executive Council and we shall not be surprised if he comes up with a demand for 51 per cent of the seats in the Council for his League.

The worthlessness of Mr. Jinnah's main demand that he and his League represent the entire Muslim community, has been fully exposed. He could not keep his hold on the Frontier Province which consists of 95 per cent of Musalmans. He has been ousted from the Punjab, Sind has virtually broken away, Assam League now depends for its existence more on the Congress than on its own central organisation. In Bengal, the League came into power through fraud. Its records were so black that it could not be maintained in office even through the active support of the Europeans and the Civil Service. Then who is behind Jinnah? Whom does the League represent when it puts forth the tall claim of being the sole mouthpiece of "ninety millions of

It is encouraging to find that influential sections of the Muslim community with very large followings have, of their own accord, come forward to tell the truth that Mr. Jinnah can never be accepted as the undisputed leader of the Muslim community. In a conference of the Jamiat-ul-Ulemah, the Muslim Majlish, the Momins and the Independent party of Bihar held at New Delhi, a resolution was passed declaring that "the League was not the sole representative of the Muslims and that there were other organisations working for India's freedom and making sacrifices for it."

Has Muslim League Grown in Strength?

Released after two and a half years of detention, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru has been made to say that there were many Muslims who did not follow the League although he estimated that the League had grown in strength in the years. To an well-informed observer, the League will appear just in the contrary light. The League had gradually come very nearly on the verge of extinction when a new lease of life was

observer, the League will appear just in the contrary light. The League had gradually come very nearly on the verge of extinction when a new lease of life was given to it by Mr. Rajagopalachari and subsequently by Gandhiji's visit to Mr. Jinnah. We cite the following facts from which the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions about the strength of the League. Unguarded statements about the League's strength by leaders of the Congress has always helped this communal body in consolidating its strength and it will be for the good of the country if they ascertain facts before making any statement on the position of the League.

The results of the general elections in 1937 revealed.

The results of the general elections in 1937 revealed the following strength of the League in the Provincial Legislatures:

Province	League	Other Muslim
		groups
Madras	11	17
Bombay	20	9
Bengal	40	79
United Provinces	27	37
Punjab	1	83
Bihar	Nil	39
C. P.	,,	14
Assam	ÿ	25
N.W.F.P.	Nil	36
Orisea.	"	4
Sind	,,	36
	100	880

With the formation of Congress Ministries in eight provinces, the Muslim malcontents naturally rallied under the League, The results of Muslim bye-election for Central and Provincial Legislatures between 1938 and 1942 indicated some accession of strength and were as follows:

Legislatures	Number of Elections	Muslim Leagus	Other Muslim aroups
Central	6	4	2
Madras	1	1	****
Bombay	4	3	1
Bengal	13	12	1
U. P.	7.	4	3
Punjab .	12	_	12 (Unionist)
Bihar	4	4	
C. P.	2	2	-
λamam	1	-	. 1
Sind	2	1	1 (Congress)
N. W. F. P.	4	8	1 "
	56	34	22

In popular propaganda, both by the League and the Imperialists, the 13 Punjab seats were included in the League lasts and thus it was shown as if the League had won '46 seats out of 56. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan never signed the Muslim League creed nor did any other member of his party do so. Since his death, under Malik Khizir Hyat Khan, and after the Shaukat Hyat Khan episode the Punjab has lost even the loose friendship that prevailed during the life-time of Sir Sikandar.

Much change, since then, has taken place in the history of the League. It is ridden with quarrels and differences, specially in U. P., Sind and Bengal. Mr. Jinnah was openly flouted by League leaders like Sir Sultan Ahmed who refused to come out of the Viceroy's Council when ordered by him to do so. He was expelled. Sir Azisul Huque accepted office at the Viceroy's Council in defiance of the League resolution. He was however not punished. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sir Md. Usman, etc., are all given out as League stalwarts. This is for the Centre.

In the provinces the condition is worse. In Bengal, League succeeded in smuggling itself into power through the tactics of Sir John Herbert and in coalition with the Europeans. It has since been ousted from office. In Assam, a League coalition formed the Ministry when the Congress coalition resigned but it could not maintain itself in power for long. It has since formed a new coalition and is holding office through sufferance of the Congress. In the N. W. F. P. a League Ministry came into power only to be ousted shortly afterwards by the Congress. In Sind, similarly, the League-Coalition Ministry is tottering and one of the League Leaders is trying to share power with the Congress and make a complete reorientation of the League there along lines so long followed by the Congress.

Danger of Self-determination

Mr. P. R. Venkatrama Sastry in an article on Pakistan in the current Indian Review quotes the opinion of Lippman, the eminent American writer, on Wilson's formula of self-determination. Wilson made the mistake of identifying himself with the principle of self-determination. Forgetting Abraham Lincoln, forget. ting the greatest constitutional issue in the history of the United States, he never paused to consider the difference between self-determination and the principle of secession. To make the principle of self-determination the supreme principle of international life is to invite sheer anarchy. For the principle has been and can be used to promote the dismemberment of every organized state. None knew this better than Adolph Hitler himself. The principle of self-determination was his chief instrument for enlarging the Reich. . . . At its worst, it rejects the ideal of a state within which diverse peoples can find justice and liberty under equal laws and become a commonwealth. Self-determination, which has nothing to do with self-government but has become confused with it, is barbarous and reactionary. By sanctioning secession, it invites majorities and minorities to be intransigent and irreconcilable.

The danger of the principle of self-determination has been revealed in Indis to Demands for Pakistan, Sikhistan, Achhutstan, etc., are all products of this dangerous doctrine. Imperialist powers have ardently encouraged this doctrine whenever some further action had been needed to strengthen

the policy of divide and rule.

Export of Food and Cloth and the Consequences

Mr. Manu Subedar, in an article published in the Tribune, gives a compact account of how our food and cloth have gone to other countries while people in this country suffer death and indescribable hardship for want of them, and how goods worth several thousand crores of rupees were bought by the bureaucracy for Imperial interests at prices at which the civil population here never got them. He writes :

Several thousand crores of rupees worth of goods of all kinds, both the produce of fields and goods of all kinds, both the produce of fields and of factories, have been taken at controlled or negotisted price (price at which the civil population never got it) not only for the army, but for the civil populations of England, Allies, Eastern Group countries and the liberated Europe. Indian food, Indian cloth, Indian raw materials and Indian fainteed products have been taken not merely for the army, but for other people when the civil the army. the array, but for other people, when the civil population of India has had to suffer scarcity, high

prices and black markets.

The price of these has been paid in printed notes, against which there is no security except sterling, (whose international value is on the decline) and this sterling is now mentioned by Sir John Anderson as not being a commercial debt and, therefore, not payable immediately. They are trying to evade the payment either wholly or partially. This may not be called a loan since it was compulsorily taken from India, and the price paid by India runs into millions of lives. If it is an ordinary cash accumulation, it should be returned on demand. If it is a loan, India should get interest. But, neither of these two things is done, and an attempt has even been made to show that India has overoharged England, which is like the story of the lamb and the wolf when the wolf accuses the lamb of having attempted to attack him! The idea, that India was an Ally in this war (which India had not declared and in respect of which Indian leaders were not consulted), is also brought out in order to support evasion.

How Controls Encourage Black Markets

Dealing with controls and blackmarkets, Mr. Subedar writes :

Government controls have not been effective ciovernment controls have not been effective and have actually led to higher prices and black markets. The poor suffer in every case and they have to pay higher prices for their food, while the producers of food, vis., the agricultural community, are not paid adequately for their grain. The price paid for their food, which is compulsorily acquired, is not adequate and the amounts left with them are not sufficient for their own communition throughout not sufficient for their own consumption throughout the whole year, because Governments have pro-fiteered on these transactions. There has been waste and deterioration and the common man is either denied all that be needs, or is made to pay a heavy price regardless of the deteriorated supply.

When prices are brought down by the importation of foreign goods, including wheat, as a result of the effects of the Hydari Mission and the gates of India are opened to receive the flood of imported goods, all producers of agricultural as well as factory goods will be thrown into serious difficulties.

Fear of Further Exploitation

Mr. Subedar, in the same article, draws pointed attention to the treatment India has received in her trade with the U. S. A. This market has been signed to her and the whole of the Indian trade has been sought to be diverted to England. Mr. Subedar writes:

The dollars acquired by sale of goods by India to U.S. A. throughout the period of the war have been taken over by the Government of the United Kingdom in the so-called Empire Dollar Pool. All dollars and dollar securities of Indians have been compulsorily taken at the beginning of the war. Much essential requirements of India in the matter of medicines, chemicals, photographical goods, films, machinery, lubricating, oil etc., from the U.S. A. must be purchased and every discouragement is being given to such purchases by the Government of India. The dismissal of Mr. J. C. Mahindra, who was helping Indian business as head of the Purchase Mission, speaks volumes in this direction. The secret and private ambitions of men handpicked by the and private amoltions of men nanaprised by the Viceroy, both for financial and for commercial matters, and the much too frequent visits of Executive Councillors to England, and the desire to do things behind the back of the legislature, are all significant facts showing that the London-Controlled Government would permit and encourage processes calculated for further exploitation of India in British interests.

Military Burden on India

Mr. Subedar has brought out the salient features of the financial 'settlement' between England and India for the imposition of the military burden on this country in the following words:

Five hundred and forty-one crores of rupees military burden was imposed on India during the last which the bulk is not only non-voted, but not dis-closed as to what it is spent upon, and the bulk of which creates an apprehension that England's political power is being used for wrongfully throwing burdens on India, which should not be thrown. The claim that all this is being done in accordance with that an this is being done in accordance with the 'settlement' makes the injury all the worse, because such settlement is made by an Eaglish official in England and an English official here, and the settlements were made by Grigg, an English Official from England with the British Government, and by Raisman, his secretary and successor, with Grigg. The principles of the 'settlement' were subse-quently widened, stretched out and twisted as new quently widened, stretched out and twisted as new situations arose, even supply obligations and the Reciprocal Aid obligations towards U. S. A. were thrown on India. That India should bear the Reciprocal Aid obligations with regard to U. S. A. when the benefits of the Lend-Lease and other arrangements have been largely taken by the United Kingdom, is a problem to ascertain and causes apprehension because all Lease-Lead operations have been absoluted in the greatest mystery. tions have been shrouded in the greatest mystery. They have been kept unnecessarily a great secret and are not disclosed to any non-officials.

Mr. Subedar rightly says that India's destiny being in foreign hands, maximum and reckless use has been made of her resources for purposes other than those which directly concern India. The most wasteful of all the departments under the Central Government have been the departments of Supply and Information which are still expanding.

A DOMESTIC

Government's Gold Mine the Printing Press

. The expensionist and inflationist policy of the Government of India, initiated by Sir Jersmy Raisman. is bound to spell disaster for this country unless checked very soon. Expenditure is being made recklessly s if the Government of India have found some gold nine. Mr. Subedar writes:

The only gold mine, which the Government of India is said to have found, is the printing press. Week after week, two, four and nine crores of rupees are being added to the notes in circulation, and these are being spent. The course of inflation in Austria, Germany, Russia, France and other countries after the war has disclosed that the people who suffer are the poorest, and there is no reason to believe that the rupee has got any special exemption and sanctity from Providence from the laws, which have affected other currencies and brought disasters. According to Sir William Hunter, there were in India forty million people, who did not get a full meal daily. This was seventy years ago. Since then, other estimates have been given of eighty million people being on the margin, and recently the Secretary of the Agricultural Department said that three quarters of the Indian population was under-nourished. Those who could not have a full meal when the price of rice was Rs. 2-8 per maund, could not feed themselves when the price ranges from Rs. 14 to 21 per maund. India has lost more men in this war than all the belligerents on both sides put together, and the first instalment of the price in death and disease, which the poor pay from an inflationist policy, has already been experienced by India. It is there written large for those who will see and whose minds are not clouded by immediate self-interest, or by tall talk from official quarters with regard to all the great things, which India is going to do in future.

No solution of these crying problems is possible so long as India's destiny remains in the hands of an irresponsible foreign government.

Import of Foreign Goods

With the gradual withdrawal of restrictions on foreign trade in the U. K. and other countries, the import of consumers' goods into India is increasing. No steps have so far been taken to safeguard Indian industries against the import of foreign goods which may soon threaten to assume the form of an avalanche. The most peculiar feature of the existing controls in this country is the imposition of restrictions only on goods made in India and not on the imported ones. This, at the very outset, puts the Indian industries in a very unfavourable position. The Import Advisory Council set up by the Government of India did not consider it necessary to give an assurance that import of goods, which are manufactured in this country will be regulated so as not to destroy the Indian products. The discrimination between Indian and foreign goods in matters of control extends to big industries like cotton textiles, paper, etc. Indian cloth and Indian paper are subject to control while imported cloth and paper are not. This naturally encourages the sale of foreign products while Indian products remain stocked in shops and godowns as their sale is subject to quota allotments. It is a peculiar feature of the control system that accounts of total available stocks consisting of imported and indigenous products are never taken, the

penducte alone. The distribution of Indian cloth, has been no carefully managed, with an apparent look of bungling, that dauties, saries, longoloth, and other piscogoods popularly demanded are not available at the market. Consumers will naturally buy imported cloth which is not subject to control as soon as it is available.

Discrimination between Indian and foreign products have also been made while fixing control prices for them. The controlled price for Indian made bicycles and bulbs are higher than the price of imported articles. During the war, these industries might have gone well, but when imported goods flood the country it will be very difficult for them to stand competition.

It is a matter of utmost regret that our industries have not yet realised the great danger that faces them. No sign of any combination among them is visible. It is now open knowledge that Indian industries do not help each other by preferring Swadeshi products needed for their manufacture to foreign articles. We know instances where industrialists refused to help a brother manufacturer by taking in his product which was in no way inferior even to the British. We know of concerns that buy British while cashing in on the sentiment of Swadeshi. This disastrous policy of pursuing immediate and narrow personal gain to the sacrifice of larger interests of the Company as well as the country is particularly noticeable among Bengali businessmen. Bengal is the home of Swadeshi. It is high time that people of this province who have come over to the industrial and commercial field came to their senses and stood for the collective good.

Burma Rice Trade

Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, in a letter to the Government of India, have drawn attention to the attempt of handing over the rice trade of Burma to the British firms. The Indian traders had built up the rice trade there under all sorts of adverse circumstances and now with the reconquest of Burma, this imperial trade is to pass out of their bands. The imperial trade is to pass out of their hands. Committee say that Indian interests have been perturbed by receipt of information regarding certain proposals sponsored by the present Government of Burma as represented by the Governor and his advisors. It would appear that it now proposed to form Agricultural Projects Board and this body alone will be entrusted with the work and will alone have the right of purchasing all the surplus rice available in Burma and the supply will then be sold by the Board to the British Ministry of Food and the arrangement for its export will also be made by the Ministry of Food in conjunction with the British Ministry of War Transport,

The Committee are further given to understand that financing of those operations will be undertaken by the Exchange and other banks who were interested in the rice trade in Burma before the war. The banks in question will finance the Agricultural Projects Board and the Board will be able to draw upon the Ministry of Food from time to time. Under this scheme the Food Department of the Government of India will be expected to negotiate with the Ministry of Food for the requirements of Burma rice for India, According to information now available this arrangement is expected to be in force not only during the period of military regime but will remain in operation at least control is imposed in almost all cases on Indian for two years after the Civil Government in Burna begins to function. These reports have filled the Committee with serious concern. They feel that it is nothing short of attempting to deprive Indian merchants and traders of their legitimate rights and place in the rice trade of Burms which they have built up and developed after years of efforts and toil.

India Through Soviet Eyes

The Soviet fortnightly The War and the Working Class has published a striking article on colonial question in which present-day economic problems of India have been discussed. The author is Dr. E. Zhukov. He writes shout India:

One can discern differences in the respective presentation of the colonial question by British, Dutch and American circles, although all base themselves on the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The Americans have in mind primarily such changes in the status of the colonies as would enable them to become spheres for unhindered investment of American capital and free market for American goods.

goods. The American Bulletin on Foreign Policy Reports formulates this attitude of the Transatlantic republic towards the colonial problem as follows: 'This country undoubtedly has a genuine interest in the removal of monopolist trade and investment practises in foreign areas including colonial Asia.'

This, undoubtedly, provides a clue to the beightened interest in the fate of colonial countries

This, undoubtedly, provides a clue to the heightened interest in the fate of colonial countries and in the post-war prospects of India, in particular, that is displayed by American political and business circles. On the other hand, certain circles in India hope to obtain some advantage for themselves out of the tendency of American capital to break the British economic monopoly in the colonies. The desire of the United States to take part in solving the Indian problem has grown exceptionally during the Indian problem has grown exceptionally during the past few years. This is due, in particular, to the wish of the Americans for making the fullest possible use of India's resources in their war against Japan. Critical utterances of a number of prominent Americans to the effect that British policy is hindering the utilisation of India's rich potentialities in the common war effort of the Allies are well-known. At the same time, American manufacturers and merchants are drawing up plans for increasing trade between the United States and India in the post-war period. This is not being looked upon with favour by Great Britain, The Calcutta newspaper America Basor Patrika recently reported that Mahindra, head of the Indian Trade Mission in the United States, was recalled because, as was reported from Washington, the Viceroy of India disagreed with his plans for expansion of Indian-American trade after the war.

trade after the war.

In England frequent mention is made of the fact that during the war, that is commencing with 1939, India has not only been able to wipe out a considerable part of her debt to the metropolitan country but, as a result of London's war expenditure, has actually become Britain's creditor to the amount approximately of five hundred million pound sterling This. however, does not after the fact that India is still a colonial country completely under the political and economic control of Great Britain. As the above-quoted Foreign Policy Reports stated, "there is every reason, therefore, to think that today, as before war, India is the most valuable of the world's colonies."

Appendan public opinion often expresses disnationation with the fact that the United States, while waging war against Japan in the Pacific, is regarded by the colonial powers as a force whose mission is to restore colonial territories temporarily occupied by the Japanese to their former owners.

The reconquest of Burma and its restoration to the British with an automatic constitution may be described as minus independence plus exploitation. There is little doubt now as to whether the Butch, French or Portuguese possessions in the Pacific will also be restored to their respective "owners" when they are "liberated" with U. S. blood and gold. The British have paved the way and there will certainly be claims from them. The French, under 'liberator' De Gaulle have shown singular alertness for the recovery of their lost Empire.

Future of Colonial People

Zhukov in his remarkable article admits that "of all the post-war problems the colonial question is attracting particular attention for two reasons. First, because the colonial status of a number of big and small countries and peoples has always been fraught with international complications and conflicts. For this reason, the solution, or even partial regulation, of the complex colonial problem is regarded by many foreign observers as one of the most important conditions for ensuring lasting peace. Secondly, because important economic and political changes have taken place in many colonial countries during the present World War. On these grounds many people believe that the status of colonies will undergo considerable modification after 'the war."

Finally Zhukov concludes:

The spirit of the haughty racial coloniser's approach towards peoples of the backward and dependent countries still persists to a large extent. This spirit permeates a number of utterances on the colonial question. Often attempts are made to prepare world public opinion for 'revision' of the colonial status of a number of countries as would change only the external forms but not the substance of political and economic relations. This testifies to the influence wielded by the mighty forces that are interested in preserving their position in the colonial countries and in perpetuating the existing colonial system.

There cannot be any doubt that these forces will offer strenuous resistance to any positive steps that may be taken towards abolishing, or even alleviating, colonial oppression. At the same time, it is evident that the system of colonial enslavement of hundreds of millions of people is an extremely dangerous obstacle in the path of social progress and the bulwark of reactionary tendencies all over the world. The removal of this barrier is an essential condition for the inclusion of vast countries and peoples inhabiting them in the general channel of humanity's economic, physical and cultural development.

In his criticism of the British colonial policy, Zhukov instances "as a striking illustration of the tenacity of the extremely reactionary views on the colonial problem," a suggestion that "care should be taken not to provide modern education for inhabitants of South Africa," for without a "definitely religious foundation" such education would do "more harm than good." India knows in her heart of hearts what denial of education means to the political, economic and social life of the country.

Several colonial peoples' organisations had held a conference in London early in June and a draft memorandum outlining the problem of colonial libera-

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tion was circulated. It was proposed to establish a Colonial Council, consisting of representatives not of imperialist powers but of colonial countries themselves. which would be entrusted with the following tasks: (1) To formulate the policy for unconditional ending of all colonial systems within a definite and stipulated period. (2) to supervise the establishment of representative and responsible constitutions based upon adult suffrage in the colonies with full safeguards for the minorities. (3) to ensure that none of the territories in Japanese control such as Burma, Malaya and others are permitted to revert to dependent status after their liberation, and (4) to bring about the immediate abrogation of all racial and discriminatory laws which deprive subject peoples generally of full democratic rights of citizenship.

The colonial question figured prominently in the San Francisco Conference as well. But unfortunately it has been tactfully buried there. Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit has correctly described the final outcome of the Conference with special reference to the colonial pro-

blem in the following words:

There is no doubt that a genuine effort has been . made to embody those principles of international justice without which there can be no enduring peace, and yet looking at it not in its immediate setting but in the perspective of the things to come I cannot help feeling curiously dissatisfied that certain principles of vital importance to humanity have been passed over lightly and emphasis has been given to the immediate presence rather than to the protection of that future which the Charter claims to ensure.

For instance, I wish that it had not been necessary to compromise with such issues as the ultimate right of all peoples' independence.

The Soviet Army paper Red Star takes the same view as Mrs. Vijaylakshmi and writes: "The organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security now being created by freedom-loving nations cannot consider its task completed as long as all peoples including peoples of colonial countries are not insured opportunity to speedily realise their cherished aspirations."

India—Key to America's Industrial Future

The following is an article condensed from the U. S. magazine Amerasia which discusses Indian industrial power as a key to America's industrial future:

By virtue of her extensive natural resources and vast population, India ranks first among the industrially backward areas that might be developed as a new economic frontier for the American economy.

The wartime expansion of trade between India and the United States, the presence in India of American military forces, engineers, and govern-ment officials and the fact that India has amassed huge sterling assets in London, has also served to start Americans speculating on the possibilities of

the Indian market in the post-war period.

In an appraisal of India's importance as a potential market for American industry, both economic and political factors must be considered. Disregarding for the moment the political aspects of the question, there is no doubt that India has the economic qualifications for extensive industrial development. And it is equally clear that a large-scale programme of industrial expansion and the modernisation of India's backward agricultural

system would create a huge market for all types of capital and consumer goods—many of which the United States is pecuharly well-fitted to supply. In the first place, India's natural resources are exceeded in size and variety only by those of the United States and the Soviet Union. Her mineral resources include one of the largest high-grade iron ore fields in the world, with an estimate to total nearly 30,000,000,000 averaging 64 per cent iron content. She is the world's largest producer of mice and ilmenite, possesses the second largest reserves of manganese, 49 per cent of the world's bauxite, and rich deposits of chrome magnesite, sulphur, graphite, gold, etc. Estimates of Indian coal reserves range from 36,000,000,000 to 60,000,000,000 tons although the proportion of higherede coal is said to be com-paratively small. This deficiency is more than offset, however, by her immense potential of hydro-electric power resources, which are estimated at a reserve of 3,800,000,000 horsepower, ranking second only to those of the United States.

Like the United States, India is also capable of providing a strong agricultural base for her industrial providing a strong agricultural base for her industrial structure. Even under her present backward and oppressive agrarian system, India ranks among the world's leading agricultural nations. Jute is a virtual Indian monopoly, and before the war India ranked first in the production of tobacco, sugar, and oil seeds. She is the second largest producer of cotton, rice, and tes, and among the leading producers of wheat, barley, hemp, rubber, lac, and silk. She is also the largest producer and exporter of hides and skins tanned and untanned.

Thus India is potentially capable of supporting both light and heavy industries on the basis of her own natural resources, as well as maintaining an ample volume of agricultural production to feed her people and to supply raw material for industry and export. Furthermore, India possesses a vast supply of labour power, with a heritage of skilled craftsman-ship dating back to the days when India was one of the leading manufacturing countries of the world. It is sometimes forgotten that it was the lure of India's wealth in manufactured goods—not raw materials—that first attracted European traders to her shores. For centuries before the British conquest of the country Indian silks, cotton textiles, metal manufactures and woodwork were known and prised throughout the world.

Because of the backwardness of Indian industry in the modern period, comparatively few Indians have had the opportunity to learn the mechanical and technical skills needed to operate modern machinery

But American engineers and supervisors who have co-operated in the development of some of India's few modern industries, such as the Tata Iron and Steel plant attest to the fast that Indiana respond quickly to technical training, and not only the workers, but the engineers, chemists, and technicians

are the equal of any in the world.

India looms large on a new economic frontier for the American economy. The war and India's accumulated sterling balances have opened new vistas for the American enterprise which will benefit both the countries. India is qualified to become a first class industrial power which will create a huge market for all types of consumer goods and the United States is peculiarly well-fitted to supply many of them. The future Indian national government will certainly bear this important fact in mind when they are in a position to take steps for stopping the one way traffic with Britain that is going on at the present moment for dissipating her sterling belances.

India's Squander-Bug!

The British Weekly News Review gives a graphic account of how Indian civilian money is drawn for investment in War Savings. The following extract will illustrate that lakhs and lakhs of rupees spent on official propaganda abroad has completely failed to delude intelligent opinion overseas who find out their own means to know the truth. The Review writes :

On the walls of every city and town has lately appeared a rash of red, black and yellow oblongs and squares of paper bearing such legends as: "Make Your Money Earn Its Keep," "Buried Money is Dead Money," "Buy Defence Savings Certificates for Profit and Protection."

Usually these exhortations have been ripped down within a few hours of their appearance, many of them splashed with red where some passerby has expressed his feelings by neatly ejecting betel-nut

These squander-bug symptoms have led the Governors of Provinces, on whose shoulders rests the responsibility for keeping war savings up to the snark, to think up other forms of persuasion. Last Pebruary Indians in the rural districts of Behar and the United Provinces heard "Oyex" men patrolling their villages, proclaiming by roll of drum that everybody who paid a tax of Re. 1 (1s. 6d.) must immediately buy Rs. 20 worth of War Savings Certificates. Householders who refused to fork out the necessary "contributions" were visited by petty offi-cials, some of whom reportedly used their sandals to drub their victims into savings-mindedness.

Facing a furore of Nationalist protest in the Delhi Legislature, Finance Member Sir Jeremy Raisman retorted: "My opinion has always been that it is necessary to go out and use a high degree of persuasson. The danger is that the line might be

overstepped."

Resentful Nationalists defeated the Government by 47 votes to 40 on a motion condemning "illegal and unfair use of force." But as the Indian Government is not responsible to the Legislature, nothing further happened.

Death for Devotion to Duty

Our suspicions about the death of an invigilator of the Calcutta University, expressed under the above caption in the May Number of The Modern Review, have been confirmed by the Coroner's verdict. The unanimous verdict of the jury at the inquest held by Mr. M. A. Haque, Coroner, on the death of Mr. Makhanhal Chanda, who died under mysterious circumstances, has been: "Death by injury inflicted by some unknown person or persons but the circumstantial evidence shows that the examinee Shahjahan is implicated in this matter." We consider this case as a very important one because here is an instance how a man lost his life for doing his duty, how the University which employed him failed to give protection to the unfortunate fellow even when asked for, how the police utterly neglected to get hold of the culprit or culprits responsible for the loss of this life and how the negligence of the police and the premier Medical College of the country contributed to the loss of the sest important evidence in the case. By the time the securposed and the doctors could not give their Midded College and the University have all some out in this case against a very dispusceful background. For the benefit of our readers outside Bengal, we give below the facts of the case in the words of the Coroner himself:

The facts of the case was that the deceased was an invigilator of the Calcutta University and also a private tutor. On April 4, he acted as an invigilator of the B.A. Examination held on the top floor of the Darbhanga Building where an incident took place between him and an examinee named Mr. Shah-jahan. The evidence was that the examinee was found in possession of a book by the deceased and the latter reported the matter to the University authorities. There was also evidence that while going to the Controller the examinee threatened the deceased and gave him a hard push. He threatened to kill him.

On the night of April 7, the deceased attended the house of Mr. Bhaduri, a witness, to coach his son. He was there till about 11 p.m. He was in good health then. At about 2-30 a.m. that night he was brought to the Medical College Hospital in a rickshaw by two men and left there. He was found to be dead by the doctor. His attendants absconded and could not be traced by the doctors and coolies of the hospital. Some papers including his appointment letters as an invigilator were found in

shirt's pocket by the doctors.

Proceeding, the Coroner stated that Dr. Mannan, who was on duty in the hospital that night, admitted that he suspected foul play in the death when he found that the man was brought in dead and that the attendants abscended. But still no report about the case was sent to the police that night from the, hospital. There was a telephone in the emergency room but no mformation was given to the police over the phone. The next morning the medical report about the death of the invigilator was sent to the police. The next day was a Sunday and the post-mortem examination was held on the following Monday in the afternoon. In the mean time the body was highly decomposed. It was decomposed so much so that the doctor, who held the post-mortem examination, could not give any opinion as to the cause of the death.

The Coroner severely criticised the dialatory action of the investigating officer Misra and that of the doctors of the Medical College Hospital, and pointed out that had Mr. Misra told the doctor of the Police Morgue that it was a suspected case, the doctor might have held the post-mortem examina-tion on the Sunday and in that case the body would not have been highly decomposed. The Coroner was not satisfied with the explanation of the Officer-in-Charge of the Bowbasar Thana that as it was not a murder case, and so he had no suspicion he had deputed a junior officer to investigate the case. The fact was that the man was brought to hospital dead and that his attendants absonded, and if this did not rouse the officer's suspicion the Coroner did not know what would raise his suspicion.

It is clear that the Controller of Examinations, the officer-on-duty at the Medical College, the officer-incharge of the Police Station and the Investigation Police Sub-Inspector are all guilty of gross dereliction of duty. The Controller of Examinations did not state material fasts while making a statement to the police. He did not disclose Shahishan's name nor did he say that the examinee had threatened the invigilator with death. The Registrar of the University also did not ask the Controller to supply these material facts to the police. We believe that in this case from beginning to and the Controller betrayed a timidity which may be

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Alled cowardice. It was his clear duty to lodge the set information report to the police and to make a tean breast of all the facts known to him. He has coved thoroughly unfit for holding the responsible ost of the Controller of Examinations, who has to particular thousands of examinees and hundreds of invigitors every year. It is the duty of the Syndicate to lace him on duties other than administrative.

One thing comes out very prominently in this consection. The Controller's action in allowing Shahahan to continue the examination was an act of
inprecedented cowardice specially when students are
expelled for much lesser offence. This action of the
Controller certainly led the examinee to think that the
University was at his back and if he could prevent
Chanda from reporting against him his examination
would stand. Chanda was thus helplessly isolated from
the University administration and it is natural that he
would become a personal target of the examinee's
wrath. This foolish and cowardly act of the Controller
amounted to have brought down the University
administration to a stand-still.

The officer-on-duty at the Medical College admitted that when he received the dead body he suspected foul play but he took no care to preserve the dead body. The plea of the refrigerator having been out of order is absolutely untenable. There are chemical means of preserving a dead body for a few days as is practised in moffusil medical schools. The fact that the refrigerator was out of order for three months shows that the persons in charge of the morgue were also equally negligent.

The police must come in for the severest condemnation. The role played by the Court Inspector was so disgusting that the Coroner himself had remarked: "Mr. Muktadin, you are really playing the role of counsel for Shahjahan. It is for his counsel to put the questions you are asking, not for you. I do not know if you are sailing in the same boat with the counsel for Shahjahan." The Inspector was unabashed and openly stated in Court that the "police had found on enquiry that there was no question of suspicion against Shahjahan." The action of this Inspector, as well as the Officer-in-Charge of the Bowbazar Thana and the Investigating Sub-Inspector have aroused a suspicion that causes other than normal must have prevailed over them to deduce the most unnatural conclusion that there was nothing suspicious about this death Drastic enquiry should be made to find out what led them to take this most unnatural and astounding view and to act in such a manner as to cause the disappearance of the most important evidence.

We shall wait to see what action the Police Commissioner takes after the Coroner's verdict.

Another Instance of Petty-Fogging Highhandedness

Mr. N. M. Khan, I.C.S., ex-District Magistrate of Midnapore and at present Director of Agriculture, Bengal, has earned a notoriety for arrogance and high-handedness to which incompetence may be added. It is strange that this man has not only been retained in service, but actually he has been promoted after each time when there had been a law-suit against him. In 1837 or 1938, he came into limelight as S.D.O. of the Brahmanbaria Subdivision in the Tippersh district. A case of malicious prosecution and properful arrest had

been filed against him at the Subordinate Judge's Court and damages were awarded. The charges generally were highhanded action, tyranny and torture. He appealed against his conviction but dared not contest the case and prayed for protection under the Judicial Officers' Protection Act. The Government has always been singularly kind to this arrogant official whose actions have been condemned by the High Court on more than one occasion and the proceedings against him at Brahmanbaria were dropped. Then we find him promoted to the rank of District Magistrate at Jessore. There his Magisterial dignity was wounded at the sight of a gentleman lying asleep on an easy chair in the waiting room at the Jessore railway station which he himself wanted to occupy. He had the man arrested and convicted on very scanty evidence and had him convicted at the lower court. This harassed man later was discharged by the High Court, Then we find him in charge of the higger district of Midnapore where the atrocities perpretated by him were described as "blood-curdling" by the then Premier Mr. A. K. Fazlul Hug who wanted to institute an inquiry of his actions but Sir John Herbert took this person under his protecting wings and prevented the inquiry. Vivid accounts of the atrocities in Midnapore in 1942 when this person was in charge of the district have darkened several pages of the official proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

While Mr. Khan was the District Magistrate of Midnapore, his conduct in connection with the requisition of a car was discussed by Edgley and Sen JJ. Mr. Justice Edgley said that his action was not bonafide and Mr. Justice Sen described his action as "petty-fogging highhandedness arising out of the Magistrate's exaggerated notions of dignity."

The harassed man of Jessore had filed an application before the Calcutta High Court for damages which has recently been disposed of by Mr. Justice Gentle, We can do no better than quote the relevant portion of Mr. Justice Gentle's judgment below;

In a lengthy judgment his lordship animadverted upon the evidence of the defendant which his lord-ship disbelieved. His lordship observed inter alia that upon the evidence he had to make up his mind on the facts. The defendant in his lordship's opinion was a bad witness. His demeanour was most unsatisfactory. On more than one occasion, when asked a mmple question, he made long statements mostly upon irrelevant matters and did not give a reply to the question put to him. His lordship rejected the defendant's evidence of the plaintiff's indecent posture as a fiction and invention. It was an embellishment in his evidence. If his lordship had any regard for reliability of the defendant's evidence, this part of his testimony would have destroyed it Unhesitatingly his lordship rejected everything that he had stated save where it was in accord with the evidence given by the plaintiff, for example, his arrival in the waiting room and finding the plaintiff asseep, in the only easy chair. The plaintiff, his lordship remarked, was a good witness and his evidence was given in a perfectly satisfactory manner. His lordship accepted what he stated and found as an established fact what he had stated in the witness box.

service, but actually he has been promoted after each so much for his arrogance. As regards his intime when there had been a law-suit against him. In competence we may say that after 1942, when it became 1937 or 1938, he came into limelight as S.D.O. of the difficult even for Sir John Herbert to keep this man Brahmanbaria Subdivision in the Tipperah district. A posted as a Magistrate, he was sent out to his home case of malicious prosecution and wrongful arrest had province, the Punjab, as the wheat purchasing officer acting on behalf of the Civil Supplies Department. The people of this province bitterly remember that it is this person who purchased the poorest quality of wheat and rotten atta for our consumption and that at an unreasonably high price. The man who failed to administer a district or even a sub-division, who betrayed utter incompetence in the procurement of food has now been placed in charge of the Department of Agriculture, which concerns the food of 60 million human beings.

Aborigines and Backward Classes in Bihar

Mr. A. V. Thakkar writes in the Leader: "The Section 93 Government of Bihar has recently been pleased to abolish the Advisory Board for the uplift of the aborigines and backward classes in Chhota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganas of Bihar. This board was started as a result of the work of the late Congress Government of Bihar after its resignation in 1939. Thus, after a few years' working, the Bihar Government has thought it wise to abolish the Advisory Board and thereby to close the special work of uplift of a very large section of backward people of that province.

"It is strange that when the whole world is frantically planning for betterment, the Bihar Government has seen fit to close down an important activity, which it was its special duty to attend to. A glance at the census figures will show how vital and of what great magnitude this uplift work is for Bihar. The total population of Madras, Bombay and Bihar is 493, 208 and 288 lakhs respectively. The population figures of aboriginal 'tribes' in the three provinces, in the same order, are 5.6, 16 and 50.5 lakhs. Thus, the tribal population is 1.1 per cent of the total population in Madras, 7.7 per cent for Bombay and 17.5 per cent for Bihar. Madras with its 1.1 per cent considers it a necessary activity and the department responsible for this work has earned for itself a reputation for efficiency. But here, in Bihar, with its 17.5 per cent of tribal population, the work is considered not worth pursuing, but worth closing down 1

"Neither is this uplift work a minor activity, when we look at the question regionally. One should not be misled by the expression 'Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas.' This 'partially excluded' area in Bihar really consists of six whole districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribag, Palamau and Santhal Parganas, which are to a high degree tribal in population. And when we remember that the total number of districts in the province is only 16, the magnitude of the injustice done to the tribal people appears in its true proportions.

"What will the poor Mundss, Orsons, Santhals, Kharias, Hos and other tribals, who were tempted to come out of their darkness and taught to dream of a better future for their children, say now? I can mentally see their rude yet childlike eyes, tear-stained, wondering confounded."

The Christian missionaries have no doubt done much for the uplift of the Bihar tribals, but that is evidently coupled with their proselytisation. The duty of the State does not end because of the work of the Christian or Hindu missionaries. The Madras Government has a special department, called the Labour department, for the last 25 years, which looks after the welfare and uplift of all its beckward classes and spends lakes of rupees annually for their betterment. The Bombay Government has its Backward Classes

Department for the last 15 years, which watches keenly the interests of its hill tribes and aboriginals. It has started a large number of free hostels for boy and girl students, and awards scholarships and free studentships in its schools and colleges with a liberal hand. But the Bihar Government, instead of coming forward with any appropriate scheme for the betterment of 50 lakhs or 17.5 per cent of its population, has abolished the board which was doing only a little bit of the work.

Aborigines—the Forgotten People of India

For years the exploitation and degradation of the helpless aborigines of India have been going on. The Government did not care to do a thing for their uplift. Under the Government of India Act of 1936, they were constitutionally buried in the excluded and partially excluded areas. Their plight has been worse than that of the untouchables for the harijans have found champions; they have huge funds devoted to their welfare. Social conscience is at last being aroused on their behalf by selfless workers like Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Dr. Verrier Elwin and others.

Mr. Porus A. Mehta, writing in the Indian Social Reformer, has given an account of what good work can be done among the aborigines only if the Executive authority exerts itself in so doing. He writes: "Mr. B G. Kher, as Premier of Bombay, exerted himself and Mr. D. Symington, I.C.S., made his report in 1939 on the aborigines which shocked the conscience even of the Government. Mr. Kher had by that time left office but he had impressed Sir Roger Lumley with his sincerity and zeal for the forgotten men and Sir Roger promised to help. A conference of local workers was called and with the support of Mr. A. V. Thakkar a small committee was formed to ameliorate their condition. The Adi-Vasa Seva Mandal has been working at several centres for the uplift of these men and to bring them a sense of self-respect, Mr. Kher was touring the district at this time to open several hostels for Adı-Vasi boys and girls. With him were some men who had taken the cause of these helpless people to heart. As the bus rolled I mused, Is it so small a thing that an ex-Premier of a big Province should so interest himself in men without a vote or a voice and without any influence and power, should go huddled in a bus, swallowing large quantities of dust and sweating under the sun in May, sleeping on hard floors, eating the simple fare of villagers, drinking whatever kind of water was available in these Cholera-ridden days and on the move all the time? It was not like the Governor or Collector on his well-planned tours with all the comforts that money and power can procure. When there are such men available in our land, there is hope, however black the present and however dark the horizon, that justice and humanity will not wholly perish here below."

Mr. Mehta then narrates his visit of the tribal areas and describes the selfless devotion of the workers who have dedicated their lives to the uplift of these forgotten men. He sums up his impression saying that there were men among the workers to remember and be proud of. "Most of the men in this party had been jail-birds. In fact I was perhaps the only respectable member of the party with no jail record. And I was the most useless of the party also. What times to live in when many grood men are shreafe jail-goers and when it is a master

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of pride and proof of your bonafides to have served a sentence! For the first time in my life, against all copy-book maxims, I felt small for not having been confined as a detenu."

Black Deeds of White Men

The tyranny of colour prejudice is probably nowhere so rampant as in South Africa. A very timely publication, Verdict on South Africa by P. S. Joshi, gives a vivid account of the black deeds of white men in the dark continent. It proves that although Germany is defeated and Hitler probably dead, Nazism is still alive thriving right in the British Empire itself. Despite the natural emphasis on the problem of Indians, the author has asked for full justice to all the Asiatic and African peoples who are victimised at the altar of "Whitemanism." Mr. Joshi writes about the countless inhumanities:

The history of South African Natives is a saga of countless inhumanities and indescribable injustices perpetrated by Whites, a tragedy pregnant with calamities caused by colour bar, a narrative of nameless horrors practised by the strong over the weak.

The natives are like foreigners in their own land. Their life is held dirt cheap. The colour-mad Europeans consider it to be lower than even that of their dogs. Their spokesmen have been heard to exclaim, in fits of anger, that one white life is more valuable than a thousand black lives. It is always possible for Indian Untouchables to get justice in law courts; but in South Africa, black-white criminal suits are decided on the assumption that a black life is less precious than a white life.

The history of a century will hardly show the instance of a single white man awarded capital punishment for the murder of a native. But it will bring to light scores of cases in which the white murderer escaped scot-free or only with nominal

punishment.

The Whites are not prepared to think about their most elementary rights as human beings. They cannot even brook the spectacle of natives driving a car or riding a bicycle. Although equipped with most meagre means of livelihood, the natives are required to pay a number of taxes, excluding a very

heavy hut-tax.

South African politicians would like it very much if they could drive away the natives from tities, farms and villages to far off deserts. But this is practically impossible. The Whites are accustomed to behave as bosses in South Africa. They are so brought up as to think that the work of cleaning vessels, sweeping houses and roads, carrying burdens, tilling, cooking and washing is meet only for Kaffirs.

The status of the South African natives is the worst of all. They are insulted every moment of their existence. Many whites refer to them by the oppro-brious term Kaffir. The prejudice prevailing against them in educational spheres, too, is harrowing.

lavery in "Civilised" South Africa

About civilised slavery in South Africa Mr. Joshi

The current South African Government policy in current sound Arman Government policy is to keep the natives under perpetual bondage and slavery. This slavery is not of the old but of the modern type. . . The slavery thrust by whites upon the natives in South Africa has played havoe. The engreachment of white civilisation has broken the domestic life of the natives, shattered their traditions and destroyed their religious enthusiasm. Their racial pride has been humbled, and they have become the victims of immorality and evil conduct. The moral degradation of the natives has been accompanied by their economic downfall.

Natives working on the white farms have live on the razor blade of misery. They get nominal any on the rasor discost of misery. They get nominal wages and heaps of insults. The white farmer could treat them like dogs, whip them and make them slave for him. No attention is paid to their complaints. On the contrary, more and more laws are being framed to suppress these poor people.

These conditions of slavery run rampant in the "Commonwealth of Nations" presided over by Great Britain, the birthplace of Wilberforce.

Anti-Indianism in South Africa

Mr. Joshi's book throws a flood of light on the condition of Indians in South Africa. He writes:

is to blame for the injustice that has sprung from colour prejudice. In Natal, the English are busy doing injustices to non-Europeans; in the Trustant the Afrikander antipathy to colour and the J. w. S. intrigues for trade monopoly are waging war against Indians; in the Cape and the Orange Free State, the Afrikanders are carrying on an open and the English

a secret anti-Indian propaganda.

It is three quarters of a century since the Indians came into this country. And yet the British have not reconciled themselves to their presence. They are always engaged in the horrifying task of crushing, tormenting, ruining them. A single pro-clamation has eliminated the "Indian menace" from the Orange Free State. The Transval white is vehe-ment in his demand for the downfall of Indians. The agreements with the Indian Government have not even the ghost of binding effect on the South African whites. These whites put any construction they like on them and treat them as scraps of paper. The South African bureaucracy has chosen to compromise itself with these currents of colour prejudice. No minister in the whole history of South Africa has ever uttered a word against anti-Indianism. On the other hand, instances are not wanting in which ministers have fanned the fire of anti-Indianism instead of extinguishing it, and have encouraged the hydra-headed monster.

The terrible suffering and humiliation of Indians in South Africa have been tolerated by the weak and indifferent Government of India which has very little to do with the welfare of her people both in India and abroad. The new overseas member, Dr. Khare fulminated against the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa and threatened retaliation but ultimately his temperature came down to humble submission. The Broome Commission angrily takes "a serious view of the present attitude of Indian politicians in India" and says that "the propaganda now emanating from India is highly damaging to South Africa and may well have serious international repercussions." The Commission contend:

South Africa's problem is not merely a problem of a quarter million Indians against two and a quarter Europeans. The problem is largely conditioned by the presence in South Africa of seven and a quarter million natives and three-quarters of a million coloured people in addition.

The Broome Commission must be aware of the fact that in the British Empire, non-white population follow that the South African policy should be it is oil, and we consider it very reasonable to put extended to the whole of the Empire and the non-white forward a demand of this character. people should be deprived of their vote and other rights of citizenship? We wait for the day when a fully Independent India will bring these votaries of racial Draft Hindu Code discrimination to their proper senses.

Government of India's Oil Policy

No mention of mineral oil or motor and aviation fuel has been made in the Government of India's industrial plan, and those have not been included within the scope of nationalisation. Oil is the most important mineral either for war or for peace. It is most surprising that although the Government of India Act of 1935 leaves discretion to the Central Government to undertake legislation for controlling the development of minerals, including oil, no such attempt has been made so far with the result that each province is at liberty to follow its own course in the matter. As a result of repeated suggestions made by Mr. K. C. Neogy at the Central Legislature, Dr. Ambedkar made the declaration that the Central Government proposed to initiate legislation for the purpose of controlling the development of vertain minerals. Oil will, of course, be one of the minerals to be centrally controlled. Apart from oilfields that are at present actually worked in India, very large petroleum deposits have been discovered near Rawalpindi, and the Punjab Government granted a prospecting license to a non-Indian company in 1936 over the oil-field concerned. The prospecting license, as is usual, contains the condition that the licensee has the discretionary right to take a mining lease. The result is that this oilfield, which is supposed to be the largest so far discovered in India, is passing into non-Indian hands; but as the holder of a prospecting license under the Government rules has the prior right to a mining lease, it is too late now to suggest that the concession should be granted to genuine Indian interests. Apart from this oil-field, it is an open secret that certain non-Indian concerns have secured licenses for the purpose of carrying out preliminary scientific investigations over virtually all the areas in India where oil is suspected to occur. The terms of these licenses granted by the Provincial Governments have not yet been disclosed, and the Central Government pretend that they have no knowledge about any licenses granted by the Provincial Governments in this matter. The first step that should be urged is early legislation at the Centre to enable centralised control over oil as well as other important key minerals. Having regard to the provisions of the Government of India Act, it is futile to suggest that genuine Indian concerns should be granted these concessions in preference to British and other foreign interests. It is also useless to demand that the concessions that have already been granted in favour of British or other foreign interests should be cancelled and granted anew to Indian interests. Apart from the statutory difficulties in this matter, there is no Indian concern of any standing which can justly expect to be granted an oil concession, as no Indian industrialist can be said to have any experience or organisation which is essential for the purpose of carrying out investigations about the occurrence of oil. The best course, therefore, is to demand nationalisation of all oil resources in the country on payment of due

exceeds the whites by hundreds of millions. Does it concessions. If any industry deserves to be nationalised.

The Four Judges' Statement on the

Four Judges of the Calcutta High Court have, in a recent statement to the press given their opinion against the draft Hindu Code. This statement of their own accord seeks to carry importance because it bears the stamp of having emanated from the judges qua judges and not as public men. We do not know of any other instance where judges of a High Court came forward in this fashion to give their opinion in public on a proposed measure of legislation which, when passed, might come up before them for adjudication. In the U.S. A. when the entire country was rent with the New Deal controversy, the Supreme Court judges could not utter a single word about the soundness of the Bill. When the measure was passed and a provision of the N. R. A. came up before them under a suit, they declared the main provision of that Act as ultra vires of the Constitution. In another case, while reviewing the conviction of the Founder-Editor of The Modern Review for the publication of Sunderland's India in Bondage, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, Sir George Rankin admitted that the law under which the prosecution had been made had many defects, but he had no other option but to obey it as it stood for the function of the judges is to interpret the law after they have been passed, as the judiciary have nothing to do with the course of legislation. Any opinion passed by them during the process of legislation is bound to lead one of the parties in the controversy to think that the judges are prejudiced. People may be afraid that they may not get justice at their hands. We wonder what led these august judges to break the age-old judicial tradition and to go out of their way to pronounce a verdict in favour of those in this controversy, who are distinctly on the side of reaction. We are extremely sorry to find at least one name in a very strange company. Judging from the trend of public opinion in and out side the Central Legislature and from the volume of evidences before the Rao Committee it may reasonably be expected that the Bill will get through. There is no doubt that these judges have partly compromised the position of the Calcutta High Court and it will be very difficult for parties to appear before them for the decision of cases under the Code when and if it is passed. Prefacing the statement they say that they have expressed their views as a result of requests from several quarters and "a detailed discussion would have been more useful and appropriate with the members of the Rao Committee if they had thought it fit to invite us to meet them." This is no explanation. If they can come up in the controversy of their own accord, they could certainly send a memorandum to the Rao Committee and appear before it in their personal capacity. To our mind the Rao Committee was perfectly correct in not anticipating that in Calcutta a group of judges were then ready to break the judicial tradition by joining in a public controversy over a legislative measure.

The Judges Against Codification

The four judges say: "At the outset we must compensation to the interests that already hold these express our serious doubts as to the wisdom, necessity NOTES 13

or feasibility of enacting a comprehensive Code of Hindu Law . . . Most of the rules of Hindu law are now well settled and well understood and a code is not therefore called for at all. There is, in fact, no general demand for it, neither those who are affected by Hindu Law, nor those who have to administer it have felt the necessity of a Code."

The preceding sentence proves that they have given their opinion as judges and have arrogated to themselves the position of representing "those who have to administer" Hindu Law. We do not as yet know whether any other judge of any other High Court in India has authorised these four gentlemen to speak for them and to declare publicly that the Hindus "will stoutly resist any attempt to foist a code of personal law upon them." They have not however stated if they are prepared, in the event of the Code being passed, to resign and lead the movement for resisting the Code.

The other two arguments advanced by them are absolutely untenable. If there is any law in the country which needs to be immediately codified it is Hindu Law. At present Hindu Law is administered in different parts of India under different schools of principles In ancient India when there was no mobility of movement in this vast country of ours, local schools of law in different localities naturally sprang up and developed With the introduction of modern and quick means of transport, the mobility of population has enormously increased. The divergent and sometimes contradictory nature of the various local laws are more a hindrance than a help. Do not the judges believe that the levelling down of the difference in Hindu Law as administered in different provinces under a common code will unify the entire Hindu community and consolidate them for the achievement of Akhand Hindusthan? Do they believe that the salvation of the Hindu lies in perpetuating the differences by leaving them free to be multiplied through the continuous growth of local customs all over this huge sub-continent? It is a matter of utmost regret that even High Court judges fail to realise the danger of division and subdivision in the Hindu society even at a moment when it has come on the verge of extinction and bluntly declare that "uniformity is an impossible ideal." Reactionary idea can go no further.

Their third argument against codification is that Hindu Law is well understood and therefore no codification is called for. The criminal law is well understood in the country; do they consider that it is time that the Indian Penal Code should go? Different provinces have different systems of land tenure; do they consider that a unification of all these tenures under one common system for the whole of India is necessary ?

The Judges Against Daughter's Rights

The judges have expressed their strong dislike about the proposed inclusion of the daughters in the list of simultaneous heirs. They consider it a "change of revolutionary character." Their objections are mainly two: (1) that it would lead to further fragmentation of property and (2) that there is a traditional dislike in the Hindu mind of allowing strangers to the family to come and share the inheritance. The first objection is useless because the fragmentation of land is already at its worst. The inclusion of an additional is the sentiment of these judges when they find either

claimant in the property will add no more complication to the already acute problem of fragmentation which has reduced the average holding to a patch of one or two acres for over 70 per cent of the agricultural people of this province. The second objection also is untenable, Fear of participation in ancestral property by relatives through the married daughter may produce one very beneficial result, it may improve the relations between the two families united through the marriage.

In connection with the daughter's rights, the judges have made the statement that: "No Smriti writer, ancient or modern, no school of Hindu Law, progressive or otherwise, have recognised the daughter as such heir. (i.e., co-heir with the son)." Those of us who have had the opportunity of studying Raja Ram Mohun's famous tract on Hindu Women's Rights have found that famous lawgivers like Vrihaspati, Vishnoo, Manu, Jajnavalkya and Katyayana have clearly defined the daughter's rights in the ancestral property and have accepted the daughter as a co-heir with the son. We give below some relevant extracts:

Vrihaspati says :- The daughters should have the fourth part of the portion to which the sons are

entitled.-त्रीयांशास्त्र कन्यकाः

Vishnoo says :- The rights of unmarried daughters shall be proportioned according to the shares allotted

to the sons.— अनुदाश्व बुहितरः पुत्रभागानुसाराः

Manoo says :- To the unmarried daughters let their brothers give portions out of their own allotments respectively. Let each give a fourth of his own distinct share and they who feel disinclined to give this shall be condemned.-

स्वेभ्योऽ'शेभ्यस्त कन्याभ्यः प्रदेशभ्रतिरः प्रथक । स्वात् सार्वशाचत्रभागः पतिताः स्यरदित्सवः

Judges on Polygamy

As regards monogamy, the judges say: "We share the general view that as polygamy has practically disappeared from Hindu society, it is not necessary to enforce monogamy by legislation." Bestiality is a crime punishable under the Indian Penal Code. It is of very rare occurrence. Do the judges think that this clause should be removed from the Penal Code because the crime has practically disappeared?

It is common knowledge that polygamy is still quite frequent in the Hindu society. It is still a source of unmitigated suffering for many innocent Hindu women. Several people high up in the social ladder in Bengal and belonging to the same generation as that of the judges are known to have married a second time in the lifetime of their first wives. The reasons for these acts of polygamy were not barrenness or afflictment with incurable disease, etc. We consider it imperative and urgent that polygamy should be prohibited under severe penalty of law. This crime is still prevalent in all the strata of Hindu society.

These judges do not think that "the right of divorce has conduced to better social wellbeing or harmony where this right exists. At any rate Hindu conception of marriage as a sacrament is diametrically opposed to the idea of divorce, and we feel this idea is abhorrent to the average Hindu." We wonder what

in their own courts or in those of their brother judges, young Hindu girls appearing with prayer for divorce as converts to the Muslim religion. The Muslim law has granted her an opportunity to start life afresh and to get out of an intolerable position which her own law has demed. We consider that Hindu law suffers a great deal in comparison in this matter. The ancient lawgivers from the Vedic times down to Kautilya had granted the right of divorce and remarriage to women even on the ground of continued absence of the husband. This birthright of the tortured women fell into disuse during the supremacy of a corrupt Brahminism in the later Middle ages. This right of divorce is such a crying need for Hindu women that even these judges have faltered to pronounce their opinion definitely against them.

Bengal, even a few years ago, was renowned for having been the torch-bearer of progressive thought which lighted up the whole of the country far and wide. It is a matter of utmost regret to find her degenerating into a hotbed of reactionarism. The degree of degeneration may only be guessed when one finds eminent men like these judges going out of their own sphere to intervene on the side of retrogression.

Development of Fisheries in India

The Fazal Rahimatoollah Sub-Committee appointed by the Government of India has expressed the opinion that no material increase in fish production is possible unless a comprehensive programme of development based on an all-India policy is adopted and enforced at an early date. The first thing to be done towards this end is to obtain detailed knowledge about the sea, the fishes, catching methods, organisation of the fish trade and the economic conditions of the fishermen. They recommended collection of detailed statistics, and a preliminary survey of commercial fisheries, such as fishings grounds, vessels and boats employed for catch. The Committee, as also Dr. B. Prashad, the new Fishery Adviser of the Government of India, have recommended the establishment of a Central Fishery Research Institute. The work of the institute will be biological, physio-chemical, statistical, technological and educational.

From recent experiences, people will believe that the latter part of the recommendations, which seeks to create some high salaried posts, will be adopted while the former which deal with the welfare of the fishermen and the people will be pigeon-holed in the usual bureaucratic manner.

Development of Sunderban Fisheries

The Sunderbans in Bengal have great potentialities. Dr. S. L. Hora, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in May last, gave a valuable discourse on the development of the Sunderban Fisheries. At the outset he pointed out that among the body-building foods are fish, meat, poultry, eggs and milk. Of these, it would take a considerable time to increase the supply of the last four articles, whereas fish supplies could be easily increased. Development of Sunderban Fisheries was likely to play a very important part in the nutrition of the famine-stricken people of Bengal.

Public doubts about the sincerity of the Central Government plans were confirmed when Dr. Hora stated that on several occasions the Government wanted

definite schemes from his department for the development of Sunderban Fisheries, but no facilities were provided to Dr. Hora, the Director, to visit the Sunderbans on the plea of lack of suitable transport. About the month of April, Dr. Hora of his own accord availed of an opportunity to visit the area when the Divisional Forest Officer of Khulna took him out with him in his launch. It was during this visit that Dr. Hora found that all early accounts of these fisheries, carefully preserved in the antiquated departmental Reports, had become out of date and that favourable conditions now obtained for the control and exploitation of the fisheries of this region on a proper commercial basis under governmental direction.

Dr. Hora expressed himself against the introduction of trawler fishing in the Sunderban area. He said that the types of boats which were being used for fishing at present were quite suitable for they could be easily taken into shallow creeks during unfavourable weather conditions. As regards nets, he said they were being used rather too effectively and the only change immediately needed was to widen the meshes in order to check the slaughter of young fishes. Dr. Hora admitted the need for an improvement in boats and nets, but at the same time he emphasised that any change undertaken must not be hurried and must satisfy the fishing conditions of the particular area. Any foreign method of fishing, such as the trawler and the drift netting. recommended for the locality must first be tried on an experimental scale before any substantial measure could be taken to introduce them wholesale.

Dr. Hora's Fishery Plan

Assuming that the supply of fish in the Sunderban area was unlimited, the Government of India set a problem for Dr. Hora to draw up a scheme for obtaining one hundred thousand tons of fishes from the Sundarbans annually. On visiting the area himself, he found that the working of these fisheries was a very simple matter. He indicated that in working these fisheries twelve primary fish assembly centres along the northern boundary of the forests could be established from where motor-boats could go into the forest with ice and procure the fish from the fishermen, distribute the daily requirements of the fishermen to them and thus every day bring back fresh fish to the Assembly Centres. At each Assembly Centre, the fish should be sorted, graded and packed in numbered boxes to be sent to the consuming centre, chiefly Calcutta. Twelve such Assembly Centres could be worked from two secondary Fish Assembly Centres at the railway heads or road heads to Calcutta. One such head could be at Hosirabad area and the other at Port Canning. From these rail or road heads, fish could be sent to Calcutta where there should be a big cold storage accommodation sufficient to stock 50,000 maunds of fish. Such an organisation, according to Dr. Hora, could be set up for a capital expenditure of 17t lakhs of rupees and could work at an annual recurring expenditure of 7 to 8 lakes of rupees. Against this expenditure, he calculated on the basis of one lakh maunds of fish annually procured from this area at an average cost of Rs. 29 a maund for all varieties of fish and sold in Calcutta at the price of Rs. 40 a maund. The chief point for consideration was who is going to work such an organisation? Instead of the Government taking up the procurement, transport and marketing of fish. Dr.

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. Hora favoured the idea of entrusting it to a commercial enterprise. In his opinion, the Government might float a limited liability company in which half the capital might be invested by them, the remaining half being open to public subscription. Dr. Hora is definitely against any direct Government management, he thinks that the best result will be obtained by entrusting the management to an efficient and reliable firm of Managing Agents. The Government should retain only a controlling interest as in the case of the Port Trust or the Calcutta Improvement Trust. In order to ensure smooth working, he believes that every servant of the company should have an interest in the fish trade by having a portion of the profits given to him as gratuity at the end of the year.

Enhancement of Sales Tax in Bengal

While the Wavell talks proceed favourably Simla, economic repression continues unabated in Bengal. The Bengal Government has enhanced the sales tax to three pies per rupee. Considering the scarcity of price coins, this enhancement in many cases means one anna in the rupee. The sales tax in Bengal has been planned and collected in a manner so as to make it the most disgusting and oppressive tax in the province. Exemptions under the Sales Tax Act have been so planned as to be extremely lenient for the British and the rich while the poorer and middle classes have been brought ruthlessly under its operation. It is a flat rate, and makes no distinction between luxury products and necessities. Its method of collection is such that it works out very heavily on the common people. The purchaser of a luxury product worth Rs. 100 will pay three pice in the rupee while a common man purchasing a tooth-paste with nine annas will have to pay three price, i.e., about 10 per cent in taxation.

This enhancement, we apprehend, is only a fore-taste of what is in store for this famine-stricken province. The Government of Bengal is carrying a stock of rice, worth about sixty or seventy crores, purchased by means of borrowed capital. The handling of such a huge stock and malpractices in purchases and sales is bound to lead to heavy losses, which in fact has occurred. The losses are estimated as follows:

1943-44		R	. 3	crores	50	lakhs
1944-45		,,	5	,,		
	Revised)	,,	13	**	39	,,
1945-46	(Budget)		5		53	

Judging from the proportion of difference between Budget and Revised Budget estimates in 1944-45, it would be no wonder if the revised budget for 1945-46 does reveal Rs. 16 crores as the loss for that year. It may be even more, but not much less. The famine-stricken people of Bengal have already paid Rs. 19 crores as losses on foodgrain transactions by the Government in two years. The present Governor of Bengal has shown concern for the cleanliness of Calcutta streets, Calcutta markets and Calcutta slums. Some one will have to exert himself to examine the accounts of the foodgrain transactions of this government in order to rid the people of the province of the augean stables of the civil supplies department.

Raisman Champions Birth Control

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Ex-Finance Member of the Government of India, who frittered away enormous wealth from this country for the benefit of his own and had done thereby little else but harm to the Indian people, has now become a champion of their welfare. In his opinion, the regulation of Indian population by means of birthcontrol is of greater importance than planning to house, clothe and feed those already living. He said:

It is all very well to draw up plans for better feeding and housing. But how can these plans be put into operation when the population of India is increasing at the rate of approximately 10,000,000 annually? It is like trying to build a house to accommodate ten people, knowing full well that by the time it is finished the family will have increased to twelve.

The methods used in other countries to regulate the population should be widely introduced into India. Clinics should be set up throughout the country at which Indian women could be taught scientific methods of birth-control and where they could receive advice on this subject. If earnest workers would be prepared to go to India, feeling that they were doing great social work, they could accomplish much. I think it highly desirable that the Government of India should sponsor this work, but I doubt whether any Government would face the criticisms that would arise from religious and social organisations. The sentiment in India is as much against birth control as in the Roman Catholic world.

A lady member of the British Parliament gave a suitable reply to Sir Jeremy's proposal. We need not add our comment on Dr. Edith Summerskill's statement. She said:

I was in India last year and I was greatly impressed by the problem of India's rising population. The first thing to do is to educate the people; to teach them birth control is merely putting the cart before the horse. Better houses, education, proper food—these are three essentials needed for a solution of the problem.

"Caste Hindus"

Right at the outset of the Viceregal invitations, Mahatma Gandhi took exception at the term "Caste Hindus" used in the Viceregal broadcast. The Hitavada has given a very pertinent quotation with remarks, which speaks for itself:

In this connection we should like to quote what the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report said about the introduction of the communal principle: "Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citisens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it proposes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charges of being hypocritical or short-sighted." We refuse to believe that the persons at the India Office are ignorant of past history and that they did not realise the implications of a communal division of power.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

AFTER the censation of the European campaigns, the large base within easy striking distance of the Nipponese question of intensification of the Asiatic and Pacific campaigns against Japan has been the main topic of interest. The sudden collapse of the Japanese defence in the main territories of Burma, which led to the almost complete occupation of the bulk of the Burmese mainland and culminated with the capture of Rangoon after some desultory defensive fighting by the Japanese, has added to the hopes for a quick rise in the tempo and an early climax. The landing operations in Borneo conducted under the personal supervision of General McArthur is generally assumed to be the preliminary to a new campaign being formed in a fresh field. It has been announced apropos of the assaults delivered in this area that the Japanese naval forces in the waters of the Dutch East Indies have been whittled down to the point of almost absolute neutralization. If that really be the case then we may look forward to fresh developments in that quarter which may lead to large-scale operations of the magnitude of the campaigns in the Philippines. Admiral Mountbatten has been waiting a long time in Cevlon and if he has not got sufficient forces at his command by now, he ought to have them before long if the Allied Supreme Command is really in earnest about finishing the Asiatic compaigns of the World War No. II by the end of the next campaigning season.

As yet there are two factors militating against a sharp rise in the tempo and magnitude of the campaign against the Japanese, one being natural and the other artificial, but both of temporary character. The seasonal climatic conditions now prevailing over the South-East Asiatic mainland and the Dutch East-Indies are anything but favourable for mechanised and aerial operations. Cloudy and stormy weather with continuous heavy rainfalls will now go on for about two months more. The weather will start clearing up in September and the soil start to regain its terra firma characteristics. Aerial strafing and bombardment would be easier to conduct as well as the maintenance of field supplies by air be easier. In short the campaigning season would open by the middle of October, and if by then the bulk of the forces to be transferred from the European to the Asiatic fronts have been brought into the field, then the real battle for South-East Asia will commence. The artificial factor mentioned is the elections and that should be over and the new Cabinet in action in Britain well before the opening of the campaigning season. It is to be hoped that the elections will not cause any slackening of the transfer operations in the meanwhile, for if there be any halting or weakening of the assault operations at the initial stage due to lack of forces, supplies or to insufficiency of mechanized or aerial armament, it may lead to a prolongation of the war in these areas. There is no doubt that the transport of large forces and very considerable bulk and weight of armament over long distances involves a certain amount of unavoidable time lag. But both in the matter of transport and in the availability of fighting forces and equipment, the Allies have vastly a preponderating advantage and so that factor should not affect the conduct of the South-East Asiatic campaign.

The battle for Okinawa has virtually come to an end and at last the U.S. Pacific Command has a really 1945.

mainland for aerial warfare on the continental scale. We do not know as yet what this 82-day struggle cost the American forces to conduct to a successful end, but from all reports the ferocity of the fighting rose to a new height even in comparison with Iwojima. The Japanese seem to be very far from folding up as yet, and when the Japanese campaigns really begin on a full scale, either on the mainland of China or in the Nipponese islands, we may yet see fresh peaks of ruthless fighting and appalling slaughter, and that on a scale comparable with that of the European fronts. Much has been said-and might be yet said with considerable justification—shout the hopeless inferiority of the Japanese in the matter of armament, both as regards technical quality and weight. But we must not forget that the Japanese will have matters somewhat more in their favour as the battle nears their home and Manchurian bases.

There is a considerable amount of speculation as regards the nature and terrain of the Japanese masterplan for the final defensive campaign. More and more of the Western war-commentators are adopting the view that the Japanese defence centres on the Manchurian territories. Some have gone so far as to declare that by now the main arsenals and war-production plants have been dispersed over Manchuria and that the campaign against the Japanese will not end even if the greater part of the Nipponese islands be occupied by the Allied forces. In conjunction with this theory there is some speculation as to whether the Soviets would enter the war against Japan and if so, when. One such writer has discussed the matter at length and has come to the conclusion that the Russians must declare war on Japan and that within six months from the end of the war in Europe.*

There can be no doubt that the entry of the Soviets on the side of the Allies in the Asiatic struggle would shorten the Japanese war considerably. Assailed from both sides the Japanese would be put in the same position as the Germans faced after the opening of the second front. But it must not be forgotten that the Soviets have very much of an open choice in this matter and that they are in a position now to deliberate on the pros and cons and to take their own time over it. The formal repudiation of the Russo-Japanese Pact leaves their hands free and there is little possibility of their hands being forced in the way it was on June 22, 1941. As such the Allies must make their own plans and fight the campaign to the fiery finish. They certainly have matters very much in their favour now and the only dangers before them are of procrastination and faulty planning. Meanwhile, the world must wait and speculate on the extent of Japanese additions to their war-like resources in the three years' partial histus. It is impossible that they could have developed anything to match the tidal wave of American production which engulfed Germany. But even if they have got anything really ponderable by now then the campaign will be bitter indeed.

^{*} Fedor Mansvetov. Asia and the Americas, April,

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN INDIA DURING PEACE AND WAR

By PROF. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (Oxford), BAR-AT-LAW

Morean political thought, liberal and democratic, is the people is recognised. The sovereignty of the State based on the fundamental concept of civil liberty. implies the freedom of the individual in regard to expression of opinion, religious belief and worship, the possession and use of property, and personal action. It is a right of the individual against the State and implies a right of protection against private or governmental interference. It is born out of the schools of thought of liberalism and individualism. It implies resistance to the State in certain conditions as a moral protest. It recognises the worth of the individual as a person distinct and apart from the State and as possessing interests and freedoms of his own.

In the modern world there is developing an increasing government control over the individual. It is necessitated by the complexities of modern economic and social life. The problems of health, morals, safety, education, social insurance have expanded government's control and regulative and coercive authority. Constant wars and problems of security have still strengthened this encroaching tendency of State authority. There is repression of freedom of opinion, speech and press, movement and association under sedition and ordinance laws far beyond the military necessity or the demands of national safety. These laws are very broadly drawn, very vaguely worded, and very widely interpreted, and their application is in many cases not legitimate and oversteps genuine dangers. Under them it is for the active leaders of public opinion that prisons open. In modern governments the faith in civil liberties is decreasing. The totalitarian governments, and the totalitarian religions have been attacking this doctrine of Civil liberty. The modern collective tendency and the medieval religious rigidity are emphasizing this tendency. Since the World War of 1914 new ideologies, fascist and communist, have proved adverse to civil liberties. Under fascism the individual has no rights against the State or party. Communists subordinate all rights and interests to the needs of the Communist State. Individuals and groups cannot have any independence. The citizen is considered merely a means to an end. He is merely a functionary. He has no rights which he can exercise independently. Therefore, it is now a major problem of modern political theory and statecraft as to whether the concept of civil liberty can be adapted to the forms of a modern state which is becoming increasingly complex and interrelated as a social and economic order.

I. DURING PRACE

The problem of civil liberties in India has three aspects: (1) their nature, (2) their guarantees, and (3) the circumstances, necessities and interests which affect their working. Their nature is very limited. There is no recognition of any fundamental rights of citizens in the so-called Indian Constitution. The conception of citizenship in India is not common, but differential, based on racial, communal and feudal interests in some respect. The State is composed of two separate parts, the foreign rulers and the native ruled, and the Consti-

does not lie in India but outside in England. Therefore, the law which sanctions civil liberties and assures the guarantees of their maintenance are in the hands of this foreign authority.

The nature of the state in India is completely autocratic both in peace and war. What it allows is law and liberty. The government in India is a monoparty government. This party is the British party. It is not directly responsible to nor representative of any section of the Indian people. The British are not Indian citizens in any political sense. Their rights in India are the rights of British rulers and citizens. They have established a monoparty dictatorial state in India. Its essence is the identification of the British party with the whole apparatus of the Indian State-power. The heads of the Indian government in England, in the Centre and in provinces in India are not only executive heads, but also legislative and in a way judicial heads, though the process through which law making in peace times is carried on is very intricate and associative in some respects. It is not however the constitution which binds them, but it is they who make and unmake, suspend and override the Constitution, dispense with and change the laws. This has meant that all opposition to the British party has become opposition to the State and its government. The result has been that every aspect of citizen's life-political, economic, social and cultural—and his liberty, civil and political, has become subordinated to the single need of that party's rotention of power, and the various guarantees and obligations it has created for the permanent maintenance of its rule. This has implied and worked in the overthrow of all constitutional habits and guarantees when circumstances developed so as to endanger the party's interests and foundations of power whether during times of peace or war. Therefore, there is no real difference between the question of our civil liberties during peace and their status during war. The problem is only one of degree.

We do not enjoy full and beneficent liberty during peace, and its dimunition in war is only a problem of its lower degree. The contents and guarantees of our laws and liberties come from the British party's government in India. They have no other source. They depend in their formation and application on its ideas of government and the institutions and services it has organised to carry them out. What they have actually meant and how they have been put in practice in the past are too well-known. There are no binding principles but only compelling interests in the so-called constitution of our country. They are stated in various forms of obligations to be held sacred and binding even before the ordinary principles of citizenship and civil liberties are recognised. Therefore, no political scientist can profitably discuss or analyse the condition of civil liberties in peace and war in India and elucidate or estimate the conditions or principles under which they can be limited or controlled. Really speaking whoever tution is fundamentally constructed on the supreme has power, poitical and economic, has and controls civil authority of one and the complete obedience of the liberty. It is the fundamental maxim of polities and other. It is not democratic, where the sovereignty of civies. If the people are sovereign, have made the

constitution, have the democratic power of making immediate protection and justice, defence and security itself, as it is, regardless of so-called guarantees of civil conceives as special or primary or overriding. liberties. In India the law relating to and sanctioning oivil liberties is ordinary, not constitutional. There 18 no sacredness about it. Therefore, to discuss the question of civil liberties in non-democratic systems of government has no political value. The law relating to it is changed at will.

Thus the question reduces itself to this: Is civil liberty in war and peace to any assured extent possible without any real self-government based on the will of the people and responsible to the people? Can there be any fundamental guarantees for any system of civil liberties under a monoparty and foreign government which makes its own constitution and the laws relating to them? My proposition is that under such a system of government even though administered according to its own law, where law is established by the executive, the law itself primarily protects its vested interests and is worked according to its notions of security, necessity and emergency. The conception of civil liberty can have political value only when the government is popular and impartial, promoting adjustment and harmony between conflicting interests but not when it is itself one of the contending and dominating interests and all political and economic power is centred and controlled by a monoparty which represents it. Under it a people may enjoy some civil liberty to the extent to which they subordinate or neglect their own interests for the sake of those of the party in power or identify their future

In a master and slave society the conception of civil liberty has no independent political guarantee or value. It becomes a question of privileges. In peace times the problem of civil liberties must be approached from below, from the point of view of citizens' welfare and opportunity. In war times it will have to be approached from above, from the needs of the security defeace and security. To what extent these necessities of political, economic, physical and moral resources of the

laws, and have willingly accepted a definite set of civil should supersede the normal laws and constitutions and liberties, then this question of civil liberties give place to a rule of the pure executive and its ordi-will have some scientific value. But if the nances uncontrolled either by legislature or judiciary? sentre of sovereignty is extra-territorial and This is an important question. In peace times if the ultra-popular, if the constitution is not of their make, government is popular, if the laws are not discriminatory, if the fundamental laws are not made, maintained and if the executive is responsible to the legislature and executed by them, and if the civil liberties can be judiciary and does not supersede them by possessing suspended at the first breath of opposition, then the concurrent or overriding powers, then the civil liberty problem becomes non-political and unconstitutional will consist in applying impartially the laws to cases of How few civil liberties can people enjoy under foreign conflict and disturbance without fear or favour. In and autocratic governments, history furnishes ample questions of internal rebellion by discontented or testimony. Civil liberties have not been maintained and revolutionary minorities it will take strong action advanced through any changes in constitution in India, against them in the interests of common law and order. but only after the confidence and guarantee the British The problem of civil liberties in modern times is not party has felt in getting its interests assured and its merely of individual rights but of their extension obligations admitted. To the extent they are endangered towards social security and economic welfare. It is not or repudated, they have been denied, suspended or a problem of their limitation but of their expansion in withdrawn. The history of the press law and the law desirable directions in times of peace which are not a of association, and of the safeguard clauses and period of disturbance. Civil liberty, however, is always reserved powers and discretions in the various govern- a conditional and relative concept. Its aim of social ment of India Acts-miscalled Indian Constitutions- security and economic welfare must recognise individual make it very clear. The overriding consideration is freedom and opportunity. But the government must that the present government—the monoparty govern- not forget or ignore or limit this individual aspect in ment-will and must exert all its power to preserve its own party or political or economic interest which it

II. DURING WAR

Modern wars which are now total and totalitarian have practically destroyed the slender and slipper foundations of civil liberties in India. The world mind is orientated towards the security of existing governments and to the new problems of world security and economic welfare of groups. But the problem of civil liberties concerns primarily the group and the individual. There is a collapse of international law and morality between states. There is aso a collapse of the rule of law within states, under the stress of war emergencies and necessities. There is also an advance of collectivism, totalitarianism and authoritarianism of the State over the life of the community on account of the needs of defence and order, war effort and war services. There is growth of the executive power and bureaucracy, their laws, ordinances and regulations for organising tranquillity at home and war abroad. The monoparty government decides all the questions of necessity and emergency, law and liberty, safety and welfare from the point of view of its own interests and needs. Then new need of social, economic and educational planning makes it divert its attention from the political and civic rights involved in civil liberties and undertake itself these tasks in a way suitable to itself.

The presence of war creates the primary problem of the safety of the State. Salus populi supreme lex. It has three aspects: (1) the mere existence of war, but not within its borders, (2) the actual invasion of the country, and (3) the locality or area in which it is being fought. The problem of safety and defence assumes greater and graver aspect successively in these three aspects. All these aspects give rise in a modern state to the organisation of war effort—the creation of and safety of the State. But in India it is always fighting services, supply services, mechanical and disturbance and sedition within the State, and against industrial equipment and output, control of routes, aggression from without. There is a theory of internal communication and transport, and popular support. To protection and justice and there is a theory of external promote its smooth working and to mobilise all the sountry a certain unitary control and controllised guarantee of their own soveriegn legislature, independirection become necessary, and all internal control dent judiciary and a national executive. Till that versies and conflicts require to be laid at rest. And if political event takes place it will be futile to talk of they cannot, then the party in power adopts severe laws civil liberty as an independent concept or category in against those individuals, groups or interests who are Indian politics. The fundamental necessity for the against its own views of the necessities of war and war existence of any system of civil liberty is an indepen-effort. The war effort may be opposed or interfered dent judiciary and a constitutional guarantee of with by aliens and spies from abroad, and by opponents fundamental rights which the executive cannot set and profiteers from within, who may promote anti-war aside on its own authority, even if they require to be activities and hamper or tamper with war effort. These curtailed during war and invasion emergencies. may incite disloyalty and foster indiscipline in the legislature must be there to enact or sanction ordinances military and other services, or they may sabotage on its own authority. But a plea of emergency or industrial output and transport system. They may necessity in the interests of the safety of the State must communicate with the enemy or cause discontent not give uncontrolled power to the executive to cover amonest the people.

Though generally the argument about the safety of the State during war and invasion can be safely admitted in a self-governing country, most difficult and delicate problems arise when there is no identity of and emergencies of the fact of war and invasion and those of the interests of the ruling class who is not from amongst the people, and is not responsible to them, and has other interests to serve. Then the problem of necessity or emergency has to be judged on its in its interests. It may be for the extra-territorial obligations or political and economic interests of the oforeign ruling class. This complicates the matter of judgment about its necessity as a whole and the particular emergencies which arise under it. The war having been undertaken by the rulers, the ruled cannot keep question of necessity. Then the question as regards civil liberties limits itself to whether the invasion is actual and is confined to a particular area, or has extended over the whole country. The study of the problem of civil liberties during peace and war is a great necessity in any self-governing country when governments are becoming more powerful and total under the stress of modern life, when the area of liberty is getting narrowed, and new despotism of the executive is increasing. It becomes much more important in a country which is not self-governing and which has very little civil liberty, which itself it is losing under the demands of modern life, and during both peace and war. It often happens that liberty may be suspended not so much in the interests of war effort, but in favour of the bureaucracy of services and their rights and interests which have been already created and also promised during the war and which are being extended in peace times. When war emergency ends, these new plants of irresponsible power will leave a dangerous legacy of precedents, interests, and obligations which will themselves become detrimental to the civil liberties and opportunities of the common citizen. Civil liberty can be assured after the war only if the people will possess full political liberty and are then assertive of their common citizen's rights.

No doubt there is and will be some need of delegated legislation and growth of administrative law

or excuse or indemnify all the vagaries and illegalities of its own discretion and administration.

It is very necessary in the interests of civil liberty that there should be definite statutory conditions which should be strictly complied with by the executive when political aims and economic interests between the rulers it uses its discretionary powers very widely. There is and the ruled in any particular country. Besides this, however, as yet in India no sovereignty of legislature, we must differentiate between the actual necessities no rule of law, and no independent judiciary as such. In each of them the executive shares and dominates and in some cases possesses independent and overriding powers. Unless the gulf between the rulers and the ruled disappears, and the ruled become the rulers, civil liberty in peace times cannot be satisfactory, and in war times own merits. The war may not be of its own making and it will hardly exist. No doubt it is true that it is not possible to demarcate a definite line between the limits of civil liberty and the executive control needed in an emergency, but this does not justify handing over all the control over liberty to the executive which in its nature is authoritarian and autocratic.

In a country like India the interests and objects of out of it, in spite of their protests or differences on the the executive are something over and above and independent of the necessity of war effort. Does the British party in power in India want to maintain its imperial hold and rights or only to fight the war in the interests of the security and independence of the world? If the legislative and executive powers are used for ulterior purposes and extended during and after the war to strengthen them, then the plea of war effort becomes invalid. In India the danger is of its being used against the political movement of the country for independence and against the freedom of individuals. Even before the war we had indefinite detentions without trials, and arrests without warrants on suspicion. Freedom of speech and press, freedom of association and procession, freedom from search and seizure, freedom of opinion and belief in academic bodies and public services were not free from a number of severe restrictions in the interests of the British political order established in the country. War legislation has extended them overwhelmingly. The nature of these restrictions is not definite during war, the delegation of ordinance powers to lower authorities is enormous, the central supervision if seriously meant is little, the guarantees of fair trial and safeguards against an abuse of power are few and weak. The ordinance of 1944 has taken away the power of the judiciary over all these ordinance cases. The executive reigns supreme in areas where there is no war or invasion or even a threat of it. There have been a large number of detentions without after the war in view of the new economic and social trial, without specifying any grounds and without planning conception, which is taking root in all countries. But the control and direction necessary on that appeal or inquiry. Then there is an unpreceded account must be in the interests of people's common consorbip of the press and of the private postal corresponding and welfare. At present Indiana pressure to the press and of the private postal corresponding and welfare. security and welfare. At present Indians possess no respondence, unlimited prohibition of meetings, associations and processions, and movements of persons without any external check.

discussion and criticism of government war aims, of the provisions of innumerable ordinances and regulations causes of war, of governmental war measures, of the has to decide quickly and to work on his own responform of government prevailing, of the actions of individual officers of servants, even when there is no organised rebellion or disloyalty against the state or greatest enemy of civil liberty in India during this war.
If the judicial and legislative process gives way or is superseded by the executive process in determining the breaches of laws, and the emergencies of the political situation, then civil liberty cannot be said really to exist. Civil liberty as a value in political life does not really rules, whatever may be the processes through which it operates. When there is no real separation of cretion is to be conceded to the executive and the avenues of redress or appeal are closed to them. military.

has to be left to the military authorities. But there must be a clear line of demarcation between the theatre of war where civil liberties cannot properly function agitation happening in that area. It is a resuscitation and will be greatly curtailed and other contiguous territories where civil courts and authorities are work- imposed on a particular area or group, without taking ing. There specific controls may be introduced only over defined matters, leaving other aspects of civil life under normal control.

Having considered the area, the problem of the duration of ordinance legislation as a whole is very war are over under a plea of post-war rehabilitation it will be very harmful to civil liberty. In a system of such legislation the power of little bureaucrats is great, and there are no sufficient safeguards procedural or personal against its misuse,

The variety and complexity of situations and emergencies arising out of the war are great. An exe-Dangers to civil liberty have arisen out of mere cutive officer or servant who has to carry out the sibility. Unless he is free from corruption and greed and shows power of good judgment he may apply the rules in a way detrimental to whatever civil liberty is government as such. This confusion of real criticism left under the emergency legislation. But after the withereballious interference or opposition is the necessity has ceased, it will be a great tragedy and tyranny to allow this power and discretion to executive officers and agents. The rules under the Defence of India Act have conferred on the Executive the most sweeping powers in matters covering almost every aspect of a citizen's life. They are not subject to any scrutiny by the representatives of the people. They exist, or disappears when the executive is all in all and have left no judicial remedy or redress whatever to any person detained without trial or affected in different ways. This power has been exercised recklessly and powers and consequent checks the system of govern- justified irresponsibly. Lord Atkin has laid down that ment does not make civil liberty a stable and sacred even "amidst the clash of arms, the laws are not element in a people's life. When there is actual invasion silent," But in India the laws and the ordinances are in any part of the country and when any system of treated on the same level. The assumption of these ordinary courts, laws and procedure cannot work, then powers needed on the plea of emergency and possess-martial law, courts, and procedure are the only instru- ing no safeguards for their due exercise have been ments of security and of whatever freedom is possible exercised for a totally different purpose—the suppression under the situation. But one cannot apply the rules of the legitimate rights and activities of citizens. Civil of martial law areas to other areas of the country liberties in India arc in a precarious condition. No war where there is an absence of invasion or where its whose theatre of operations is localised can justify the chance is very remote. The British courts have laid executive action and process of a large number of down that martial rule cannot be introduced merely detentions in camps and prisons of persons without trial, because a state of war exists or an invasion is threatened. for an indefinite time and in places far removed from Its necessity must be actual and present and the the field of operations. The Courts have decided that invasion must be real. It must lead to the closing of the powers of the executive can legitimately supersede courts and civil administration. Then martial law must the rule of law during an actual invasion alone. In a be confined to the actual area of the invasion. All the case of disputed jurisdiction it is for the civil courts arguments advanced against Stuart ship-money theory to resolve the conflict, but in India the ordinances have are worth considering in this connection. There is a themselves taken away the power of the courts to difference between the mere existence of a state of war judge the validity of ordinance rules and their appliand a state of actual war. In the latter case not merely cations. It is the greatest encroachment on any scheme the safety of the society but also the safety of the army, of civil liberties which a modern state has made. its discipline movements, etc., are to be considered. If Therefore, to speak of civil liberty under fascist or ordinary judiciary will be allowed to interfere, it may foreign ruled states will be a contradiction in terms. paralyse the war effort. In a way the executive and the Under them the rights of the citizens are always immilitary must get a blank cheque in such areas, and paired by arbitrary legislation to protect some extratheir excesses though inquired into later on are national interests or to promote some imperial indemnified by an Act of Indemnity. Certain consi- adventures, and many a time their citizens are treated derations of military necessity are to be allowed, worse than aliens. They are detained with trial, and certain scope for honest individual judgment or dis- often do not know the grounds of their detention. All

Civil liberty in India also suffers from a very Again what should be the limits of the war area dangerous doctrine of a discredited medieval jurisprudence about the collective responsibility of persons belonging to a particular group or area for crimes or of the old medieval forms of criminal responsibility into consideration the actual perpetrators of crimes. This is done in case of crimes against or dangers to public safety and property even on mere suspicion and in cases of riots and agitational movements. In these cases every person in a particular area or a group has important. If it is continued long after the invasion and to suffer certain restrictions on his freedom, to undergo certain punishments, to pay certain collective fines and to live under a system of punitive police or military control. This conception of collective responsibility and collective fines and punishment is a grave attack on civil liberty. Its underlying principle is the hostage

theory, resulting in detention without trial and pulsory acquisition of houses, lands, goods, property, confiscations without appeal. It is only possible under conveyances, machinery, factories and industries. What one-party state or foreign or autocratic rule which should be the limits of control and compulsion in these considers every manifestation of opposition or agitation matters is left to the sole discretion of the executive or crime as a sign of incipient rebellion against its or the military authority. The conception of war,

When such a conception of citizenship prevails and such a theory of law and jurisprudence is held, the theory of civil liberty has no place in the politics or constitution of the country.

There is also a system of compulsory labour prevailing in India for government services. During war governments, new totalitarian parties, and old or disturbance it develops into a system of compulsory totalitarian religions will destroy the very foundations conscription of persons for various services, of com- of civil liberties in India.

own power, and every person as a lurking or potential, war-area, war-period, war-effort are so elastic and suspicious or criminal character. expansive that the claims of civil liberty are disexpansive that the claims of civil liberty are disappearing under the new despotism which war creates.

> In India the struggle for civil liberty remains connected with and dependent upon the success of the struggle for national independence and the introduction of full responsible government in all the political units of the country. Otherwise modern totalitarian

OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE STATEMENT ON INDUSTRIAL POLICY

By Prof. P. A. WADIA

talks about planning from all sides. Last year a leading group of industrialists and businessmen, anxious as they proclaimed themselves to be about the phenomenal poverty of the millions of their countrymen and seized with compassion for their condition, placed before the country their fifteen-year plan, involving an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores. A policy of gradualism was to reduce all glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunities, and by a magic wand the country was to be converted into a land of plenty, with security to the "haves" of their profits but with "bread and circuses" for the toiling millions But the desire to plan was not confined to our industrialists; M. N. Roy followed up, as a representative of the "have-nots" with a contrasted plan, and the teachings of Gandhiji inspired his disciples to formulate a different type of plan, resting on an implied yearning to return to the simplicity of the past, with regional self-sufficiency and a break with the artificial wants of an age of large-scale, mechanised production with its trend towards reducing the human to the likeness of the machine. To these have to be added scores of plans with five years and ten years targets for growing more food grains, for road building, for the rehabilitation of the disbanded soldiers and seamen, which have been prepared by the Central and Provincial Governments during the last year and more Advisory Committees have been appointed consisting of experts for guidance; statistical departments have been set up for collecting accurate data; and one of the signatories of Part I of the Bombay Plan has been appointed a member for Planning on the Executive Council of the Central Government, And to complete the implementation of Government intentions the Government of India have issued a statement on Industrial Policy which will govern the transition period before the grant of selfgovernment to India.

The statement claims as the fundamental objectives of the new policy (a) increase of national wealth by the maximum utilisation of the country's material resources and manpower, (b) better preparation of the country for defence, and (c) the provision of a high and stable level of employment. These objectives are

For the last twelve months the air is resounding with to be achieved by the abandonment of the laises-faire policy which marked Government attitude down to the end of the last world war and the adoption of a more positive attitude with a view to promoting rapid industrialisation. Government propose the nationalisation of ordnance factories, public utilities, and railways which are to be State-owned and State-operated; as regards basic industries of national importance, such as aircraft, automobiles, chemicals and dyes, iron and steel, transport vehicles, electrical machinery and machine tools—ruch industries may be nationalised, if adequate private capital is not forthcoming, and if their promotion is essential in the national interests. It is also contemplated that Government may take over industries in which the tax element is more predominating than the profit element, e.g., the salt industry in the past. Certain industries of national importance, such as shipbuilding and the manufacture of locomotives and boilers will be run by the State as well as private enterprise. State enterprises will be managed by the State but in special cases management may be handed over to private agency for a limited period. All other industries are to be left to private enterprise, with no control except such as is required to ensure fair conditions for labour, or such control as may be necessary in the case of scarce natural resources or semi-monopolistic industries.

Government assistance is to be given by making loans or subscribing a share of the capital, or by guarantee of a minimum dividend on capital or undertaking to meet losses for a fixed number of years. Support will also be given to research organisations and by purchase of products of the particular concerns. Government will also exercise control with a view to counteracting the concentration of industries in a few big cities, and take legislative powers for licensing the starting of new factories and the expansion of existing factories. Such control will also secure balanced investments of capital resources; fair wages, decent conditions of living, and a reasonable security of tenure for industrial workers, and prevent excessive profits. Finally there will have to be control of capital issues and licensing of machinery.

This is a brief summary of the latest approuncement

economic development. It is an incongruous combination of what we are inclined to call State-capitalism with private enterprise and the profit economy. We see in this Government communique the natural complement of the proposals contained in the second part of the Bombay Plan. There is a remarkable parallelism between the proposals contained in the Bombay Plan and the recent Government communique. The following quotations from the Bombay Plan will afford convincing testimony. "Where ordinary methods of state control have to be supplemented by state ownership. it will be necessary to place management also in the hands of the state, as for example, in the manufacture of materials exclusively required for war purposes and the organisation of vital communications such as posts and telegraphs." (Part II, p. 29). "Enterprises owned wholly or partially by the State, public utilities, basic industries, monopolies, industries using or producing scarce natural resources should normally be subject to state control." "The following are illustrations of the form which control may assume: fixation of prices, limitation of dividends, prescription of conditions of work and wages for labour, nomination of government 'efficiency auditing'."

Any one who has carefully studied the Bombay Plan will recognise in its attempt at preserving a batance between private initiative and profit economy on the one hand and State control and State capitalism on the other an ominous presage of coming events. Both the authors of the Bombay Plan and the Government of India find themselves unable to accept laissezfaire; both want government control. What they seem to forget, both alike, is that the term controlled capitalism is in one sense a contradiction in terms, for it is impossible to separate economic and political powers. Any attempt to separate them makes for bribery and corruption and converts a pseudo-political democracy into a plulocracy. What we are heading for appears to be a combination of the forces of capitalism with the powers that be-an alliance of an open, undisguised character, which on the one hand by its profession of nationalisation of a few industries endeavours to win over the leftists who would advocate a socialist reorganisation of the economic structure, and to capture the profiteers by leaving vast fields of exploitation still open to their activities. Such an alliance between the profit-earning classes and the government would be bad enough in a free India; but it is infinitely worse as between the present ruling clements and the friendly combination of British and Indian capitalists, exploiting the resources of the country in the name of rapid industrialisation. It was only lately that Prof. A. V. Hill stated that British industry will not help in the development of Indian resources unless "they go equal shares with Indians."

Are we to accept, in the name of rapid development of our resources and of effectively raising the standard of living of the masses—a problematic assertion at the best,—a policy that makes for fascism in a new form? The history of Fascism in other countries in recent times reveals the presence of certain preparatory conditions favourable to its growth. One

of what Government intend to do in the future for our that of secular powers wielding the sword, or the rule of the Brahmin elite over the inferior castes. Secondly. the inflationary trend of the war period has brought with it the increasing impoverishment of the middle classes, amongst whom are to be included the skilled workers and the products of our Universities. anxious for whatever jobs can save them from the threat of poverty and unemployment. We may also include in these classes the teachers and professors of Economics and other Sciences who may be converted into apologists of the coming order by the offer of lucrative appointments. In the third place there is the fear of the communist, the possibility of a revolt of the proletariat, both industrial and rural, against their oppressors, the Zemindars, the landed interests and the industrialists. Both the Bombay Plan and the Government communique are guardedly reserved about their attitude to the landed interests, and the industrialists will have security of tenure under the protection of the government, purchased by handing over to the state a few industries in the management and control of which they will have a predominant share.

It is equally significant that there has been no directors on the board of management, licensing and reference in the Government communique to the efficiency auditing." control over investments as the present Government assigns to itself can well be exercised in favour of British capital which in co-operation with Indian industries is to benefit under the protective clauses of the Act of 1935. Whilst in other countries legislation is intended to protect indigenous capital against foreign inroads, it is the unique privilege of our country to have in the Constitution special provisions for the protection of foreign investors against competition by indigenous investments. Our press is dependent upon the capitalists. Their bias towards maintaining the present order will be re-enforced by the fact that they have to depend upon the patronage of advertisers and upon the bankers who lend them money. They are a private capitalistic enterprise, existing primarily for bringing profits to their owners, and if they profess to have at heart the general interests of the public, it is because, fortunately or unfortunately, that is the only device by which they and the rest of us can maintain contact with the world in which we live.

Whither, then, are we moving? Let us not be misunderstood. We fully recognise that the capitalist order is in a process of disintegration. There has been enough of loose talk about the new social order. Both the Bombay Plan and the Government communique by implication seem to give us a general impression that we are entering on an era of prosperity with the end of the war. But such an era of prosperity cannot be achieved by perpetuating the old institution of private property. So long as this new order is based upon private property in the instruments of life, we shall perpetuate dominance and competition, struggle and strife, with profits as the reward of business enterprise. We shall also need co-operation in the new order, but not the co-operation based upon competition, which results in increasing rivalry between the competing units, whether these are classes or nations. The only co-operation worth having must be on a scale of these conditions, the most striking so far as India that will bring a peaceful world and an economy of is concerned, is the absence for the last century and a abundance for all. But we in India are further away is concerned, is the absence for the last century and a abundance for all. But we in India are further away half of democratic institutions and the habituation of from the promise of this new order than many other the mages to rule from the top-whether the rule be parts of the world. And we are led to believe that we

are about to enter on such a promised land, the land the conservation of consumers' interests under a profit of milk and honey through exclusive reliance on piece-meal, gradual reform, on a philosophy of gradualism. We are being intellectually coerced by groups, which we might well call aggressive, into their own petty patterns of belief and behaviour. What do we want to-day? If we want order, we can easily get it by the use of soldiers and policemen, by regimentation of our youths in schools dependent on capitalist support, and regimentation of our adults through a capitalist-controlled press and cinemas and theatres and radios. We may even get our bread and circuses, if we desire them. If, on the other hand, we desire that our natural resources should be so used as to give work for all, plenty for all, genuine security, increased freedom, greater equality of opportunity, then let us few concessions to the working classes, by appeals to industrialists. -:0:-

economy. The new order "cometh not by observation" but by the development of a national movement of which the roots will have to be found in those whose income is derived from service rather than from the possession of property and of which the goal will be the transformation of our economic organisation.

It has been the misfortune of our country that it should manifest and has always been manifesting a lag in its economic and political life. Western nations have. during the past three or four decades, left behind them the phase of individual capitalism of the classical economists and have witnessed the growth of industrial combination and a caste of economic directors who have held even states to ransom. We are, here in India. entering on that stage of concentration of economic not forget that the fulfilment of such a desire cannot power, and instead of benefiting by the experience of be accomplished without a drastic and fundamental the West are about to enter on the era of a planned break with the present system, all the more difficult society where the few will be the masters of the many. to achieve at a time when the methods of free where giant corporations with the help of the govern-government are suspended all the world over under ment will acquire special privileges. This, and not any the stress of war and human beings are converted into other, is the future that looms before us, if we judge robots. It cannot be accomplished by any fresh New the trend aright in the light of Government com-Deals, by half-hearted endeavours, by the grant of a muniques and the activities of our businessmen and

THE PRESENT CLOTH SITUATION AND CLOTH RATIONING IN BENGAL

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A. .

THE Bengal Government have announced their inten- in India. The National Planning Committee estimated tion to ration cloth in Bengal. An interim rationing that the minimum requirements of per capita clothing scheme has already been put into operation, though a in India should be 30 yards per year. But the actual scheme of distributing cloth only to a few selected consumption, as we see from the above figure, falls far persons can hardly be called proper rationing. The short of that estimate. year 1943 saw an unprecedented food shortage in Bengal that took a toll of several million human lives; two years later we are faced with an unprecedented cloth famine that has almost forced nudity on the people of Bengal. The question that haunts the bewildered and the perplexed public is this: India was producing reasonably sufficient amount of clothing and her industrial capacity has, it is told, gone up during the war; why, then, this acute shortage when the mills Indian cloth and re-exports of foreign cloth from India. are supposed to be working to capacity? If we investi- As a result of the war, imports have fallen but exports so here also Governmental indifference to the needs of the people, administrative incompetence and deliberate it is to-day, while failure of controls, insufficient supply and large-scale corruption have given rise to The following figures taken from the Monthly unchecked and shameless black-marketing and other Survey of Bunness Condition are revealing: anti-social acts.

Clothing, like food, is one of the fundamental necessities of life. Though the actual amount of clothing required depends on various factors such as the climatic conditions of the country, the habits of the people and so on, the use of plenty of clothing by one and all is a sure indication of general prosperity. In 1929, the per capita consumption of cotton piece-goods was 64.0 sq. yards in the United States, 37.7 yards in Canada, 36.0 yards in Sweden, 34.0 yards in Germany, 30.6 yards in Malaya, 30.0 yards in Denmark, 21.4 yards in Japan, 19.1 yards in Egypt, 18.9 yards in Brazil, 16.9 yards in Iraq, while it was only 16.1 yards

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An examination of available statistics will show that the cloth situation has begun to deteriorate from the beginning of the war. Generally speaking, there are three main sources of supply of cloth in India. Indigenous manufacture is undoubtedly the most important source, but handloom production still plays a considerably important part. The third source is net imports, that is, the balance of imports over exports of gate into the causes that have led to the present have, quite strangely, gone up very rapidly. Mill situation we would find that, as in the matter of food, production has not increased to any appreciable extent, while handloom production, about which reliable figures are not available, is supposed to have remained perversity have combined to make the situation what stationary. There has thus been a sharp reduction in over-all supply.

Mill Manufactures, Imports and Exports (in Million Yarda)

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	A	В	C	D	
	Production	Imports	Exports	Re-exports	
1937-38	4084 · 3	590.8	241.3	12.5	
1938-39	4209·3	647 · 1	177.0	15.7	
1939-40	4012-4	579 · 1	221 · 3	16.7	
1940-41	4269 · 4	447.0	390 - 1	43.5	
1941-42	4493 · 6	181 - 5	772-5	85.2	
1942-43	4109 · 3	13 · 1	819.0	16.3	
1943-44	4870-6	3.6	461.9	0.6	

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1. Yide Bombey Plan, Part I, para 12.

arrive at the following figures :-

Vet Amount	of Mill-made Clothing available
•	(in Million Yards)
1937-38	4421.3
1938-39	4723 · 7
1939-40	4353 · 5
1940-41	4282 · 8
1941-42	3617 · 4
1942-48	3286-8
1943-44	4411.7

It is estimated that the total amount of handloom production varies from 1,200 million yards to 1,600 million yards, though chances are of its being more in the neighbourhood of 1,200 million yards rather than 1,600 million yards. If we add this figure of 1,200 million yards to the net amount of mill-made clothing available, we arrive at the following figures of total over-all supply though it must be remembered that civilian supply in the last few years has been less than the total amount of cloth available by 850 million yards, the quota reserved for the defence services.

Total Amount of Cloth available from all sources.

Total supply Estimated popula- Per capita

	(million yards)	tion (million)	supply (yards
1937-38	5621.3	373 · 7 •	15.0
1938-39	5923 · 7	378 · 8	15.7
1939-40	5553 - 5	383 · 9	14.4
1940-41	5482·8	389.0	14.0
1941-42	5017·4	394 · 1	10.2
1942-43	4486.8	399 · 2	9.1
	(less 850)		
1943-44	5611-7	404.3	11.7
	(less 850)		
1941-42 1942-43	5017·4 4486·8 (less 850) 5611·7	394·1 399·2	10· 9·

It will be seen that there has begun a steady decline in over-all supply from the beginning of the war and the total supply of cloth in 1941-42 was only 68 per cent of what was available in 1938-39, the last pre-war year. It is no wonder that this sudden one-third reduction in reself would be a cause of great hardship and would lead to cloth famine.

But these figures of over-all supply do not give a true picture of the situation, A few weeks ago, Mr. Krishnaraj Thackersay, Chairman of the Textile Control Board, made it known in a Press Conference . at Bombay that out of this total supply, a very large slice does not reach the civilian consumer, for out of the total, approximately 750 million yards of cloth per annum, at one time this reached the figure of 1,000 million yards are supplied to the Defence services. Over and above this, a further quantity of 23 million pounds of yarn is being taken away by Government get a true picture of the present situation it would be necessary to deduct this amount from the total supply in order to get at the figure of civilian consumption; on this basis, the total amount of cloth available for civilian consumption comes up to only 3637.1 million yards in 1942-43 and 4761-7 million yards in 1943-44. Converted to the per capita basis, it means that in 1943-43, civilian population did not get more than 9-1 yards per head in 1943-48 and 11.7 yards per head in

By adding A and B and subtracting C and D we 1943-44. Thus from a per capita supply of 15.7 yards in 1938-39, the supply was brought down to 9.1 yards per head in 1942-43, a reduction of 40 per cent.

What did the Government do to avert the situation? Instead of making any effort to solve the problem by ensuring more supplies and better distribution, they themselves created difficulties and made the situation still worse. It will be seen from the figures given above that though imports are continually decreasing since the war (imports have fallen from 647-1 million yards in 1938-39 to 3.6 million yards in 1943-44), exports have not shown a corresponding decrease. On the contrary, exports have been ever increasing until very recently. It is astounding that exports should go up from 177.0 million yards in 1938-39 to as much as 819.0 million vards in 1942-43, an increase of about 500 per cent. The Government tried to create an impression that these exports are agreed to by the industry and helpful to the building up of an export market. But on being closely questioned by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Assembly, the Hon'ble Sir Azizul Haque had to admit that the industry was not really consulted and such exports are done under orders from abroad. In the words of Sir Azizul, "All foreign countries do not state their requirements to the Government of India, but quotas are determined in accordance with a global planning scheme which discussed with His Majesty's Government and subsequently considered by the Combined Production and Resources Board, Washington. The type of goods, licensed for export against quota are controlled by the Government of India in the light of the supply position in the country." It is the same story of imperial exploitation over again. We have it on the authority of the Famine Commission that expurts of rice from Bengal went on increasing until there was a net export balance in 1942-43 when the deep shadow of famine was already over the province. It is the same story here again; under orders from outside, exports must be made, no matter whether such exports are justifiable or not. Exports have not reased even now The United States War Production Board has announced recently that applications for the importation of raw cotton from the Indian west coast may be filed by any person wishing to import this cotton. Arrangements have at present been made to export from India 5,000 bales of raw cotton."

But forced export is not the only feature of this disgraceful policy. To quote Mr. Thackersay again,

"There are two ways of achieving an increase in production. One is rationalisation and the other is by working the machinery for longer hours. The available machinery in the country could produce 6,000 million yards and perhaps some more yarn; but this could be achieved only under certain conditions, chief of which are more labour and more coal"

Unfortunately the Government did nothing to which is equal to about 100 million yards of cloth. To ease the coal and labour position. On the contrary, the Government advised organised closures as a result of coal showage and the total loss due to such closures in last January alone has been to the extent of 23.7 million yards. It is interesting that though the cotton mills had to be closed because of coal shortage, collieries were ordered by the Government to divert

Vide Capital, May 24, 1945.

^{2.} Vide Capital, May 10, 1948,

concerns. The recent closure of the three Bengal Mills due to coal shortage and the disclosures made thereon by Mr. S. K. Basu are but another episode in this sad tale.

The Railways also had their share in this bungling and mismanagement. Instead of making better arrangements for the transport of cotton and cotton goods they went on curtailing transport facilities when the need for more and better transport was at its highest. The following table gives the figures of wagon-loading of cotton4:--

Wagon Loading-Cotton (in terms of 4 Wheelers) 1st April to 31st March

			increase or	
	1943-44	1944-45	decrease	
Broad Gauge	66412	64472	-2.92	
Metre Gauge	61779	51960	-15.0	

This continued scarcity of cloth had also another effect; it gradually depleted all stocks of cloth and left no reserve to draw upon in times of emergency. The stage was thus set for the cloth famine The over-all supply had begun to decrease from the beginning of the war: imports fell, but exports went on increasing; production did not increase; on the contrary, it actually decreased in some cases because of coal shortage and various other difficulties; transport arrangements were faulty and wagon-loading of cotton had been steadily decreasing; over and above all these, a large slice was cut off from total production and reserved for the defence services; yarn-supply to handloom producers has also been scarce in recent times and handloom production, specially in certain parts of India, is rapidly going down; reserves are run down and there is acute demand for cloth-it is no wonder that any sharp reduction in supplies or sharp rise in prices would, in these circumstances, lead to a severe cloth famine.

We now turn to the special situation in Bengal. Though the pioneer in boycotting foreign cloth, Bengal has, unfortunately, not sufficiently developed cotton mills of her own and has to depend on western India for supplies. At the end of 1942, she had only 33 mills, though 22 more mills were in the course of erection or had been registered. It appears from the same source that these mills consumed cotton to the extent of 1,18,000 bales of 400 lbs. in 1940-41, the largest figure in recent years. Assuming that 1 bale is equal to roughly 1,100 to 1,200 vards of cloth, we arrive at the following figures of cloth production in Bengal in recent years :--

1935-36	11,88,00,000	Yds.
1936-37	9,48,00,000	,,
1937-38	11,04,00,000	,,
1938-39	10,20,00,000	,,
1939-40	12,12,00,000	"
1940-41	14,16,00,000	

This falls far short of the needs of the province. If 16 yards of cloth per capita be the bare minimum, then the total needs of the province, on the basis of . 1941 census, become as high as 983.3 million yards.

supplies of coal from other places to paper and jute Bengal's own production is a very small fraction of her industries which are incidentally primarily British total needs; she has to depend on outside sources for meeting her demand. It is quite understandable that suffering in such a case would be too great if supplies are not coming from outside or if arrangements for distribution break down. This is exactly what happened in Bengal when she was being led, step by step, into this critical cloth situation.

Years of famine and distress had already impoverished the middle classes and pushed many other sections of the community to utter destitution, Bengal was the worst sufferer in this respect. This had the effect of exhausting all household stocks of cloth and reserves were drawn upon as a measure of economy instead of new purchases being made. The situation was beginning to be critical; shortage, in the sense of physical absence and relatively high prices, had begun to appear. Only a steady supply of cloth at cheap rates could have saved the situation. But the Governmental machinery failed exactly at this critical moment.

First, there was the question of over-all deficit, We have seen how the total supply for civilian consumption was gradually decreasing since the outbreak of the war. Bengal had to share this over-all decrease. But that is not all, for her sacrifice was more than proportionate. As she was not self-sufficient in the matter of cloth and depended largely on imports from outside, any breakdown in transport arrangements means more than proportionate reduction in her supplies. Curtailment of transport facilities produced 'precisely this effect.

Thirdly. Bengal did not receive her quota during the earlier period of the crisis and even the meagre quota she was supposed to have received did not finally reach her, for large exports were made out of that quota to places outside. As the cloth situation began to deteriorate schemes were prepared for the production of 'Standard cloth' on a large scale and its sale at a fixed price through authorised agents for the benefit of the poorer classes. But these schemes never materialised and the trickle of Standard cloth that reached Bengal hardly improved the situation. Cloth supply since then has been extremely scarce. Figures of what Bengal received during this period have not been made public, but there are reasons to believe that Bengal did not get her proportionate share. It is astonishing that even now the Bengal Government do not know what is the total quota fixed for Bengal (vide Press Note of 16-6-45). It has been irrefutably proved that large portions of the Bengal quota are still being sent to China and other countries. Further trouble was created when the Government suppressed the normal trade channels but could not build up an alternative and efficient system of distribution and supply. The appointment of special agents for handling yarn and cloth, of special shops for selling Standard cloth, etc., displaced the usual traders from the market, but this Governmental encroachment in the field of trade not only opened floodgates of corruption but also increased the chaos. Those who were allowed to exist went on black-marketing and hoarding and no real efforts were made to check these anti-social acts. It is strange, but significant, that new traders and firms are springing up like mushrooms under Government patronage; firms without any previous experience are being given large favours and monopolistic rights; even those prosecuted for anti-social acts have not

^{4.} Vide Capital, May 24, 1945.

^{5.} Vide The Indian Cotton Textile Industry, 1942 Annual, pp 26-27 (Gandhi & Co.).

through clean-up from top to bottom in the Govern- individual. To call a scheme that provides no cloth ment departments and in the big business and unless for children up to 12 years, a cloth rationing scheme, very serious efforts are made to weed out dishonesty is nothing but a misnomer. and corruption, no scheme, however honest in itself, will have any reasonable chance of success.

and Calcutta had to be taken off the Bengal market and put on a rationing scheme. Similarly, the cloth situation has become too critical, but Mr. Vellodi, the Textile Commissioner, has declared that to describe the existing state of supply of cloth or of yarn in Bengal as famine is unwarranted by facts and that it is indeed is being introduced in Calcutta and a cloth drive, like the food drive, has been undertaken.

The rationing scheme, as at present contemplated, is thoroughly unsatisfactory. Handloom products are at present excluded from the purview of the scheme and only mill-made cloth has been brought under control. The greatest defect of the scheme is that it relates only to Calcutta and not to the rest of Bengal. No announcement has been made as to how the rest of Bengal would be supplied or whether proper supplies would be guaranteed at all and unless precautions are taken from now it would again become, as during the food crisis, a question of Calcutta versus the rest of Bengal. It may be argued that the food rationing scheme is working successfully only in Calcutta while the rest of Bengal is not put on rationing and there should be no reason why the cloth rationing scheme should not work on that basis. But such an argument does not hold water, for unlike food, supplies in this case will have to be brought mostly from outside and no equitable distribution will be possible without full rationing all over Bengal. The Government recently announced that up till 31st May, they have sent 19,271 bales to the districts, that is, 28.9 million yards. But as we have seen, 28.9 million yards is only a very small fraction of what is required at the present moment,-it is in fact only near about 3 per cent of her total needs.

Secondly, the total quantity of cloth sanctioned per capita is totally inadequate. The peace-time per capita consumption of 16 yards per head must be regarded as the barest minimum. Plea is taken that Bengal must now also share proportionately sacrifice that has to be made in view of the over-all deficit and the per capita yardage now sanctioned is probably 10 yards, though assurance has been given that it will be raised to 12 yards per annum. But it is known that Bombay City will get 16 yards and Delhi City 12 yards per head every six months, (i.e., 32 yards and 24 yards per annum). It is also known that Bombay, Punjab, U.P. and Delhi will get 18 yards per head per annum. To call this a proportionate sacrifice for Bengal is, to say the least, a palpable falsehood and a clear distortion of facts.

twelve years. A rationing scheme must include all sec- facing the country.

been excluded from such favours. Unless there is a tions of the public and must provide for every

Fourthly, the arrangements for distribution have been made too clumsy and the system has been made The situation hears a close resemblance to the too rigid and inelastic to admit of any individual food situation in 1942-43. Food situation was then variation. In the United Kingdom and almost all other deteriorating fast, but the authorities went on shouting Western countries, cloth rationing has been made on that there was no shortage and the situation was being the basis of points value, so that any person not in over-dramatised. But soon the famine reached its peak need of a particular type of cloth may buy alternate types of equal points value. It is easily understandable that a middle class family would be in a greater need of, say, shirting than the agricultural labourers; it would help the middle class families, labourers and the authorities as well if arrangements can be made, on the basis of points value, for allowing the option of buying a gross exaggeration. Yet at the same time rationing more shirting instead of dhoties or more dhoties instead of shirting.

An interim arrangement of cloth distribution through non-official Ward Committees has been brought into existence pending the introduction of the final rationing scheme. Only 2,000 bales will be distributed during this interim period in while nearly 19,000 bales have been sent to the mofussil. It is estimated that during the cloth drive the Government unearthed and seized a total of more than 20,000 bales and there was a stock of nearly 30,000 bales in hand; the question very naturally arises; if Calcutta and mofussil account for only 21,000 bales where are the other bales gone? What can be the reason for withholding them from sale when suffering has become so acute? Why should the people be forced to make unnecessary sacrifice even when stocks are available? The interim scheme will be nothing better than a farce if it means the grant of one dhoti or one sari to one person in every fifty or hundred persons. The Ward Committees, again, have been formed with undue haste: it can hardly be expected that these made-toorder committees can in any sense represent public opinion and be of any real help in cloth distribution. But even these Committees have been unanimous in their chorus of protest against the present unsatisfactory arrangements. The way in which the interim scheme has been inaugurated and the way in which it is functioning force to the conclusion that it is a trick to befool the public and divert their attention from the main issues to minor ones. These committees have been formed to take upon themselves the odium that Government are not willing to face. It is the old game of dividing the public and setting one group against another. Unless proper supplies are given, these committees in their useless efforts will only stir up local quarrels and mutual accusation. It is time that the public should see through this game; they should demand clearly and unequivocally that a Government that have failed in their primary duty of feeding and clothing the people have no right to be in power. All corruption must cease; proper supplies should be given and equitable distribution ensured and sooner the Government give up this game of covering up their guilt by trying to throw the entire blame upon the people the Thirdly, no provision has been made under the better, for otherwise there can be no real solution of present scheme to supply cloth to children under the cloth problem, or as a matter of fact, any problem

THE CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

By Mrs. LESLEY BLANCH

Down in Shoreditch, in the heart of the East-End of ment amidst the squalor and tragedy of the battered London, there is a small, yet significant building. By neighbourhood. some miracle it has remained unharmed through all the bombing which has shattered so much of this area. This simple, unpretentious and rather shabby little place has great significance. It symbolizes that tranquility of spirit, that casual cheerfulness and normality with which the people of London have met the challenge of total warfare.



The entrance to the museum, with a line of children waiting to go in

Its name is the Geffrye Museum. It has come to be known as the children's museum, for they have the run of the place, and patter in and out un-dragoourd, allowed to wander there at will. They come in their free time, and on holidays, as well as during schooltime, when some of their classes are held there, as well as certain film shows, talks, and art exhibitions. It is also the meeting place for various Saturday expeditions. In fact, to the children it is their own special club. This unpretentious educational experiment—a working experiment, too-is none the less revolutionary for being unpublicised. There is none of that complicated scientific approach which clouds so many questions of composed almost entirely of everyday things of the child welfare and education. The museum is full of past, and particularly the craft of the iron workers and lovely and interesting things, and any child who cares cabinet makers, who once were centred in the to come is welcomed there. The curator, Mrs. Harri- neighbourhood. Spinning wheels, spinets, cradles, early son, has made it part of her job to be as knowledgeshie cooking stoves, bible-boxes (in which the treasunce about each child who comes to the museum as each hand-written and illuminated Bibles were kept locked), treasure which it houses. throughout all the past five dangerous years, remained dressed dolls of all periods, silver, glass, china and a centre of abiding interest, and a source of refresh- earthenware, snuff-boxes, pieces of Grinling Gibbons'

FORMERLY AN ALMSHOUSE

Originally, the museum was a set of almshouses for old people. It was endowed by an eighteenth century benefactor, Sir Robert Geffrye, His periwigged statue standing in a niche over the creeper-covered facade, stares stonily down the length of the grass forecourt, where garden seats, and rows of two-hundred-year-old lime and plane trees offer an illusion of formal gardens. Beyond the iron railings (now torn up for salvage) is the perpetual clatter and roar of traffic, along the ugly main thoroughfare. Behind the railings, across the forecourt, stands the little museum. The main doorway gives on to what was once the chapel: the remains of the cream-panelled box-pews are still in evidence, while over the porter's desk, the tiny pulpit rears up proudly. On each side, doors lead to the long corridors, which, room by room, are stocked with beautiful and curious things which fire the youthful imagination.



The Curator is explaining the treasures of a panelled Jacobean room to an eager audience of little boys

This is a purely domestic museum. Its exhibits are The Geffrye Museum has lamps, carpenters' tools, old shop signs, fantastically fruit and flowers, a florid plaster ceiling from the Pewterers' Hall, stained glass, crude, early handcoloured children's books, full of moral adages, delicately embroidered waistcoats, babies' lace bonnets, some fine old carved doorways, and specimens of elegant Regency iron balconies are all to be found here. It is the history of everyday things, through the centuries,

FROM TUDOR ROOM TO MOUSE TRAP

Room by room, they are set out in period-reconstructions of typical domestic interiors. There is a



Girls are at work with their sketching books in the Elizabethan room

Tudor room, panelled in oak, an eighteenth-century kitchen, perfectly reconstructed, down to the cumbersome but lethal mouse trap, which is an object of great interest to the children. There is a Regency drawingroom, with scrolled sofa, a harp, and handsome inlaid furniture: there are Victorian rooms with their meonsequential collection of curios, samples and been abrac; Stuart rooms, with clouded mirrors, damask covered walnut furniture, Delft china and pewter; there is an early sewing machine, examples of old wall-papers. fabrics from India and China and Lancachire cottons. There are glass-blowers' tools, a carpenter's tool chest, and a cloth loom.

Not, perhaps, a really unique show? No, not by virtue of its exhibits, but unique, nevertheless, by reason of its environment, and in particular by the nature of its visitors.

During the school holidays, as soon as it opens, the children come clattering noisily in, for a day of instructive amusement. But however noisy, they are not destructive. Although allowed to touch, they seldom injure the things; you see them pondering over the intricacies of a harpsichord, or studying the complications of a turn-spit cooking stove with equal care and interest. Sometimes they come in little groups—to study, or in separate units of two or three—to play. In 1942 there were 12,760 spare-time visits to the museum, excluding the 12,552 school-time visits, accompanied by teachers. at the delicate models on show.

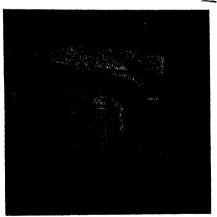
carving from St. Paul's Cathedral, great lush swags of They are given paints and chalks to draw (rather freely) what they admire best in the museum.

One small room was crowded with laughing and talking children, some sucking their paint brushes in the agony of creative frustration, others crowded round a boy who was modelling an Elizabethan frigate. These model ship classes are particularly popular among the older boys. Younger children enjoy playing with the huge Victorian dolls' house, arranging and re-arranging the quaint old toys inside.

However, much as they admire the various period rooms at the museum, no interior has evoked such a spontaneous burst of enthusiasm as the modern livingroom which has just been set up, as a tail-piece to the period interiors. This is regarded by the children as the acme of perfection.

SPECIAL LECTURES AND EXHIBITIONS

Special lectures and exhibitions, some of a surpusingly advanced nature, are held from time to time, on such subjects as Design in Daily Life, Town Planning, Social History, or such as the one on Nineteenth Century French Art, which the children were helping to arrange when I was last there. They were unpacking Foram, Degas and Toulouse Lautrec sketches with intent faces, stacking them methodically, and with a proprietary air The children enjoy being given such jobs. In the 'Children's Room" as it is called, some babies were working out jig-saw puzzles cut from simple pictures of the various period rooms. Others were reading. There is a small library, which has proved to be a special pleasure to the children. Two young



This little boy is intent on his sketch of the fascinating krtchen utensils used by cooks of past centuries

girls, scarcely seven years old, were making a survey of English domestic architecture, by means of tiny paste board houses, modelled county by county, according to the distinctive style of each area, Devon thatch, Cumberland flint, Berkshire red brick, Suffolk gables, and so on. "I'm going to live in this one," shrilled one: "This is mine, this is mine," reiterated her companion, pointing

TVA MODEL FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA

By KAMALESH RAY, M.SC.

In the previous story of the Tennessee Valley it was told how a barren tract of half the size of Bengal, which was frequented by catastrophic flood and systematic drought, was converted into a garden of prosperity through scientific regional planning under a national government. We have seen why the river basin is chosen as a self-contained unit for the regional development of the economic resources and how Nature's water cycle offers a great potentiality for agricultural development and industrialisation of a country.

Why was this story told, and why is the talk of TVA so much in the air? Is it possible to translate the methods of the TVA and apply them to our lands or to any other country? The present discussion gives its answer-an answer in the affirmative.

ALL THE RIVER BASINS HAVE SIMILAR PROBLEMS TO SOLVE

Some are apt to think that the Tennessee River enjoys a unique and favoured position, and that the American solution of the American problem does not apply to our rivers, and the TVA is a utopia for us.

This idea is not true. Rivers or their basins have no nationality. Rivers are rivers and valleys are valleys. What is true for the Tennessee basin is also true for any other river basin of the world. The difference, if any, is in degree. Flood, soil erosion, undeveloped mineral wealth, poverty, malnutrition, etc., are the fundamental problems in regional planning of this kind. The problems are fundamentally the same, the broad principles of solution are also the same. The differences are in the details of technique which varies from river to river, valley to valley even in the same country TVA model has been worked out

on a natural basis ats applicability is universal.

Mr. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, puts it clearly while writing his book on the TVA:

"I write of the Tennessee Valley, but all this could have happened in almost any of a thousand other valleys where rivers run from hills to the sea. For the valleys of the earth have these things in are just such rivers,-rivers flowing through mountain canyons, through canebrake and palmetto, through barren wastes, rivers that in the violence of flood menace the land and the people, then sulk in idleness and drought—rivers all over the world waiting to be controlled by men—the Yangtze, the Ganges, the Ob, the Parana, the Amazon, the Nile. In a thousand valleys in America and the world over there are fields that need to be made strong and productive, land steep and rugged, land flat as a man's hand, on the slopes, forests—and in the hills, minerals—that can be made to yield a better living for people."

The problems are natural and human. Flood control, irrigation, navigation, electric power generation, sanitation, better living, etc., are all true for all countries and all nations under all governments. The problems remain the same for any country, nationality, polity, and government: the same is the case about their solutions. To solve or not to solve is the lookout of the government concerned.

THE SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE THROUGH AN AUTONOMOUS POWERFUL ORGANISATION OF SCHNTIFIC PERSONNEL

The principle lies in the controlling of Nature's power and resources: and it is easy to do so through harnessing, primarily, the water resources of the valley, employing them for irrigation, navigation, generation of hydro-electricity for industrialisation, and production and distribution of wealth for the people. The entire project of this kind, as now it has come to stand, requires a vast organisation of technical staff, in which basic scientific knowledge has to be applied in every step to cope with Nature's power and for her exploitation.

The TVA method is characterised by its unique comprehensiveness. It is both a planning and an executive body. It not only looks forward for flood control in the river, but for generation of electricity from the same dams. The same dams are also utilised for navigation and fishery. In short, the dams are 'multipurpose', and the purpose is democratic. The entire organisation is devoted to the improvement of the valley for the people of the locality and for the nation. People of the world are yet to learn about the TVA's multipurpose project and its fars ghtedness in drawing up plans. It should also be noted that any constructional project of the TVA is not only multipurpose in itself at the moment but also considers in detail the possible future developments which might be affected by the construction so that there might be an ample provision for the future expansion.

Contrasted with this TVA method, the older ones are degenerate or broken up,-without life and real purpose, each department of picce-meal development is conflicting with the other. The entire human problem, the solution of which lies in the development of the natural basin in its entirety remained unsolved, and the attempts to solve them piecemeal made all of them out of gear and unworkable. The general machinery of the governments of the world is still so complicated and grossly partitioned out into watertight compartments that it is impossible to make a For the valleys of the cartin have three common; the waters, the air, the land, the minerals, the forests. In Missouri and in Arkansas, in Brazil have taken full advantage of modern science and the forests. In China and in India there technology which have made the word impossibility. meaningless as demonstrated by the activities of the

> The characteristic features of the TVA are that: (1) the Government has given it all power to deal with the valley's problem—technical and economic, and the minor provincial questions, vested interests, etc., have been cut through in favour of the greater interest of the people of the valley and of the nation,

TVA.

(2) the TVA is a large body of scientists and experts (numbering 40,000 in 1943) who plan and execute for the entire problem of the valley, technical, economic and social.

Planning of the kind we really mean for the people of the land is not a fun of an individual or two. It involves a large variety of problems, each of them requiring a large batch of experts to plan and to execute. All the jobs are linked up and interwoven. For example, flood can be cured by putting dams at suitable sites. It is not a one-man's job. The sites are to be surveyed by experts, the suitability of the dam

construction of dams involves scientists and engineers, -'dreamers with shovels',-a colossal batch of them and requires researches and model experiments in the They believe in people's basic wants and needs. The laboratory for determining suitable size, shape, strength, etc. The design, again, depends on stream gauging,—the planners must know how the river flows in all times of the year, how it has actually behaved for the last five, ten or fifty years. The holding-off of water and their release depends upon rain gauging and that the rivers do not obey political boundaries of the dam life and for the fertility of the soil of the basin, it to pieces. The problem of forestry and scientific cultivation comes involves industrialisation and easy communication:



Looking past the four turbine casings along the whole length of Wheeler Dam in Alabama

general economic planning involves them also at the very root. Industry needs electricity which is generated in the power-house at the foot of the storage dams. And so on. It is a colossal national task in which a large number of experts are required to participate-physicists, chemists, civil, mechanical and electrical engineers, geologists, statisticians, foresters, employed some 40,000 men in 1943.

itself. TVA plans are practical and are based on real tackle the problem of the Murray in its entirety.

foundation is to be judged by expert geologists; the human propositions chalked out by idealist technicians size, shape, plans are real, human, universal and workable.

THE MANY-PROVINCE PROBLEM

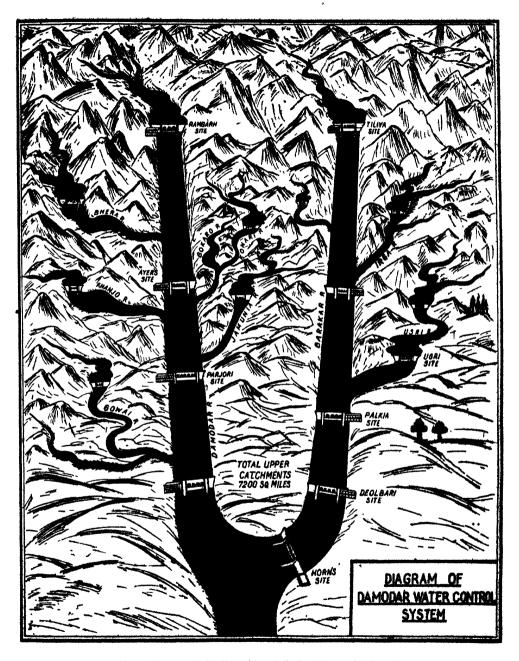
It has already been said, and it goes without saying meteorological forecasting of weather. Again, the dams country. Rivers flow through many provinces and states are likely to be silted up,—the erosion of land has to with their respective governments. And the hard fact be reduced to the minimum both for the sake of the is that a river cannot be controlled or utilised by taking

Take for example, the Damodar River. It flows in, the problem of arrigation comes in, artificial through Bihar and Bengal. Bengal suffers from its manuring also does not escape consideration. The periodic and catastrophic floods, and the government mobilisation of men and materials for these problems has tried to save the tract by raising embankments. The embankments have always breached; the breaches are accompanied by terrible flood disasters; water resources have been wasted into the sea through the embankments; peasants have suffered from chronic dearth of water under the threat of flood; sanitation of the country has deteriorated with highest epidemic mortality and with spleen index of hundred per cent in most part of the valley. Such is the Damodar problem of Bengal, and such has been the method of solution in Bengal.

The mistake is there-to call it a problem of Bengal. It is, in fact, the problem of the river itselfin its entirely. The river has nothing to do with the political boundary or the Government of Bengal or Bihar: the problem does not change with the boundary nor with the ministry, nor the flood would stop for its courtesy towards Provincial Autonomy. No amount of embankment will reclaim the Damodar basin within Bengal or outside it will mean, as it has done in the past, disister and economic death of the valley.

The Tennessee river had the same problem. No, it had a greater problem, masmuch as it flows through seven states instead of two, and the total water handled by the Tennessee is nearly six times that in the Damodar. The Americans might have done just the same as others are doing here. They might have patched up the enbankments of the Tennessee Rivers within their respective State boundaries just the same way. But they knew the result. Not only that they knew the mistake of trying to dissect the river according to State boundaries, but they knew how to avoid the mistake. The U.S. Government created the River Authority to deal with the natural problem of the entire watershed in the natural way. The state boundaries disappeared to the TVA, and so disappeared the difficulties.

The problem of the Damodar basin and its provincial controversies is just one of the many such cases. The Murray River in Australia flows through three states—New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, and they have entered into the controversy since 1844. They instituted Royal Commissions, River architects, soil experts, health authorities, research Leagues, River Commissions, etc. and are going round workers, teachers, lawyers, and what not Jacks and the vicious circle with all sorts of bureaucratic red-Whyte remark, "Its (TVA's) salary list includes tapisms for the last one hundred years to achieve only almost every recognised profession and some that would very little success in certain amount of inland navigasearcely be recognised outside the Tennessee Valley." tion and irrigation. Hydro-electricity has not yet been it is already noted that the organisation of the TVA produced, although the question has been raised since 1924. The matter was deferred till 1930 and again till Thus, planning is not a freak of one's sweet will. 1944, but nothing yet availed. The whole difficulty lies Planning is not for idealism. Planning is not an end in in not creating an autonomous river authority to



From "Damodar Planning" by Dr. M. N. Saha and K. Ray, Science and Culture, July 1944

So the conflict is between Nature and the Government. The TVA presents a happy reconciliation between the two powers—not a conflict. "A new chapter in American public policy was written when Congress in May, 1933 passed the law creating the TVA. For the first time since the trees fell before the settler's axe, America set out to command nature not by defying her, as in the wasteful past, but by understanding and acting upon her first law—the oneness of men and natural resources, the unity that binds together land, streams, forests, minerals, farming, industry, mankind."

That which is required by science cannot be overruled by a government only by the merit of 'power' it possesses. The attempt has always proved and is still proving disastrous. The Government has to find out ways and means to co-operate with Nature and take advantage of modern science and technology in the matters of economic planning for the welfare of the people.

PHOBLEMS OF INDIA

It has been indicated in the preceding pages that all the river basins have similar problems to solve—the flood, drought, soil crosion, and the conservation of water resources, maintenance of inland navigation for trade and commerce and generation of electrical power. In this respect India has nothing new to do, excepting to adopt the spirit of the TVA. This is also true for world reconstruction.

Take up the case of any river or river basin. The Damodar, for example, to start with. The Damodar Valley can at once be reclaimed on the TVA model.* More than a dozen of dam sites have been found on the Damodar river and its important tributaries. By harnessing the water resources in the dams the agricultural produce of the tract will double, malaria and epidemics will disappear, navigation in the river will lead to easy transport of rice, coal, building materials and mercantile commodities to facilitate commerce in general, and will reduce the pressure (and monopoly) of the railways. About 1,000 million units of electricity can be generated annually in the power-houses at the foot of the dams. The figure is likely to be much more, not a bit less. It is due to the lack of cheap power that the mineral industry of Bihar has to suffer so much: aluminium, one of the most valuable minerals of Bihar, cannot be extracted locally as there is no source of cheap electricity. There is excessive pressure on the Bihar coal which is finest in quality and is a national asset which must be conserved carefully.

There are other rivers on the western border of Bengal, which run parallel to the Damodar and originate in the Chhotanagpur plateau or its close vicinity. The Ajoy, Cossy, Rupnarayan rivers are nearly as notorious as the Damodar, and thus possess enormous potentialities. The Sileru and Kolab rivers in the border of Orissa and Madras Presidency have excellent dam sites and provide the same amount of potential hydroelectric power as in the Damodar system. The problems of water conservation and regional planning in Bihar and Orissa have been discussed elsewhere (Regional Planning in Bihar, 20th Cen. Pub. Patna 1945).

Almost all the Deccan rivers have enormous possibilities on the TVA lines. The Punjab Rivers, and others down the Himalayan slopes, like the Ganges and

So the conflict is between Nature and the Governits tributaries, the Tista, Brahmaputra and host of the TVA presents a happy reconciliation between the two powers,—not a conflict. "A new chapter India. These will entail the said 'conflict' between American public policy was written when Congress provinces or states. All of them have to be removed, in May, 1933 passed the law creating the TVA. For future, by the TVA method.

It has been thoroughly explained how the conscrvation of water resources and utilisation of the great water cycle of Nature comes to the aid of industrialisation and efficient agriculture—both being at the root of the economic welfare of a country. India has her rich soil and rich mineral resources. But they go unworked and undeveloped. For working always involves power and energy. Compared with other civilised countries, while Britain has 2,000 units of energy per head per year, and U. S. A. 3,000 units, India has only about 100 units per capita. One can now easily imagine the helpless position of India in matters of developing her agricultural potentialities and mineral resources. The potentiality of power in India is by no means meagre. Nature has endowed India not only with agricultural soil and mineral resources but also with necessary power potentialities to develop them. India is now producing 4,000 million units of electricity while the total utilisation of power-including manual labour, cattle labour, coal and other fuels amounts to some 40,000 million units (in terms of electrical units of Kilowatthour). The water power resources of India is now estimated (more tentative than thorough) at 39 million horse power amounting to some 2,60,000 million units a year, leading to an increase of some 650 units per capita. Out of these 39 million horse power of potential . water power, only about one million horse power has so far been harnessed.

TVA AND WORLD RECONSTRUCTION

The TVA is built with such a fundamental structure that the model can be accepted for any economic planning which is to be carried on natural regional unit and not on the old basis of governmental pigeon-hole sectarianism. The fundamentals have been so clearly demonstrated that the TVA organisation has occupied the position of being the only training centre for all nations in the matters of the future development of world resources under democratic planning.

Mr. Lilienthal narrates:

"Among the more than eleven million people who have visited the TVA in recent years have been representatives of almost overy country in the world. Since the war there has been a marked increase in foreign visitors. They come in a steady procession: a Chinewe general returning to Chungking, complete with military cap and battle dagger, an agricultural Commissioner from New Delhi, the British Ambasador, a group of Swedish journalists especially observant of the modern architecture of the new power-houses, a Brazilian scientist, a prominent Australian politician, a Czech electrical experiundreds of men from the most distant lands."

Mr. Lilienthal further adds:

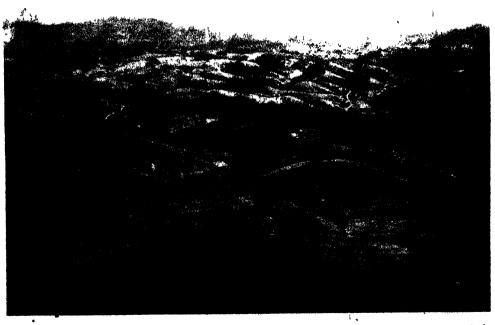
"The TVA has also served as a training ground foreign technicians; two score engineers and agriculturists from a dosen republics of South America, a similar contingent from China, singularly enthusiastic and intense. There has been a group of Russian engineers working with TVA technicians on Russian engineers working with TVA technicians on Lend-Lease hydro-electric plants. . Studies are being made of how a set-up of general TVA type could be adopted to serve as an international instead of a national agency (thus among other things undercutting and transcending nationalist sovereign-

^{*} The problem has been discussed in detail and plans have been drawn up alsowhere, (see Science and Culture, July, 1944).

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

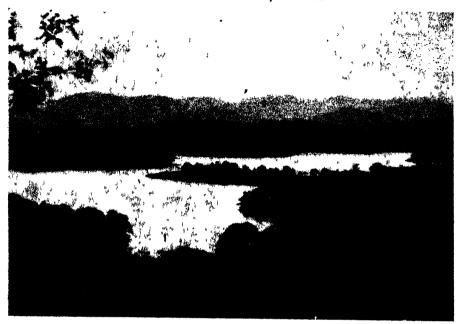


Utilising superphosphate fortilisers produced in TVA plants, farmers of the Tennessee Valley have restored the soil's ability to produce



A century and a half of cultivating crops, deforestation and heavy rains had left millions of acres of the Tennessee Valley in an eroded and impoverished condition Countries USOWI

THE MALA URALIS OF PERIYAR



A general view of the Edqualayam Camp in the Perivar Lake. The Royal Game Sanctuary here is a great attraction



A tea estate and factory in the romantic High Ranges

Another lesson of the TVA is that the resources development should not only be for the people but by the people. It is the democratic method which is at the very root of the project. Visitors of TVA have also often governmental machinery and its policy, and in the remarked, as Mr. Lilienthal narrates, "We are even technical organisation. -:0:-

ties, as the TVA undercuts and transcends State's more interested in TVA's way of working with people rights and boundaries), and adjust to promote the than we are in its dams and furthering of industrial planned development of regions of greater backward-development." It is the principle, policy and the spirit than we are in its dams and furthering of industrial development." It is the principle, policy and the spirit of the TVA that is so fundamental and universal.

It is now clear how TVA model would work anywhere, provided that the adoption of the model has been genuine in spirit and form at the very reot of the

THE MALA URALIS OF PERIYAR A Hill Tribe in Travancore

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

to miss the delightful trip to the High Ranges in deep affection. Travancore, which constitute an extraordinary mountain range resplendent with life, colour and charm. For a traveller whose heart is after new experiences, the High Ranges—the region of sunny plains, glistening mountains, singing woods, roaring torrents, unique fauna, full-blooded aborigines, vast tea, rubber and cardamom estates and gigantic hydro-electric undertakings offer a diversity of attractions.

The Periyar lake in the heart of the High Ranges is a magnificent stretch of water which fills a series of • valleys to a length of eight miles. The terraced hills rise in delicate curves from the shores of the lake covered with virgin forest. The Royal Game Sanctuary at Edapalayam on the Periyar lake forms the natural habitat of a wonderful variety of wild game. A happy hunting ground alike for big game hunters and the aboriginal tribes who share the forests with wild beasts, the Periyar region is a beauty spot where Nature has lavished all her charms.

Human life in the Periyar forests is most primitive. This region affords ample scope for research to the enterprising anthropologist and ethnographist. The hill folk who inhabit this area are a set of interesting people, shy by nature, simple in manners and habits, primitive in dress, and contented. They are known as Mala Uralis. The Urali population is somewhere about a thousand. Legend and tradition aver that the Uralis are the descendants of the umbrella-carriers of the Madura Kings of old, and that they had ordered the Uralis to rule over the Hills. The word "Uralis" connotes rulers of the country. They are divided into eight exogamous clans. Colourful stories describe the origin of these clans. The offspring belong to the clan of the mother. There is a scarcity of women among the Uralis. According to their marriage customs, a man who has no sister is not entitled to a wife, for marriage usually takes place by the exchange of sisters. Crosscousin marriages are, however, not rare. Marriages take place both before and after the attainment of puberty. Polyandry is rare and is not encouraged by the Uralis. On the day of the marriage the bridegroom accompanied by his father pays a ceremonial visit to the bride's hut. After a sumptuous feast, they return with they invariably carry a blanket which serves as a holdform of inheritance prevalent among them. The sons too which they regard as precious delicare given a share of the earnings of the father. The distinguished by his long head,

No person who is a lover of the mountains can afford Uralis treat their womenfolk with great respect and

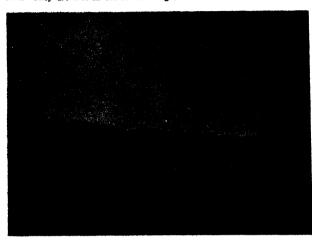
The Uralis are comparatively a little more civilised than their brethren in other hills, due to contact with the Planters. The Uralis in the High Ranges take delight in wearing shirts, coats and turbans. The men wear a loin cloth four cubits long and two cubits wide. They purchase second-hand clothes and use them until they become tattered. They do not bother about niceties of attire. They wear the same dress during summer and winter. When out hunting or travelling



A beautiful spot in the High Ranges on the bank of the Periyar

the bride to their home. The dowry comprises weapons, all to accommodate all their necessities of life. They implements, clothes and utensils. Remarriages are not frequent the hill markets and now and then descend uncommon among the Uralis. Marumakkathayam is the to the low country for purchasing tobacco, salt etc., The Urali is thick lips.

broad forehead, black curly hair, massive chest, large torsos and somewhat fair complexion. They wear thick tufts on the back of their heads. The Travancore Census Report says that "the Urali is the most dolichocephalic of the hill tribes with a cephalic index of 70.6", and that "the average nash index of the Urali is 84.6." They are still in the lowest rung of the ladder



A view of the Periyar Lake In the forests adjoining the shores of this lake dwell the hill folk

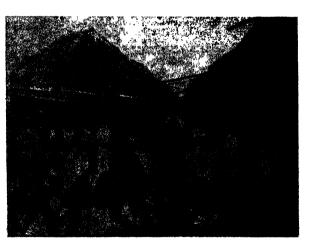
of civilisation and are quite contented to be so. Extraordinarily strong, sturdy, and well-built, the Uralis are eminently fitted by birth and breeding to live in their wild surroundings. Of extremely active habit and ever alert, they have developed a keen sense of smell which enables them to scent out wild animals, with amazing ease. The forest tribes who live in the inaccessuble wilds are attached to the Forest Department and they collect and supply some of the forest produce such as honey, cardamom, wax, dummer. Their primary occupation is nomadic agriculture. They subsist on roots and herbs which form their staple food. They cultivate hill paddy on the slopes of the mountains. A part of the produce they take to the markets, and barter it for clothes, tobacco, salt and the like,

The customs and manners of the Uralis are interesting. Girls who have attained puberty observe pollution for seven days. During that period such a girl is accommodated in a

tree-house exclusively reserved for the purpose and lightning and rain are the manifestations of duels situated away from the other residential huts between the Bhimas in heaven and the rainbow On the eighth day she takes a bath, proceeds is Sri Rama's Bow. Beliefs, traditions, customs to another to house couple of

home. Women during the period of menstrustion have to confine themselves to distant tree-houses. Childbirth takes place inside a specially constructed tree-but and the consequent pollution lasts for 21 days. The husband has to sit at home and abstatu from work till the 22nd day when his wife returns to the house with the child. The Urali women wear pretty little bandeaux

in their hair in Grecian fashion. and adorn their bodies with garlands of beads and shells. They use bangles and bracelets, and ear and nose ornaments The Uralis are highly-almost ridiculouslysuperstitious They offer homage to crests of hills which they believe are the sanctuaries of the "Shining Ones" The hill folk believe that the forests are peopled with fairies, devils, dwarfs and all sorts of uncanny creatures Their prayers are in the form of petitions and entreaties wishing immunity from disease and danger, the supply of sufficient food and for general happiness them the Sun is the creator and father of the universe and the Moon the mother. They believe that the earth rests on the massive shoulders of two gigantic demi-gods by turn and that earth-. quakes occur when one Bhima (demi-god) hands over charge to another To them, thunder,



A group of hill folk in the High Ranges standing in front of their huts

and lives there for a -the legacy of centuries and the origin of which must The then returns to her own be sought for in the twilight of dim and distant hillmen who as a rule retreat at the advance of civilisa- are known as Plathis, are credited with the power of tion. Their colourful legends and tales reveal that they curing diseases and other human ailments by invoking are steeped in superstition.

The Uralis bury their dead about a furlong from their hut. The principal mourner is the nephew. The grave is dug deep and billets of wood, and reed mats are thrown into it. The sides of the grave are also covered with reed mats. The corpse, bathed and covered with a new cloth, is then consigned to the pit and a new reed mat is placed over it. Each relative magic and in the prowess of their witch doctors. These has to put one cloth in the grave. In the right arm pit medicine men who are adepts in weird sorcery carry of the deceased are deposited the bill book and chewing on a lucrative trade,

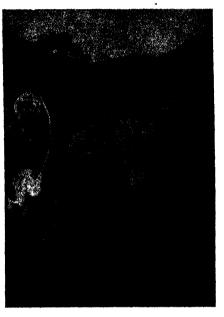
egends. are firmly rooted in the minds of the predulous men. Their medicine men who, in their own language, the aid of the gods and spirits. The Plathis or witch doctors endeavour to cure diseases by songs and gruesome contortionist dances accompanied by prayers, incantations and wild and intoxicated chorus. In the course of performing black magic, they let loose a full blast of incantatory gibberish spiced with obscenities. The Uralis have implicit faith in sorcery and black



A group of typical forest folk inhabiting the Periyar region

materials used by him. A small quantity of boiled rice is also placed in the pit. The grave is then filled up with earth, a stone planted by its side and a shed is constructed over it. The mourners observe pollution for sixteen days.

The spirits of the departed ones are propitiated with elaborate ritual and overwhelming awe by the Uralis during the season of harvesting and on other festive occasions when pleasure and excitement, expressed in song and dance, are at their highest pitch. During these special gala days the tribe works itself up to a hysterical pitch of excitement and enthusiasm very often stimulated by intoxicating beverages. Their folk-songs indicate their attachment to earth, their simplicity and their hoary belief in the numerous deities. The colour, fire and sparkle of the songs and the poetry of their smiles and tears provide an interesting study. Their songs are mostly prayers and are sung by their priests who are held in absolute fear and veneration by the simple and credulous Uralis. boos. Though primitive the huts. Some of the priests also assume the role of medicine appearance. The dwellings are,



Some of the hill folk who inhabit the Periyar region

The Uralis dwell together in clans and each settlement consists of a large number of small huts, some on raised ground and some perched on the tops of trees. The huts are made of reeds, bamboos and leaves of the elephant reed, all got in plenty from the forests. The floor of the hut is on a level with the ground. The safety buts on the tree tops serve as a protection against wild elephants that roam in the forests in large herds causing considerable havor to human life and crops. The tree-houses are called anamadams (elephant huts). The rectangular type of hut is most popular with the forest folk who inhabit the Periyar region. The tree-houses are built forty to fifty feet above the ground. A thick, strong bamboo the side shoots of which have been carefully chopped off serves as the ladder which establishes communication with the ground. The roofs of the huts are thatched with reeds and leaves, and walls are constructed with sticks and split bamventilated

Krishna Iyer, the well-known anthropologist, in his and muzzle-loading guns. The pellet-bow which flings informative book The Travançore Tribes and Castes, with tremendous force sharp stones has a range of 100 58.YS :

"The Urali hute are isolated. Each man has tree-house which is about 50 feet from the ground. . . . Each hamlet has a common tree-house reserved for women in menses. There is a common tree-house for granary."



A view of the Urali tree-house in the midst of a cultivated area in the dense forest

The Uralis are experts in rattan and reed-wicker work and basket making.

The Kanikkaran, as he is called, is the patriarchal chieftain for a group of Urali hamlets. The uncrowned monarch and the supreme director and dictator of the social, religious, and agricultural affairs of his tribe, the Kanikkaran is the lode-star of the hill-folk. Each village has a Plathi or medicine man who is responsible for the good conduct of the inhabitants of the hamlet. The Plathi reports to the Kanikkaran about disputes in the village. The Kanikkaran forthwith proceeds to the hamlet, summons the panchayat (village council of elders), presides over the meeting and settles the dispute peacefully. The delinquents are not as a rule punished with fines.

The Uralis inhabiting the inaccessible wilds prefer the aboriginal method of producing fire by rubbing two pieces of wood. The wood used is Isora Cori Folia. Their cooking is simple, for they have only very few dishes. For

the most part they bake roots and fruits by animals and lead the sportsmen on. They would take thrusting them into the glowing fire.

and untidy, and sanitation is very poor. Mr. L. A. Their chief weapons are chopping knives, pellet-bows yards. It is of great use to the hill folk in killing small game and driving away monkeys. The Uralis use sickles and spades.

The Uralis are a good-natured, freedom-loving. pagan people, sun-bronzed, and handsome in a wild sort of way. They live in close association with Nature

and their simplicity is really remarkable. They are extremely orthodox and do not intermarry among or interdine with the other forest folk. The hill-men are supposed to be the original inhabitants of the country. These aboriginal tribes speak a corrupt form of Tamil and Malayalam. They are very hospitable and their concern for and good-will towards those people who go into the forests are proverbial. They provide their visitors with rich and ample food and are always attentive to their guests. They are honest, truthful, trustworthy, simple, modest and hospitable to a high degree.

The Uralis are experts in wood craft and their services are indispensable to big game hunters. They willingly help the shikaris, cheerfully guide them through the dense jungle and initiate them into the mysteries of hunting wild, game. These Uralis keep hunting dogs and are fond of these animals. With marvellous precision the Uralis spot out and explain the marks left by wild



Note the hill folk ascending A typical Urali tree-house. the bamboo ladder

Their most up precarious position over jutting rocks and slippery delicious dishes are bamboo plantains, bamboo joints crags and with nothing except wide space in front of holding honey, fruits, roots, beasts, birds and fish them, search the surrounding country with their naked . Some of them use milk but the majority do not like eyes and point out to green patches on the hilly slopes it. Tee has an indispensable beverage with and assure you that a herd of Sambhur stags is peacement of the hey use copper and brass vessels, fully grazing there.

which they believe to be the sanctuaries of the Nature: "Shining Ones", the hamlets of the Uralis are generally esituated on beautiful sites and in superb natural surroundings. Their acts of adoration are characterised by devotion, simplicity and superstition. On seeing the hill folk at prayer one is reminded of the

Due to their great reverence for the hills and rivers beautiful lines of Wordsworth, the high priest of

Great God. I'd rather be A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn-So might I, standing on this pleasant lea, Have glimpees that would make me less forlorn, Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea; Or hear Old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE

By RAI BAHADUR BIJAY BIHARI MUKHERJI

India through the Secretary, Federal Public Services Commission, has issued a pamphlet on the recruitment of candidates, with approved War Services, to fill warreserved vacancies in the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. Unfortunately the namphlet has not been made available to the public by sale or by distribution. The subject-matter, however, is of very great public importance. No constitution can be of effective use to the people unless the agencies for administration are selected, trained, developed, and permitted to function and do respond to the demands to function for national progress and welfare. The recruitment and the future of these, which are generally termed the "Security Services", need very careful analysis and examination. While on the one hand the administration must perpetually guard against incompetence and corruption, on the other the personnel must be devoted workers for national cause and for national uplift. Nothing that militates against the one or the other could on any ground of expediency or sentiment be permitted to jeopardie the chances of success of the one and definitely the one objectiveindia's national progress and the progress of all sections of the nation.

Unfortunately political subjection brings on repercussions on varied expressions of national life. The marks thereof are patent all round. It was H. G. Wells who pointed out that the most outstanding contribution of the 19th Century to the history and the progress of the world was the constitution of the public services. It is so even in England which of all European countries is believed to have developed the highest standard of integrity and efficiency of the public services as a rule. It is not contended that the standard there reached is uniform or that there is no room for improvement. An analysis of the state of public services there from the day of Lord North to the present day will bear out the contention that a definite, marked and steady progress has been made in the morale of the public servants of that country. Even Disraeli and Gladstone had to be fought against because of their efforts to preserve the patronage system of distribution of the public offices and the provision of jobs for keeping the political party together. It is one of the inherent weaknesses of democracy and of the representative institutions that in power the human weaknesses have a strong urge to get to the top. In England a group of persons stood up and relentlessly fought against the tendencies that corrupted the public services and the standards of morals of public men. In India the very unnatural conditions of non-national

It has just been announced that the Government of state raise other problems and produce what the modern psychologists would term other "behaviourpatterns" to the detriment of the efficiency of the public administration, to the degradation of national honour, and to the damage of the national interests. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in the 19th Century India did develop a definite standard of morals and of efficiency in the public services. Subject to the Imperial interests up to a point these standards worked to the improvement of the public servants and to the betterment of the public administration and thus of the country in general. Then came the struggle of nationalism and the fight with bureaucracy. On the top of all came the Communal Award, followed by the communal representation in services. India finds in the complex the undignified spectacle of some one being picked to be a minister with the least qualification of being so from the intellectual and the moral point of view followed by the appointment of brothers as ministers, nephews as I.C.S.'s; in other cases brothers are followed by brothers in the ministry with brothers-in-law as Parliamentary Secretaries and so forth. The authors of the constitution which under the high guise of political philosophy brings about these changes, with disastrous results to the administration which is corrupted to the core and with deaths to millions such as the Bengal famine showed, escape. The cause and the effect are confounded. The syllogism is lost in the haze. In Bengal today no one in the Government is ashamed to put up a public advertisement for "the 1st Surgeon" of the Calcutta Medical College (the premier Medical Institution of the East) inviting candidates only from the Muslim community or putting an advertisement on behalf of the Government for "the Principal of the Government Art College" (again a premier institution) only "from the community of scheduled castes". The situation is comic but for the tragedy involved. To the credit of some sane individual in the Government, it must be said that both these advertisements were withdrawn later. But almost similar ones appear daily.

Those who are familiar with the history of the evolution of the public services in England from the patronage system of the era ending with the first quarter of the nineteenth to the present quarter of the twentieth century know what England owes to a group of strenuous fighters for dignified standards of public morals. Those interested might be referred to Northcote-Trevelyan Report (of Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan), to their paper on "the Reorganisation of the Permanent C: Service" which with a letter from Benjamir was sent to

eminent men for criticism in 1853, to the Report of the machinery for administration is bound to fail. A had Playfair Commission in 1874, to the Report of the Ridley Commission of 1888, to the Report of the Macdonnell Commissions of 1912 and the scrutiny thereof by the Re-organisation Committee of the National Whitley Council. Fortunately England had produced men of the type of Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Benjamin Jowett, John Bright, John Stuart Mill, Robert Lowe (Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Gladstone Ministry) to carry on an unceasing campaign. They fought against corrupt vested

"Jobbing," said the Right Honourable H. N. Addington, the Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, "is a part, though an ugly part, of the price which a free people pay for their constitutional liberty."* The same argument that is strutted out for nepotism in the shape of so-called selection against needs in the country was voiced there too. The Permanent Secretary to the Board of Control argued that "the best scholars were not necessarily the best clerks." Mr. Booth, Secretary to the Board of Trade, contended that the service would be, in the case of the open competitive examination being introduced, "filled by picked clever men from the lower ranks of society and that in consequence a lower tone of feeling would prevail"t One would hear the same voice against any system that stood for fair field and no favour. In India this is expressed in different terms and in different tones. But England had after all a national state, a national will, and a glowing improved standard for public morals A just system was developed, freed from nepotism and patronage. No one, after the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill had been made into an Act. contended that in view of the great disabilities imposed by Law and the Public Acts on the Roman Catholics against entry into the public services for long periods in history a "Religious group representa-("communal representation in in services services") should be introduced to make good the loss to the Roman Catholic. The leaders of public opinion had the sense to see that the ideal was to provide the interests of the people themselves.

The regital, brief as it is, shows what even in England had to be contended against. The task in India must be more difficult. The conditions for obvious reasons are more complicated. The call on Indians, therefore, is greater-provincialism, communalism, sectarianism, and ego-centricism must have to be ruthlessly rooted out. No cuphemism no slogan, no seemingly high falutin bunch of political ideologies could be permitted to stand in the way of a fight against principles that are unsound and that stand in the way of the evolution of a vigorous, efficient, broad-based Indian nationalism being built up. So far the selfgoverning institutions, the legislatures, even the universities, have not succeeded in holding up-specially of late-the touch of the highest idealism that may inspire the youths to dedicate themselves to the service of their country by an emulation of personalities in power and in action, A good constitution with a bad

* See Papers on the Re-organisation of the Civil Service, 1884-56, pape 393.

constitution develops the worst traits in character and helps the soum of society to seize power and use the power to corrupt the administration by examples as well as by actions. That self-government is better than good government is a truism. But bad government is not an inseparable accident of self-government. Selfgovernment is good because it paves the way for the efflorescence of all that is the best in efficiency and in effectiveness for national progress which is at once the one objective and the foremost test. The machinery of the administration, therefore, needs the most careful and the most anxious attention. India must strive to produce dedicated super-intellectuals to run her democracy, a vigorous public opinion and a vigilant press to uphold the standard of public life, and an effective, incorruptible, efficient, and strongly nationalistic public service to administer her affairs. The challenge goes to the competitive system open to all and adjusted to the the youths of India irrespective of caste, creed and colour. It is for them to decide and to act.

A brief analysis will show that in the period that ended with the battle of Plassey outstanding administrators were born in India. Apart from kings like Chandra Gupta, Asoke, Akbar, Aurangzeb, men like Sher Shah, Man Sınha, Todar Mall, Shivaji, Rana Protap, Protapaditya, Guru Govinda Sinha, to name only a few, were born and brought up in India and left their impress on national life and administration. That in more restricted spheres outstanding personalities were developed could easily be related. In the sphere of philosophy, in religion, in literature, in sociology, law, names could easily be cited to show the wealth of personality and imaginative powers. Since 1757 the Indians slipped out of the positions of effective leadership and were condemned to occupy what, to quote an official phrase, were "positions of minor responsibilities." The stature of a nation is determined by its highest. It is regulated by the opportunities to play an unhampered part in the effective evolution of the national life. A country, which had produced the Sikhs and the Jaths, the Gurkhas and the Dogras, the Pathans and the Punjabis, a country which produced a Protapaditya and even in the nineteenth century a Ranjit Singh is held to best servants for the social organism—the State—in the be a country incapable of producing one single military Commander of position! In administration even the officiating Commissionership of a Division was considered an unlooked-for concession even up to the end of the nineteenth century and the then Headship of a Provincial Department, unconnected with law and order, a dearly conceded privilege. While the indigenous material was rejected the imported material the moral achievements of which are written on the pages of history in the diaries of Cornwallis, in the journals of Warren Hastings, in the proceedings of his impeachment, was provided with pay, positions and privileges till the Indian Civil Service reached a stage that was rightly noted by Mr. Montagu not as a service but a "ruling corporation."

Theoretically Indians had promises solemnly given. Sec. 17 of the Charter Act of 1833 assured the Indians that there was no bar of caste, creed, or colour (the Caste Hindus for the last decade read these with peculiar sest) "to hold any place, office or employment" under the said Company. This was repeated with particular emphasis in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. The concrete result, however, was "steedy decline for Indians to positions of minor responsibilities." In the despatch of 30th May, 1878, on the subject,

Lord Lytton was constrained to write. "Since I am whole question of services in their relation to the writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise · they had uttered to the ear."

advocate for freedom of his country, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the 20th Century when appearing as a witness before the Welby Commission he deposed that apart from the administrative and economic loss to India by the employments of foreign labour "there is a moral evil which, if anything, is even greater. A kind of dwarfing and stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the existing system may be satisfied. The upward impulse, if I may use such an expression, which every school-boy at Eton or Harrow may feel that he may one day be a Gladstone or Nelson, or a Wellington and which may draw forth the best efforts of which he is capable, that is denied to us. The full height of which our manhood is capable of using can never be reached by us under the present system." The result of Round Table Conference that the condition should be such a system is almost possible to demonstrate with re-examined after five years romain unattended to. The scientific exactitude. We see in India an improvement in the blueprints of development and a definite system in view-points in which India is ahead of most Asiatic or any Asiatic country for which the present secured to the members of the Indian Civil Service and in vain for an outstanding administrator, an outstanding soldier, and an outstanding public servant of vision and creative powers. This system could not produce any and for the conditions imposed it was impossible that any could be produced.

During the World War I, the Mesopotamian muddle brought changes in the outlook. The declaration of 1917 stipulated "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration." It was followed up by Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the final embodiment in the provisions of Government of India Act of 1920. The privileges of the Secretary of State's services were carefully safeguarded. Not only were their appointments and conditions of services reserved to be regulated by the Secretary of State but their emoluments were not subject to the vote of the legislature. A simultaneous selection by nomination of Indians followed by competition in simultaneous examination in India-for which the Indian National Congress and national leaders had moved since the inception of the Congress—was introduced. The successful candidates. however, had to spend initially two years and later one year in a British University which was dropped altogether after the World War II started when a training centre at Dehra-Dun was started.

The Government of India Act of 1920 by its provisions in Part VII-A, Part VIII (Secs. 96B to 100) safeguarded the rights of the services. There was reported difficulty in obtaining British recruits and a Public Services Statutory Commission under Lord Lee of Fareham came out to India. It recommended various additions to the privileges and the emoluments of the services, framed definite rules about Indian nation, and laid down new provisions for leave, passage and pensions.

- Sir John Simon then came out and examined the

constitutional changes. A report by the Auxiliary Indian Central Committee was also submitted and published. The Simon Commission reported that the Governor in Council in Madras and one member of the Council in Central Provinces did not desire the continuance of All-India services and insisted on provincialisation. In The Indian feeling was voiced by that outstanding two provinces, the Ministries opposed the view of All-India recruitment. The majority of the Central Committee recommended that except in Madras and Bombay, the new ministries should decide the question (vide Vol. I Part IV, Vol. II Part IX, para 328 of the Report). The weight of evidence, the Simon Commission however reported, supported All-India Recruitment. The Round Table Conference came next-a Sub-Committee (No. VIII) examined the question. Some of the members wished for immediate stoppage of recruitment of All-India service. For all the existing system was kept up to be re-examined after five years.

The position stands thus to-day. The Government of India Act of 1935 secures not only appointments by the Secretary of State but all conditions of servicepay, pension, privileges, of these security services as subject only to the orders of the Secretary of State. The recommendations of the Service Sub-Committee of the provisions stand embodied in Secs. 240 to 263 (Chap. II) of the Government of India Act of 1935. There is a list which enumerates the specific posts that must be regime can take legitimate credit but we look round the Indian Police Service. No change is possible in them without the authority of the Secretary of State. The Governor-General and the Governors are enjoined by their Instruments to safeguard the interests of the services. Rules of business ensure that members of these services have special rights of posting and of promotions. They are controlled by the Governors of the Provinces independently of ministries.

With India promised a definite political status be that only Sir Stafford Cripps' offer as Mr. Amery contends or still farther as the Indian nationalists demandthe retention of services owning privileges on contracts with an extra-Indian authority is not only anomalous but impossible.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report it was contemplated that the new Indian Ministries will need the help of experienced administrators. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said that "clearly the first and the immediate task is to make a living reality of selfgovernment" in India but they had seen too that the Indian Civil Service was "much more of a Government Corporation than of purely Civil Service in the English sense. It has been made a reproach to the Indian Civil Service that it regards itself as the Government: but a view which strikes the critic familiawith parliamentary Government as arrogant is little more than condensed truth." But they concluded, "Our aim throughout must be to make the change not needlessly difficult for the services, and to enlist their co-operation . . . Of the services much is being asked. We are confident that they will respond to the demand." They either indulged in conventional platitudes or were poor students of human psychology. The representatives on behalf of the British Services submitted

S. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, para 127

^{4.} Ibid. para 126.

^{5,} Ibid., para 198,

randum in which they correctly declared, "In some instances Provincial Legislatures have manifested an attitude of hostility to the British Services, and probably in all cases transfer has brought about changes in policy, in character, and the methods of administration with which the British services with their different traditions and ideas can not be properly in sympathy and with which they would not in fact like to be assocrated."

"The discussions and the proposals in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report are altogether perfunctory and inadequate. If that report becomes the basis of legislation the contention of the Indian Civil Service that its status will be altogether revolutionised is unquestionably true. That service will no longer rule India . . . It may be committed but it will not decide . . . The scat of authority in India is being removed from the Civil Service to the Legislature and we must build up the system of Government accordingly. Wisdom compels us to see not very far off the end of the Civil Service as we have known it'.' wrote Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

The reaction on the Indian public men was strong. "But of one thing I am quite sure, that no new order can be built up in India so long as the spirit of the I.C.S. pervades our administration and our public services. That spout of authoritarianism is the ally of Imperialism and it can not co-exist with freedom. It will either succeed in crushing freedom or will be swept away itself," wrote Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.

"The camouflage with which the Act (India Act of 1935) abounds is so transparent that it is not difficult to detect that beneath the pretentious device of Ministers functioning in a system of Provincial Autonomy the real power is still vested in the permanent officials; the Ministers have been given a mockery of authority and the steel frame of the Imperial Services still remains intact, dominating the entire administration and custing sombre shadows over the activities of Ministers."

"During my experience as a Minister I found to my utter surprise that in many vital matters affecting the rights and liberty of the people the advice tendered by the Ministers was invariably subject to revision in the light of the counsel tendered by the more trusted members of the services whose omnipotence was almost of divine character"

"A British civil servant had the audacity to put down in writing that the rates of payments made to the unfortunate evacuees of East Bengal were much higher than what they descrived . . . as an Imperial officer he refused to carry out the orders of the Provincial Government. This officer still remains in power and enjoys a position of great trust and responsibility."

The views may be right, the views may be wrong. The fact remains that the Montagu-Chelmsford optimism has not been realised. Unfortunate remarks, such as "over-dramatisation" of distress in Bengal

to the Simon Commission a few years later a memo- when the tragedy was stalking astride, by a highly. placed I.C.S. British officer from his place in the Government of India who could not have been in touch with his peers in Bengal, have not enhanced the reputation for either sympathy or judgment of the I.C.S. The net result is a complete disintegration of the forces a complete integration alone of which could beconducive to the interests of the State and of the people for which the State exists. The conditions sterilise the services, hamper the Ministers and paralyse the machine of State.

> "It has been for us a sad task to enquire into the course and the causes of the Bengal Famine. We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible."11

> "Between the Government in office and the various political parties and in the early part of the year between the Governor and the Ministry and between the administrative organisation of Government and the public there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and reheve famine."12

> A million and a half died and many through malnutrition are yet to follow! No legal responsibility can be fixed. England has ceased to produce Burkes and Sheridans. No impeachment has followed. But no camouflage can explate the moral guilt of the authors of 1935 Act, the authors of Communal Award, the authors of Communal representation of services, the authors who safeguarded Service conditions, and the politicians who foisted the Democracy, and of the crowd that walked into power and of the men who revelled in Service privileges, took pay and shook off responsibilities. England that grows only 40 per cent of her food requirement, under daily bombardment and with immment fear of attack by a ruthless enemy never permitted one single individual to die of starvation. Bengal which normally produces most of its food and properly organised could produce more let "a million and a half" to die and others to fight death with debilitated vitality and weakened resistance. Crop planning conferences and discussions were ceaseless.14

> "We have been told that there has been a marked deterioration in the morale of the services as a result of the impact of political forces on the frame-work of the permanent administration." The deterioration is skipped over. The syllogism has not been completed. The causes have not been analysed or realised. The Commission easily contented itself with the thought that the Cinderella, the minor official, had deteriorated while definite charges of corruption and inefficiency were made against Ministers and higher officials.

> It was the muddle of the Crimean war that drew the pointed attention of the people of England to the inefficiency of the public administration. The indignation of the people compelled the Government to issue the order in Council of 1870. "The order in Council not only checked an abused system but also paved the way for Departmental re-organisation,"

> "The report of the Mesopotamian Commission proved that the Indian bureaucracy was not only

^{6.} Indian Central Committee Report, page 294.

^{7.} Government of India Report, page 118.

Auto-blography, page 445.

The letter of Mr. Fasiul Haq, the Premier of Bengal, to Six John Herbert, the Greatner of Bengal, dated 2nd Aug., 1942-Bengel Fo-day, page 18-

^{11.} Famine Enquiry Commission Report on Bengal 1945, page 107.

^{12.} Ibid., page 105.

^{13.} See Proceedings of Crap-planning Conferences, Dalhi, 1934. 14. Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee of 1965-65, para 219.

^{15.} The Growth of the British Civil Souther-Cohen, page 188.

inelastic—that had always been suspected—but also and addition to pensionary charges must be faced. It thoroughly inefficient."

The Bengal Famine brings out the tragedy of sentimental safeguarding of vested interests and of political jerry-building at the cost of a million and a half of human lives with many more to follow. A system which will be genuine Self-Government, which will have agents genuinely co-operating, and worked by people in power who will not have all privileges and no responsibility, must be evolved. The mefficiency of the present administration is writ large on the country. It is congenital and lies rooted in its constitution. It must change.

Simon Commission, "Responsible Government if it implies anything implies that the Province must be free sible, and spontaneous." Like many other hopes this to recruit its own servants as and where it likes. There can be no imposing upon it of a body of men recruited ground of power-starvation, and of responsibilityunder Regulations from sources and at rates of pay starvation of over a century and a half-the Indian prescribed by some outside authority." The Bengul officers placed in position not unoften illustrate famine is the result of other alternatives. As with in- Emerson's dictum that "many can stand adversity but dividuals so with State to be effective the powers must few can stand prosperity." It is probable that condibe synthetised.

The Egyptian Government when it had to take over the powers of the State had the same dilemma in 1931. Loss of experience, risks in sudden changes, additions to pensionary charges on the one hand, and heard that the Indian officers in power built themselves lingering old traditions thwarting initiation of new ideologies, thwarting new life with the urge and the emotion for National reconstruction and progress, it was the difficulty of the conditions which was disintegration of national forces and consequent in-responsible for the impression. A few, in spite of diffieffectiveness of the new regime on the other. The new Government chose the former, took all risks, found the expenditure worth incurring. This was provided for in struggling fellow-countrymen, a more determined with the Egypt New Treaty. Re-appointment of non- and a capacity to build the India of tomorrow than nationals was under strict rules. These rules are con- could so far be found in its public servants. A new tained in Device No. 44 of 1936 relating to the construction must be attempted and a fresh new corps, conditions of service of foreign officials.18

The conclusions are:

does not involve unfairness to recruits or binds India to shoulder heavy compensatory commitments later.

(b) The present All-India services personnel should be completely liquidated, the risk of disorganisation,

16. An Indian Commentary by G. T. Garrett, I.C.S., page 144. 17. Madras Government Memorandum, page 26; Report of Indian

Central Committee, page 294.

18. Page 214. Gouvernement Egyptien-Ministere de la Justice. Recucil des Lois, Decrets et Rescrits Royaux.

is probable that the existing members might have chances, in case of approved persons, of re-absorption in the New Provincial services, or on a contract basis re-newable at option of both the parties on terms which might be carefully drawn up. It is probable that those in the Judicial service might have preferential treatment. A strong, competent, justice-preferring Judiciary should be a bulwark to India in transition. Possibly the best had been drawn to it. The Indian and non-Indian members should be subject to the same rates and same conditions. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald had emphasised, "Mere polished efficiency is not the The Madras Government had pointed out to the end of our custodianship of India; a pax-Britannica is not the end; the end is Indian life, abundant, responhope unfortunately stands unrealised. On the backtions militated against their natural growth of sympathy and fellowship for their suffering countrymen. In the districts of Midnapore, Tippera, 24-Perganas and Noakhali, etc., not unoften the criticism was on the greatest common measure of weaknesses of both the races, Indian as well as European. Probably again cult es, could stand by justice. But India needs a new outlook, a deeper emotional attitude a new army put on the field of operation. .

(e) A Committee of Indians should forthwith be (a) New recruitment should be stopped except on appointed to go into the question of the Public Services purely temporary basis, to be clearly understood, which in all their aspects and deal with them with justice. sympathy and vision, yet with practical wisdom and firmness. The Committee must lay the foundation for Indian National Service in every sense of the term. If India is to progress, and progress it must, the new machinery must be evolved for the new tasks. It must be an Indian Committee to formulate the terms and the conditions.

19. Government of India, page 112.



A REVIVALIST

Our Debt to the Swami Shraddhananda PART V

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

XLVI

WHEN I was a boy and the forest was, with me, a matter largely of speculation, I thought it to be quiet to the point of duliness. As I grew up and became acquainted with it, however, I found it to be alive and captivating. The wind-god used the vine-garlanded giants as his orchestra to produce, for persons who had the ear to hear, symphonies of infinite variety. Insects, birds, beasts of prey and those they preyed upon and man's kin-the monkeys swelled this harmony, often off-key. Every thicket was a battlefield. Every pool mirrored the struggle that went on in the branches above and in the bramble beside its banks.

Beings held in the highest Hindu esteem found in the forest trials that form soul-stirring cantos in our Ramayanic epic. Sita, who insisted upon accompanying Rama thither, was abducted from a sylvan bower. Her brother-in-law Lakshmana cursed himself for a fool for permitting himself to be beguiled, otherwise Ravana would never have had the opportunity for perpetrating

that foul deed.

XLVII

The "forest" that the Swami Shraddhananda entered after his Shashti-60th birthday-proved to be far from quiet. There originated struggles alongside which naught that could stand comparison could be resurrected from his earlier years, exciting as many of them had been. Ill will had set that forest on fire. The hot breath of the conflagration blew full blast upon him as he entered it. The flames burned his flesh and finally consumed all that was mortal of him.

His real self, however, withstood all trials. Never once did he whimper. Never did he regret having rushed into the fire, much less sought to beat a hasty retreat,-to save as much of himself as he could. No. On and on he went, until there was nothing left of that

which could go on.

This is, in brief, the story of this valiant soul's "forest-dwelling" from the sixtieth year to the end of its earthly incarnation, save twenty-two months or so. These flad seen him back at the Gurukula. An "S.O.S." had taken him there. That the institution of his creation could not hold him even when he had returned to it is, in itself, a sure indication as to the place where he fain would dwell and strive.

XLVIII

As the events of the final phase pass in front of memory's eye, in an outline that is bold in consonance with his sturdy physical frame and his sturdier courage, however, by a circuitous route. It, in fact, looked for a it seems to me that all his 60 years he had been, time, as if humanitarian endeavours would absorb what unwittingly it may be but none-the-less surely, almost remained to him of energy and years. inevitably, getting ready for this phase. Had he been present in my study as I, letter by letter, punctuation point by punctuation point, imprint these words with Failure of crops results in scarcity. Scarcity soon turns the typewriter bars, perhaps he might have joined issue into famine.

The cry of the starvelings in Garhwal reached with me. Joy a manhood. He was uncommonly Munshi Ram's ears. He immediately went there. What

shrewd, however, and even more uncommonly generous, It is, therefore, not at all unlikely that he may have dropped contention and concurred with me in this matter or even applauded me from burrowing under the surface and discovering the real spring of his speech and action.

XLIX

As we have seen he had broken away from gainful life to devote all his energy—and his energy was herculean-and all his time-and his time was stretched by hours stolen by enthusiasm from sleep-to the promotion of causes that the Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati had at heart. These causes would be classified into religious, social, educational and other categories by persons who have specialised in the science of splitting any and every entity into parts-persons who are increasingly happy as they multiply the number of parts. Munshi Ram might well have been of that number-even Shraddhananda also.

He had begun by laying the utmost emphasis upon the soul-atman. That being the real self, it alone mattered. It had become corrupt—degenerate through having been fed upon tales invented during a decadent age-Poranak Kahanian, he used to call them. It must be led upstream to the head waters of Aryan-Vedicculture. Those pure waters would wash away poison of every description. Society composed of such purified persons would not need to be shed of evils: for it would have become automatically pure.

Sermons and speeches-brochures, books and propaganda organs—he had tried. After years of the most assiduous and persistent striving he had found such striving inadequate. Cogitation, searching and sincere, had forced him to the conclusion that salvation lay in imparting education to the youth-education modelled upon the Aryan pattern, in other words, the revival of the gurukula system.

In this fashion had proceeded the development of his own mind-the growth of his ideas-the acquisition of one technique, then another and so on. The development had not ended with the inauguration of the institution by the Ganges bank in the Kangri forest clearing. No. The process had continued. It had led him to the objectives and the methods that were to be his as he fared forth, staff in hand, into the "thorny tract of life," as the Sanskritists termed the sixties.

These objectives were political. He was led to them,

In settlements made by hardy people in Himalayan recesses, life is led with little or no margin of security.

The cry of the starvelings in Garhwal reached ...

he saw and heard there moved him to the depths of his being. He threw his whole self into the organisation of relief.

Hardly had he finished with this humanitarian job when he was drawn into a maelstrom. This had been caused by an unwise move made to control post-war activities. A committee presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt had produced a scheme that roused hostility everywhere in India. In Delhi there had been a conflict between the people and the police.

Shraddhananda sought to stop further bloodshed. He came near to being man-handled.

LI

Here a sudden turn was given to his life. So deeply were Muslims touched by the loving care he gave to some of their men who had been wounded, that they carried him to their central shrine-the Jamma (Jumma) Masjid. There he, by universal acclaim, was invited to mount the mimbar (the Muslim equivalent reader: they are indelibly etched upon his memory. to the Christian pulpit) and preached the cause of unity. His eloquence created an impression that left his the sufferings that must have been Shraddhananda's. Muslim auditors dumbfounded.

with force and facility; but speak what he called Arya form than the one he carried in that huge, muscular Bhasha. Ho had, however, used Urdu, as elegant as any frame that often shook with the storms roused by his cultivated native of Delhi or Lucknow, and it had contentious and contending soul. flowed from his lips like water from a cunningly contrived jet in a landscape garden, fed from a carefully econcealed perennial stream.

of the two sections of the Indian people-not peoplesthat had made the deeper, the more lasting impression. This was even more unexpected than the unfaltering depth of that agony. Urdu.

LII

When I first had this report, I was inclined to pinch myself out of day dreaming. Inside me another voice was shricking.

It was memory's voice. It was saying, this preacher of unity-of concerted action-was precisely the man who, a generation earlier, was seeking to make Hindus self-sufficing-assertive. Why did the Hindus neglect this calling and that?, he was asking. Why did they leave the field to others, and retire to their sulking chambers? Why did they stand with bowed heads and folded hands before persons who abused and belaboured them? Why did they permit their feelings to be harrowed, without uttering even an "ough"? Why? Why? . . .

While memory's voice kept on asking such questions, suddenly the meaning of it all became clear to me. I

realised why-just why.

Between a section of a nation inclined to have things its own way and a sister-section habituated to giving in and giving up, there could be no sort of concert. Grab on the one side and give on the other never produced a symphony. The notes may, indeed, be diverse: but they can be harmonised. Only submission to discipline was needed.

Shraddhananda was wise, I realised. He was wise, because he built upon the bases laid down by Munshi Ram. The conciliator was no other than the combatant, mellowed by age, experience and the charity that comes them had been so demoralised that to controvertists as the result of much mental flagellatalk about the happenings. This tion and tribulation of soul.

LIII

Tribulation of soul was waiting just round the corner. It was tribulation in form and intensity new even to long-suffering India.

It was, moreover, to be the portion of his beloved province. Malignity was to crash upon unsuspecting Amritsar. An unbuilt area, with houses on all four sides, known as the Jallianwala Bagh, was to be the scene of brutality as cowardly as it was unashamed. Near it a lane was to witness acts designed to abase the Amritsarias as never before in their history since the fourth spiritual preceptor of the Sikhs-Sri Guru Ram Das Sahib-chose a site that has become the most sacred to our people.

Lahore suffered agony hardly less excruciating.

Guiranwala, too.

I have not the space for the details. This, happily, for me. They harrow my mind even now, 26 years later. There is not the slightest need of recalling them to the

Not the slightest effort is needed by me to imagine As hundreds of boys had found out for themselves at And no wonder. They had expected him to speak Gurukula no tenderer heart ever beat in any woman's

LIV

It is not of his sufferings that I wish to speak here. It was however, his burning real for the collaboration. There is no need for me to do so, even if the typewriterbars that I am using for transferring the words from my brain to paper were capable of reproducing the

> It is the mission that the suffering made him undertake of which I desire to write. It was as sorely needed as it was noble. It was, in my view, the most successful of the many missions that he had undertaken in his life. That is saying much, for he had been crusader since early manhood.

I at the moment do not recollect whether the idea of holding the Indian National Congress that year at Amritear originated with him or with some one else. But for him, however, there would have been no such .

assemblage there.

The idea, in itself, was great. That city had been the scene of outrages unparalleled in civilised annals: and that in the twentieth century and under British rule. The coming in of leaders from every corner of the country and the crowds that would assemble to greet them and to derive inspiration from their words, would focus attention upon the wrongs deliberately done there, as nothing else would do.

The difficulties in carrying out the stea were, how-ever, numerous and stubborn. Dyer the ble deeds had not only disorganised the place but also demoralised its people. This is what he had meant to do. That had been at least O'Dwyer's aim, and he ruled from Lahore, only 35 miles away, barely 20 minutes' journey by aeroplane, which was being employed in the Punjab then. The aim was to "cow down" the Amritearias.

The Amritsarias had been cowed down. Most of refused to the haptalked of that frightfulness they may get into troubleserious trouble.

Why? By whom they were to be gotten into trouble? Who was to trouble them? What kind of trouble was to be theirs?

None of them stopped to ask these questions. None of them would try to answer these questions, when these questions were put to them.

Put to them these questions were. The putter was no other than this tall, broad-shouldered, big-featured, shaven-pated Swami, with a voice that could ascend and descend the scale of notes as does the air when it uses trees in the forest for its lyre. He would have asked them merely because of the tender heart that he carried about with him. He had, however, to ask them, whether he willed or not. This, then, was the reason:

Our people needed all the relevant facts about the outrages done in Amritsar. They had no faith in the official enquiry. They had only their fears. These fears amounted to a certainty-that the real issue would be burked-every high placed official would escape scotfree, or, at best, with a more or less mild censure.

They had, therefore, themselves instituted an enquiry. It was headed by a man, who had given up legal practice that had brought him lakhs every year, so that he could devote all his time and energies to protecting the people's right to further popular causes This patriot—the Pandit Moti Lal Nehru—was as shrewd as he was self-sacrificing.

The Amritsarias, who for personal profit, sided with the officials were certain to boycott and even attempt to thwart this enquiry by the people's representatives for the benefit of the people. That was to be expected and had been taken into account.

No one, had, however, anticipated that the demora-

harrowed and overcome to be able to speak. No. The on narrow lanes had gone so far as to make them reason was different. They were afraid that if they afraid of their own shadows. If they kept their mouths shut, how was the people's committee to get to the bottom of the tragedy.

LVII

The shaven-pated Swami found the way to unlock the Amritsarias' mouths. They found it impossible to resist him. They poured into his ears the trials that had been theirs—the indignities that they had suffered. At his bidding, rather than solicitation, many of them appeared before the Committee. It had all the materials it needed for the Amritsar section of report.

The self-same Swami, almost by himself, made at possible for the Congress session to be held at Amritsar -held successfully. This he would have done even if he had not been pressed to serve as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, as he was.

The statements made by the leaders at that session and the decisions arrived at Amritsar are already a part of our national history. There is no need for me to recapitulate them here.

The contribution that Shraddhananda made towards the writing of that history is, I fear, not as well known as it well be. It was a great contribution and one of abiding value. This, because he had revived the morale of the people who had been completely cowed down by frightfulness-not only revived it but rebuilt it,stronger than it had been ever before. That is why I call him a "Revivalist"-not merely because he had revived the Gurukula type of education.

There this narrative must end, though there some humanitarian work in which he engaged later. His work for the sufferers in Malabar, for instance.

We all know how he was attacked in December, 1926 by an assassin, who smuggled himself into the sickroom and stilled the form that lay prone temporarily disabled. Years have elapsed since that deed was perlisation of the dwellers of the small houses abutting petrated but I can not yet bear to write of it.

"LOOKING BACK"—II Causes of Disease and Mortality

-:0:--

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

bemoaned the moral, social and administrative breakdown (p. 107) but "a complete breakdown in the health services" (p. 142) also. Every measure that goes to prevent famine and relieve distress, mitigate sufferings and check unnecessary deaths failed to attain even the minimum stand is, therefore, no wonder that there was a could the number of deaths that could have been early prevented. It is a pity that India was under the direction and control of a Government that had been functioning from a distance of six thousand miles or more through a subservient local administration that proved to be inefficient, corrupt, without forethought and foresight and toppling down at the first appearance of danger.

It may be suggested that the local Government

WHEN looking back to the events of 1943 that led to missioners, "taken before a certain stage in the descent the famine of 1943, the Woodhead Commission not only into catastrophe was reached, could have fully retrieved the situation (p. 132)."

They failed in every sphere of Governmental activity and their attempt at concealing truth and suppressing the number of famine deaths by subterfuge have not escaped the notice of the Commission, After a period of 24 days, i.e., from August 16 to September 8, 1943, of the publication of figures relating to famine deaths, the Government of Bengal discovered that "death in the majority of cases was due to chronic ailments and diseases which had been neglected in the past" and stopped supplying figures to the newspapers on September 9, 1943. Due to pressure of public opinion, the Government had to yield and from September 11 the number of deaths in the streets, etc., began. to reappear. In this connection they coined a word of was overwhelmo with the magnitude of the problem great significance, viz., sick destitutes. It meant in If it was, it was it a very late stage. They failed other words that death was due to starvation and which, according to the Com- nothing else. This spirit contaminated the high and the

mighty and on December 16, 1943, Mr. Amery giving the number of deaths etc during August to December was pleased to say "But this total may include some deaths not due to starvation"

The remarks of the Woodhead Commission on this be able to meet the exigencies of abnormal times!

place in the early stages of the famine can best be described as deaths from starvation. It is true that disease of some kind or another was usually present in starving patients, adding to the scriousness of their condition The difference between death from simple starvation and death occurring in a starved individual who is suffering from disease is of medical interest, but a negotiable difference when the broad facts of famine mortality are under consideration" (p 116)

In dealing with the causes of disease and mortality the Commission repeatedly refer to the undernourishment of the people at large which resulted in deaths of millions of persons from epidemics. They say

"The calamity of famine fell on a population with low physical reserves and circumstances were favourable for a flare-up of epidemic diseases. The between health conditions in normal association times and the high famine mortality must be underlined" (p 116)

Again at p 120 they have dilated upon the point in the following language

"A famine-stricken population is a sick popu-Famine means not only lack of food in the lation quantitative sense but also lack of essential food constituents which are needed for bodily health. The functioning of every tissue and organ in the body is impaired by insufficiency of food Susceptibility to infection may be increased, and resistance to disease when contracted will be reduced Attacked by the same disease an ill-nourished and debilitated individual is more likely to succumb than a healthy We have estimated that there were some 1.5 million deaths in excess of the average in 1943 and the first half of 1944 It is impossible to separate these into groups and to assign a proportion to starvation and under-nutrition, another proportion to epidemic disease, and yet another to non-epidemic disease. The famine and its effects on the life of the people must be held generally responsible for the high excess mortality recorded under all the headings in the mortality tables" (p 120)

Perhaps due to the Government's attempt to divide the causes of deaths into water-tight compartments, the Commission have repeated their arguments that "the fatality rate of almost any serious disease is likely to be increased by undernutrition and starvation" (p 121) and the one cannot be separated from the other

In reviewing the causes of high mortality the Commission probed into the matter a little deeper, examined past events and very rightly discussed the conditions of the medical and public health organisations of the Province in normal times. In this connection the Commission have also tried to enquire

"whether, at the various stages of famine, would not have been possible to reduce mortality by more effective health measures" (p 132).

As regards the normal public health organisation of the Province the Report says:

"If a public health organization is to be capable of meeting emergencies, it must reach a certain make money, help themselves a degree of efficiency in normal times. In Bengal the thorough disregard of the claim

public health services were insufficient to meet the normal needs of the population and the level of efficiency was low" (p 132).

And it is idle to expect that such an organization will

The staff was inadequate, the pay of subordinate "A high proportion of the deaths which took members of the service insufficient, financial allotments for travelling were or are often inadequate and in a particular case 'District Health Officers and the subordinate staff were employed in activities other than public health, including political activities" (p. 134).

About the Civil Surgeons, who are practically in charge of public health in the districts the Report has son e hard words to say

'In the opening months of the famine Civil Surgeons in general were not aware of or at least did not report, the development of a critical situa-tion in their districts. Their lack of knowledge of what was happening appears to have been partly due to inability or disinclination to tour their districts. There seems to have been lack of contact and co-ordination between Civil Surgeons and District Magistrates in certain districts with regard to the medical emergency created by the famine' (p 135)

And again

In general the standard of efficiency reached by Civil Surgeons and subordinate medical personnel left much to be desired Discipline and sense of duty were defective and morale low" (Ibid)

The Commission is, therefore of the opinion

'In view of the state of medical and public health organizations in Bengul before the famine, it is a crely surprising that they failed to use to the occasion. On the health side, no satisfactory attempt was made during the early months to deal with the situation, there was in fact almost a complete break-down of health services, affecting both the centre and the periphery" (p 136).

In times of scarcity and more specially, famine, food is the most important medicine which not only sustains life but imparts strength Scarcity of food and consequent high price caused the famine, during famine relief there was again a scrious lack of appreciation of the need of the hour and

"The quantities of food supplied as free doles of uncooked grains or in the form of gruel at the kitchens were very meagre (p. 128) as issued did not at the best supply more than 600-800 calories for adults and about half this number for children (p 129) The methods of feeding followed in the free kitchens have been severely criticised. There is no doubt that the quantity of food provided was below normal requirements—it was in fact a starvation diet Apart from quantity, the food was unsatisfactory in " '" quality, e.g., in its content of protein P usually widely stated that the unfam included in the gruel caused In the districts recipients had often 2-8 miles to obtain their 800 calories or k 141-2).

In connection with food dist n the Commisbut neverthesion have administered a most so less deserving condemnation to these dishonest selfseeking men who are worse than the profiteers who were out for gain and killed people in the service to men clothed themselves in the garb of the service to elatives in lestitutes

for whom these kitchens had been started. The Report

"The management of kitchens was not always what it should have been; abuse and corruption were far from infrequent" (p. 141).

About hospitals in normal times and the emergency hospitals in Bengal, the Commission have given their opinion in a most candid manner. For weak destitutes hospitalisation is the first and foremost remedy and the Commissioners have discussed in an unbiased manner the disadvantages that were inherent in them :

"Existing hospitals in Bengal were in general poorly equipped and there was a deficiency in the province of most medical supplies, so that there was little to build on in the task of creating hospital accommodation (p. 126). The hospitals accommodation (p. 126) . . . The host throughout Bengal with certain exceptions, poorly equipped and badly run" (p. 135).

Then steadily and surely came the demand for emergency hospitals throughout Bengal for accommodating the dying picked up from streets. There was shortage of civil medical officers, nurses, sweepers, etc. These added to the existing difficulties. But

"Previous to the famine, hospitals were not popular in rural Bengal People were reluctant to enter them as in-patients, which is scarcely surprising in view of the low standard of nursing. In many hospitals there were no night nurses or attendants and a patient might die at night without attention' (n 138).

With regard to emergency hospitals "certain criticisms must be made." The progress was slow at the early stages of the famine and many persons could have been saved if steps had been taken earlier.

"Conditions in cer'an famine hospitals at this time, notably the Behala hospital in Calcutta, were

indescribably bad. Visitors were horrified by state of the wards and patients, the ubiquitous filth. and the lack of adequate care and treatment in spite of their appreciation of the efforts of the nursing superintendent who was striving, against formidable odds, to alleviate these conditions" (p. 138).

With regard to epidemic diseases, the Commissioners have given their judgment on each of the diseases separately. With regard to Cholera the Commissioners agreed "with the views of the 1901 Commission that much of the cholera mortality 'must be deemed to have been preventible'." There was an insufficient supply, or no supply of bleaching powder. Water supply was scanty and the tube-wells in the districts were in most cases out of order. There is no regular system of inspection and repair of these tube-wells and "the state of the wells under the local bodies may be ascribed as much to indifference and inefficiency as to lack of money" (p. 128).

With regard to Malaria, the Commissioners say

"The main responsibility of medical and public health authorities was to provide facilities for treatment... and that the responsibility was inadequately fulfilled" (p. 123).

The Report concludes the chapter on "The Failure to Prevent High Mortility" with the remarks:

"The story is, in fact, throughout one of belated efforts to bring the situation under control. This is a said with full understanding of the numerous and formudable difficulties and full appreciation of all that was eventually done to overcome them'

No comment is necessary.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.-EDITOR, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

INDIANS IN BRITISH INDUSTRIES: By Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A. Published Saraswaty Library, Calcutta. Pp. 74. Price Re. 1-4.

There is a vague impression even among better There is a vague impression even among better informed national test indians, thanks to systematic propaganistand. With industries in India have done us some in the propaganistand with the country and finding globs for the preventia and working class people. How weak a stion and estimable is this claim has been demonstrated coming for an account of the propaganistance within the sum as social worker Dr. Mookeries within the sum as compass of 74 pages. He has raised the pertine middlession whether the British have any moral or leg-prestification for building up industries exclusively owned and managed by them, in our tries exclusively owned and managed by them, in our country, with our cheap labour and our cheap raw lished for the Registrar, Patra University, Patra. Pp. 121.

materials, denoting all privileges to the children of the Price Rs. 2-8.

The theme of the book will be evident from its dividends and where else. He has also title. The thesis which forms Banaili Readership lectures placed beautiful exploits discusses Indian agriculture, industry, transport, sur-

tion of Indian labour about which we have had but a vague and intellectual comprehension. We must confess that the esteemed author has been remarkably restrained in his exposition, allowing his facts and figures to speak for themselves. What heavy price we had paid and are paying for British Industries in India, with what little return, and with what wastage of irreplaceable natural resources, was necessary to be recalled at this stage and Dr. Mookerjee has done a national service by doing it so dispassionately, yet so effectively. We only wish it were possible for him to publish also a table of average profit and personal emoluments earned and of wages paid in England and other western coun-tries along with the Indian tables.

ECONOMIC POLICY AND PROGRAMME FOR POST-WAR INDIA: By Nalini Ranjan Sarker. Pub-

picture of the pitiful exploits- discusses Indian agriculture, industry, transport, our-

rency, exchange, trade, finance, distribution and other protection. The remaining essay deals with the subjects with a view to "securing the greatest possible subjects with a view to securing the greatest possible measure of welfare of the greatest number of the people." It is necessary to warn all readers beforehand that all these plans and programmes must be regarded as mere academic discussions and not the shape of as mere academic discussions and not the shape of things which will automatically come after the war. This remark applies particularly to those plans which have not the sanction even of a big political party behind them. Even then, some value should be con-ceded in their favour, as the distinguished author has himself put it that a sound plan should await the advent of a national government than that a national government should be kept waiting for a plan. In this content the book has raised useful and important discuss one with which all educated Indians irrespective of his political or economic creed should be fully conversant.

The weakness of the book however lies in the fact that its author owes his allegiance to the conservative capitalist school of economics and fights shy of all present-day ideologies, nay, of all politics. Says he, "It seems to me that the wisest thing would be not to bring in the conflicting question of ideologies in shaping our plans . . ." Again, "that the prejudices and pre-occupations which are born of economic or social deology should be scrupulously dropped," because in his experience these 'dissensions grow, rather than diminish, when dealt with on the political plan." This stand of Mr. Sarker—to make a plan without a social ideology or to discuss economics without a political background -is wholly untenable in these days. It is somewhat like playing football without goal-posts and without opposing parties and the only order of the referee is to kick forward. This being the position, his treatment of the most important subject of distribution of wealth was bound to be evasive and it has been so. Here his last resort seems to be Beveridge's plan; but he could not invoke his authority by name as the disparity between England and India was too palpable. Thus though the distinguished author has placed his valuable economic thoughts and concepts in a non-political vacuum glass-case, yet we must unhesitatingly say that the book deserves to be read by all people concerned with the building up of India's economic future.

RAJPUT STUDIES: By Anil Chandra Banerice, M.A. Pp. 340. A. Mukherjee & Bros., Calcutta.

Since the publication of Tod's famous book Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan more than a century ago, a halo of Romance has surrounded the medieval history of Raiputana. There hardly breathes an Indian to-day who is not filled with emotion at the very recollection of the Rajput hero of old. Bengal seems to have special fascination for the glamour of Rajput chivaliv which has inspired her poets, play-wrights and novelists far more than perhaps any other historical theme.

With the development of historical studies in a

critical spirit the charm of Rajput history has faded to a considerable extent. But to the general public the romantic annals of Tod still pass current as history. It is time that the sober history of the Rajputs should be better known and find a wider circle of readers. For, when critically studied, the history of the Rajputs takes its proper place as a valuable chapter in the history of India, which may be less thrilling, but certainly not less inspiring, than the medieval bardle tales. For this

reason we welcome the book written by Mr. Banerjee.

It is not a systematic history of the Rajputs, but a collection of eight essays dealing with different aspects of Rajput history. The first deals with the early history of the Gubilots and the next two with the work within easy access of English produced by the control of Manual Carlo and the next two with the work within easy access of English produced by the control of Manual Carlo and the next two with the work within easy access of English produced by the control of Manual Carlo and the next two with the work within easy access of English produced the control of Manual Carlo and the next two with the carlo and the next two with the carlo and the carlo medieval history of Mewar. The last four essays trace the circumstances under which Mewar, Jaipur, Marwar and other minor Rajput states came under British If the translation cannot be r

political and military organisation of the Rajputs in the days of Tod.

The first three essays were separately published before in different periodicals. Although they do not add much to our knowledge, they are good presentation of interesting topics from all points of view. In dealing with the early history of the Guhilots the author has subjected the different view-points to sober criticism and carefully sifted the available evidence in a judicious spirit. The same spirit of critical study is shown in his review of the struggle between Delhi and Mewar in the thirteenth century, and the character-study of Rana Sanga of Mewar which form the subjects of the next two chapters.

In writing the last four chapters the author has used large volume of official documents, previously unpublished, and given a connected narrative of events which ultimately forced the proud Rajput rulers, one after another, to place themselves under the yoke of the British. In addition to the deterioration in the character of the Rajputs, the one common factor which mainly led to this tragic end is the rapacious plundering raids of the Mahrattas. The author has vividly shown how the insatiable greed of Sindhia and Holkar led them to bleed these Rajput states absolutely white for more than half a century. The whole of Rapputana was subjected to unspeakable oppression, till exhausted, impoverished, and torn hopelessly by internal dissensions prompted by the Mahrattas, the Rajput rulers had no other way left to save themselves than seeking the protection of the British Raj. The Rajput policy of the Mahratias is a sad commentary on their statesmanship and patriotism. One even feels doubt whether the Mahrattas were really inspired by the spirit of restoring Hindu Pad Padshahi in India. For then they should surely have endeavoured to draw the brave Rapputs to their side by a spirit of friendship and conciliation, instead of using them as their mileh-cow to fill their depleted treasury. The author's detailed statements, authenticated by official documents, leave no doubt on the inglorious activities of the Mahrattas, and one is led to fancy how different modern Indian history might have been if the Mahrattas had made t common cause yith the Rajputs in an endeavour to restore the old glory of India. These are sail thoughts, but they are instructive and full of meaning to modern politicians. The author has done well in bringing out the true facts and we have no doubt his book will be widely read.

R. C. MAJUMDAR .

MYSTIC TALES OF LAMA TARANATHA: Translated into English by Dr. Bhupendranath Datta. Pp. 90. Ramakrishna Vcdanta Math, 19-B, Raja Raj-krishna Street, Calcutta. 1944. Price Rs. 4.

This is a translation, in the abstract, of Professor A. Gruenwedel's German version of a work of famous Tibet in monk Lama Taranatha dealing the legendary lives of a number of Tantrik Buddhist saints (Siddhas). Nother the manner nor the matter of the original work justifies the electron-Sociological History of title Ruddhism' with which the translator intro to his readers. Nevertheless, Taranat ay justly be regarded as a mine of infor le religious behefs and practices of med ddhist saints, besides throwing important side the literature, e translator, who ant contributions nd culture-history, work within easy access of English-knowing readers. We would offer a few suggestions, for a improvement of this monograph, in case a monograph of the suggestions of of this monograph, in case a ne from the

original Tibetan text, all technical terms should be given in the original Thetan with corresponding Sanskrit forms and full explanatory notes The numerous historical and geographical references should also be accompanied with similar notes Finally, the Introduction should contain a critical (and as far as possible historical) account not only of the biographies of the saints, but also and above all, of their cardinal doctrines writing such an account the translator should fully utilise the enormous advance in our knowledge of Tantrik Buddhism made since the time of Professor Gruenwedel.

U. N GHOSAL

REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRO-BLEM OF INDIA By R. Coupland, C.I.E., M.A., D.Lutt (Hon.). Oxford University Press, 1944 Part I-The Indian Problem 1838-1985. Pages 161 Price Rs 3 Part II—Indum Politics, 1938-1942 Pages 347. Price Rs 4-8. Part III—The Future of India Pages 208. Pages 208. Price Rs. 3-8.

In this Report on the constitutional problem in India submitted by Professor Coupland to the Wardens and Fellows of Nuffield College, Oxford, the entire field of the development of political institutions in this country since the assumption of sovereign power by the British Parliament has been surveyed with a view to devising a system of government in which the twin principles of freedom and unity could be balanced and combined To Professor Coupland the most birming question of Indian politics today is not so much the problem of freedom as that of unity The Indian problem, again, is reflected in the wider international utuation, and it is held by the author that the victory which will save or iestore freedom to all nations will be unfruitful and precarious unless it is combined with the greatest practicable measure of international unity The emphasis is shifted from the issue of a political settlement between India and Britain to that of a constitutional agreement among the major political parties in India manoeuvring for a share in the govern-ance of the country This characterizes the author's T. Britan people want the Indian deadlock to be broken; and it could be broken if the major forces of Indian public opinion could come to terms." These words sound almost like echoes of Amery and Linlithgow, only fortified by the scientific reasoning of an apparently sincere Oxford scholar. Indian politics is not without its short-comings; Indian political leadership is not infallible; but that alone does not make British intentions of transferring power to the Indian people sincere and beyond questioning. Professor Coupland takes this and several other cardinal points for granted which unfortunately lends to his otherwise admirable and objec-

several other cardinal points for granted which several other cardinal points for granted which for the study the taint of bias.

Trofessor Coupland's Report has discussed a very wide range of subjects connected with the main question, but there is space in this short review only for an examination shape, of his principal recommendations. In Part Hand is discussed to the principal recommendations in Part Hand is discussed to the principal recommendations. In Part Hand is discussed comprehensively the basic prits a cust that few of the Dominions and with contempols to an an examination of the Dominions and with contempols to many of the price of the Dominions and with contempols to many of the price of the Dominions and with from any of the price of the Dominions and with from any of the price of the Dominions and with the same time able to avoid certain inconsistencies while dealing with Indian price of the price o

Provinces and the establishment of a "weak" Centre, its functions being limited to foreign affairs and defence tariffs and currency and possibly communications. He further suggests that the other subjects of government will be divided between the Provinces and a new set of units to be created. These new units will be called regions and will be four in number-two Muslim (the Indus region and the Delta region) and two Hindu (the Ganges basin and the Deccan); these Regional Government will take charge of such subjects as largescale economic planning and the maintenance of law and order in the last resort-functions which each Province by itself cannot discharge efficiently, and which cannot be vested in a strong Centre on account of the prevailing communal sentiment. Further, the Centre envisaged is an "agency centre," that is, the representatives of the regions would come to the Centre not on an all-India footing, but solely as the agents of their regions with mandates from their governments and legislatures This scheme which contains evidence of much hard thinking on the part of its author introduces a fresh (complication, namely, the three-fold division of powers between the Centre, the Regions and the Provinces, and does not solve the problem of freedom with justice since it seeks to assign to nearly threefourths of the population of a country just equal vote with the remaining one-fourth in the determination of policy. Besides a 'weak' Centre seems to be out of place under modern conditions, as the Centre in federal constitutions is in a variety of ways expanding its functions, both in war and peace Coupland, however, is prepared to concede to India the freedom to secede from the Empire though he hopes that India's own interests will induce her to decide against secession. In this respect Coupland's proposals go farther than those contained in the Cripps Declaration That Declaration had envisaged a treaty to be negotiated between the British Government and the Constitution-making body to cover all matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, particularly the protection of racial and religious minorities in accordance with the British Government's past undertakings Coupland justly argues that external sanctions of any kind, such as a treaty, are inconsistent with the status of a free India He holds, and we agree with him, that a lasting and valid guarantee of minority rights in an independent country ought to be sought in the fundamental law of the land framed by consent and only with the consent of all those affected has also made certain suggestions regarding the composition of the Constitution-making body which, however, contain a bias in favour of separatism.

The one undisputed contribution which Professor Coupland has made to the study of India's political and constitutional problems is the introduction of a number of new ideas and proposals designed to solve the twin problems of freedom and unity. It might be argued by some that he has, by his wrong choice of emphasis.

ness remains as before, if not higher. The most attractimes, there is none so faithful to our past and so full tive feature this year is the inclusion of summaries of of possibilities for the future, so rooted in our national all important post-war plans in India, viz., the Govern-consciousness and yet so universal in its outlook and, ment's 15 year reconstruction plan, the Gandhian plan, therefore, none so thoroughly, representative of the the Bombay plan, etc. Summaries of world plans like the Philadeiphia Charter of the I. L. O. International Monetary Conference, Dumbarton Oaks Conference, International Civil Aviation Conference, etc., have also been included. The political situation in India during 1944 has been very ably summarised in the section The be taken to ensure that the movement fulfils all the Congress in 1944. We believe the book will continue demands that modern age makes on us. This handsome to command its worthiness as a work of dependable ready reference.

THE RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM: By D S. Sharma, M.A. Published by the Hindu University, Benares. Pp. 686. Price Rs. 15 or 21 sh.

This stimulating volume is the first publication of the Fratap Singh Gaekwad Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion, launched by the Benares Hindu Univer-sity and edited by its Vice-Chancellor Sir S. Radnakrishnan. This book contains a series of profound studies in renaissant Hinduism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The learned author moves a mighty pen producing a style which is free and flexible, fascinating and dignified. The book is divided into fourteen chapters, besides the glossary and index. The last chapter merely provides a long reading list according to each chapter separately, while the first and the thirteenth are respectively introductory and concluding. In the remaining twelve chapters the prominent leaders of the modern Hindu renaissance, namely, Raja Ram-Mohun, Justice Ranade, Swami Dayananda, Annie Besant, Shri Ramakrishna. Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurovindo, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Prof. Radhakrishnan are separately studied and the contributions of the movements started by them are carefully surveyed. The first chapter which serves as a masterly introduction to the subject gives a short history of Hinduism from the earliest times down to the nineteenth century. The thoughtful author points out therein that the first renaissance in our religion was represented in the Upanishads which laid the firm foundations of Hinduism. The second renaissance took place in the epic age and is probably the greatest in our religious history and the finest flower of that renaissance is the Bhagavat Gita. According to the author, the third renaissance made its appearance in the author, the third remaissance made its appearance in the last century with Raja Rammohun, who is the morning star of the new day which dawns with Sri Ramakrishna and reaches its noon in Mahatma Gandhi." Mr. Sharma characterises Mahatma Gandhi as Kamala Publishing House, 8/1A, Hari Pal Lane, Catthe greatest figure of the modern renaissance, Rabindranath as its Leonardo da Vinci, Sri Aurovindo as its selfexiled and self-imprisoned Dante and Prof. Radhu-krishnan as its greatest living exponent as well as a world-champion of religion in general. Two long chapters are devoted to the description of Satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa and India. He pertinently observes that our age will be considered by the future historian as the age of Tagore and Gandni, two mighty personalities of the present renaissance which is more comprehensive and far-reaching than the two preceding ones in extent and intensity. In the words of J. H. Holmes of Chicago the Mahatma by his unique example has made Hinduism the noblest religion of our times. In the opinion of the learned writer, Shri Ramakrishna is, in a way, the true starting point of the present renaissance; for, his life represents the entire orbit of Hinduism, and with Swami Vivekananda, our renaissance becomes self-conscious and adolescent be realised through love and not While surveying the contributions of the Ramakrishna is unfortunate in his love. Nirma movement, he rightly remarks that, of all the religious are all living characters and have movements that have sprung up in India in recent of their own, in a sense Nirmals 1.

therefore, none so thoroughly, representative of the religious spirit of India as the movement connected with the names of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. The concluding chapter estimates in the light of history the progress Hinduism has made by the present renaissance and insightfully points out what further action should volume is a unique and illuminating history of modern Hinduism and indispensable for the students of our religion. The survey is critical and clear, penetrating and popular, illuminating and impartial throughout and is evidently the result of lifelong study and thinking.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDA SAMHITA: With the commentary of Sayanacharya. Vol. III. 6-8 Mandalas. Published by N. S. Sontakke, Secretary, Vaidika Samsodhaka Mandala, Tilaka Memorial, Poona 2. 1941. Price Re. 16.

With the publication of the present volume the Vaidika Samsodhaka Mandala or the Vedic Research Institute completes more than two-thirds of the entire work. And we have every hope there will not be much difficulty for the enthusiastic workers in presenting the concluding portion of the work before the world of scholars within a comparatively short time. For the present volume as many as thirty manuscripts arranged into 9 groups, were consulted. The variants noted reveal the extent of corruption undergone by the text of Sayana's commentary. Even manuscripts are not always dependable, as they did not hesitate, it is noticed, to supply what was lacking in Sayana, as the complete commentary on VIII. 19, 37. Nor do the manuscripts always preserve the correct reading, so that readings not supported by any of the manuscripts have sometimes had to be accepted in the present edition as well as in Max Muller's edition and the Bombay edition. In the present volume it is noticed that the learned editors have suggested two dozen emendations which generally appear to be happy. Besides these, there are a good many other cases where readings better than those adopted by Max Muller have been traced in the manuscripts and incorporated in the body of the text.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAYARTI

cutta. Price Rs. 3-8.

As a novelist and writer of short stories Rampada Mukherji has made a name for himself. He has a style of his own and even in dealing with our common and every-day life he can throw some new light on the theme. But the subject-matter of this accordinary one. Nissanga, as the title denotes the solitude of a soul. A s not an mplies, ets his soul's companion is alone in thi **U**t is almost the subject-matter of poer poet a novelist must be objective in dion of life, and Rampada Mukherji has success in making his characters living and hero of this novel, is what may man of the world. He lives in a Salil, the successful circumstances. respected by all, has a handsome where and is the head and arbiter of a large family, yet he feels hat he is not one of them, he is not happy, he is y. Life can be realised through love and no sess. Salil Sucharu teristics ary. soul. m ggn

never lars and the interest of the novel is sustained to the end.

The book contains biographical sketches of Surendranath Banerjea, Lokamanya Tilak, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu C. R. Das, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and some other outstanding Indian political leaders, whose activities have mainly been influenced by the ideals of the Indian National Congress. The writer has done justice to Bengal by giving a short account of Bengal's contribution to the Congress movement and a detailed description of the part played by Surendranath Banerjes in the beginning of India's struggle for freedom. The surface has not only made the nonfreedom. The author has not only made the pen-pictures of these notable celebrities enjoyable for us but has also given a careful analysis of the Indian political situation.

NALINI K. BHADRA

RABINDRANATHER GHARE BAIRE: By Sm. Renu Mitra, M.A. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

It is an interesting analysis of Rabindranath's famous novel Ghare Baire (the Home and the World). The author describes and comments on the philosophy of life presented by each of the main characters. She has not been satisfied with the mere cuaracters. sne has not been satisfied with the mere enjoyment of the story, but has tried to understand and explain the central problem underlying it—the problem of conjugal relation. This relation is not complete when it is confined within the narrow limits of the home. It attains completeness in the context of the world. She has dealt with the point at length. Her clarity of thought and elegance of language are really commendable. commendable.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

AKHANDA HINDUSTAN: By Vishendas Deva. Trivedi and Co., Chamberlain Road, Lahore. Pp. 144.

Here is a powerful plea, based on a study of Indian history and of the fundamental needs of humanity as against those of any particular portion of it, for consolidating the centuries-old unity of the country. As such, it is a darion-call to all patrictically-minded people to set their faces firmly against those movements and measures, like Pakistan and separate electorates, which aim at vivesecting the vital oneness of the nation. The two forewords to the book contributed by

make measures, like l'akistan and separate electrors of the which aim at vivescoting the vital oneness of the nation. The two forewords to the book contributed by Dr. Shyameryand Mukerji and Raja Narendranath vivescoting the sevent of the s

The author has shown considerable skill in dealing modernisation of the material aspect of life." Here with difficult characters and a difficult theme. The story and there, however, one finds there has been an undue and there, however, one finds there has been an undueemphasis on the especial point-of-view of the Hindus; otherwise, the book breathes a spirit of dispassionate criticism. A translation of the book in English as well BHARATER MUKTI-SADHAK: By Gopal way in arresting the growth of our anti-national policies
Bhownik. Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee and programmes.

Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-12.

BAPU': By G. D. Birla, Translated by R. R. Divakar, M.A., LL.B., P.P. Crown 8 Vo. Pp. 184. Price Re. 1.

Mahatma Gandhi is an epochmaker and hence his influence on the contemporary life of to-day is bound to be marvellous. Many attempts have been made to sketch the life of the greatest man of the world but so far as we know, no single attempt has proved an unqualified success. Lives of great men are not basily understood and they always elude the easy grasp of ordinary mortals. The variegated colours and the diverse attitude of their mind cannot be compressed into the narrow compass of a few pages. Every time we have a look at the lives of great men new points emerge in the limelight and the freshness of their mind astounds us.

Sri Birla has tried to delve deep into the crevices of Mahatma's mind and has been largely successful in leaving the impress of his personality on this book of his. Birla Seth is no idle visionary; he is a practical businessman. So his contributions and fold in the successful successful successful set. clusions and findings on different issues savour of this touch of practical wisdom. Birlaji is no blind follower of Mahatmaji. He has approached Gandhiji's life as a dispassionate critic and nowhere does he allow his intellect to be warped by extraneous considerations of faith, devotion, etc.

Sri Divakar, the devout disciple of Gandhiji and Gandhism, deserves all praise for having put in the hands of Kannada public this eminently readable book. Gandhiji today is not an individual but an institution and a power to reckon with. He is accepted on all hands to be one of the moulders of the modern world and a new and abiding civilization and culture. His life is bound to leave an indelible impression on the events to come and thus it is worth the while of every Kannadiga to go through this book carefully and digest the contents thereof. The Kannada rendering is admirably simple and chaste. The clarity of expression and the chiselled diction are worth emulating.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

PARABNAN PANI: By Prof. Murli Thakur of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co., Bombay 2, 1943. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 3-8.

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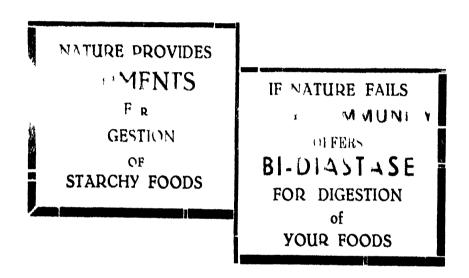
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



A Friend

This charming tribute to Sir William Rothenstein, whose déath was announced February 14, 1945, forms the subject-matter of an article by Rabindranath Tagore originally written for Bharati in 1912, and translated from the original Bengali by Kshitish Ray for The ₩sva-Bharati Quarterly :

On reaching London I took shelter in a hotel. It was as it I found myself in the crowded gateway of moving traffic. What transpired inside remained a mystery, nor was acquaintance possible with the in-mates I just watch d the people—coming and going All I could see was that there was no end of hurry and bustle. What the barne's was about passed my comimpact of all this colossal bustle-for good or for bad.

The gong goes. Inside the dining room I find groups of men and women, in twos and threes, sitting round their small tables and non-clessly eating their lood while the tall, solemn-faced waiter hastens from one table to another, serving with dexterous hands. Some finish their newspaper along with their meal, then dart a swift glance at their pocket watch, put on their hat and sully forth. The room grows empty. They get together only during lunch or dinner hour;

then vanish, no one knows where

Although I do not need to look at it, I too pull out the watch like everybody else, snap it open and then quietly put it back into my pocket. When it is neither meal-time nor time to retire, the hotel looks like a boat moored, and one is at a loss to explain one's presence therein during these hours. The hotel is a fit place for those who have their work to go to and no place to live in. A bazaar residential arrangement like this is not quite suitable for such superfluous persons as I. As I stand by the open window I find streams of people running in various directions. They seem to me to be so many tools in the hands of an invisible mechanic. What is being forged remains likewise invisible, on the whole. It is like a colossal factory where history is being manufactured, where millions of hammers strike at a million different spots with swift and terrific blows. I stand outside this giant engine and see the living pistons, propelled by the steam of hunger, moving up and down with an indomitable energy.

Foreigners who come here for the first time cannot escape this first impression of the huge human machine of the god of history. What heat, what clamour! How the wheels revolve! If I shut my eyes for a while and try to form an idea of all the labour and all the movement that constitute this city of Lon-don, what terrible persistence! Nobody knows to what end is this incessant drive, what latent power is in the process of being made manifest.

But one cannot keep on seeing man only as a machine. If I cannot see the man in him, why did I come all this way? It is of course much easier to see him as a cog in the wheel than as he is by himself. Unless he takes you of his own accord into the inner compartments of his mind, you cannot gain admission to the essential man. It is not so simple as buying a violate that admission for the compartments of his mind, you cannot gain admission to the essential man. It is not so simple as buying a violate that the second simple where the second simple where the second simple was the second simple with the desiration for the second simple was the second simple with the second simple was a second ticket to a theatre. You cannot gain that admission for any price simply because it is priceless.

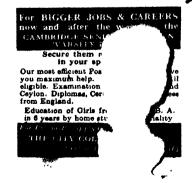
Luckily for me I got that one rare chance. I came by a friend. There are some who are born friends. It does not lie with all of us to be so. In order to become a true friend one has to give oneself. As in the case of

a true friend one has to give oneself. As in the case of other charties, this gift presupposes a fund to draw upon Mere wish to give is not enough.

The friend I was talking of is a famous artist; his name is William Rothenstein. In India I had med him for a brief while. As a matter of fact, at the time of setting out for Europe I had felt attracted by the prospect of coming closer to him. The moment I met him I felt as if in a trice I had crossed over the gateway of the bottel Now there was nothing to stor me.

of the hotel Now there was nothing to stop me He lived at Hampstead Heath. The place was green mound and looked like the heaving breast of London, In the backward of his house nestling against the slope of the hill was a strip of a garden. Facing the garden was a long verindal attached to the drawing room, half-hidden by a rose creeper and rapturous with the fragrance of many flowers. According as my faury took me I sat in the verandah with a book in hand which I hardly ever read. I felt happier to watch his three children play-two boys and girl. Their childish joy was infectious.

The path from the strange to the familiar is a long and arduous one. I had hardly the time to traverse the entire course. My capacity, too, was limited Habitually shy. I recoiled from the thought of muscling my way to the desired goal. Besides, I did not the course of the many contents of the course of the co not hold the key wherewith to unlock the main entrance to the English language. It was a hurdle race for me. Such a process is too much of a strain and does not help one to be true to one's nature. Unless one can express oneself without let or hindrance, one cannot get to know the real and true self of another. And so after a while, tired of trying to dodge the monstrous wheels of the mechanised traffic, I would have at last traced my way back to my Bengal, nestling in the embrace of her rivers, that flow by the green paddy fields glistening in the autumn sun. When my mind was at such a pass in came my friend. He raised the screen and I saw the light burning and a seat kept ready for me. I left the dead-weight of the foreigner's strange-ness outside the door, discarded the dust-laden coat of the traveller, and passed in a moment from the bustle of the crowd into the intimacy of a home.



The Pacific War

The New Review observes: America had hardly any V-E Day and at once America had hardly any V-E Day and at once witched all her might into the Pacific war. By the middle of the month, re-deployment was in full swing. Engineer units were flown to organise the handling of millions of toos of water-borne supplies; Luzon is to play the part of a Britain-like base but note that there are 1,250 miles from Luzon to Japan against 100 miles from Britain to France. Air-crews are being re-trained, on the trained of places to be used are different Super. for the types of planes to be used are different. Super-fort instead of Fortress and Liberator, Douglas A-26 instead of Mitchell and Marauder; many more of the material of material and Marauder; many more of the type B-29 and Consolidated B-32. Then again the newest versions of Thunderbolt and Mustang will be the types mainly in use. There is also the Shooting Star, the Lockheed P-80, a jet-fighter with a ceiling of 40,000 ft, and a speed of over 600 m.p.h. which is being mass-produced. Re-deployment will take time, owing

mainly to shipping shortage.

Japan has also improved her types of planes. She particularly boasts of her Kamikaze (Divine Tempest): it is a buzz-bomb piloted by a man locked in the cockpit; it is launched from the underside fuselage of a plane and carries one ton of explosive in its torpedolike noise. It has done serious damage to American warships off Okinawa; yet the G. I.'s call it baka (foolish) in Japanese' and Looney Joe in American. Japan is estimated to have 8,000 planes, half being front-line combat planes; until recently she produced 1,500 planes a month, more than was needed for re-placements. But Superfortresses are credited with having cut down her production by some 35 per cent. The Imperial Fleet has been reduced to five outmoded battleships, three dozen destroyers and cruisers, 100 standard submarines and many more smaller ones. The land forces remain formidable, but the outer defences of the homeland have been breached at Iwojima and Okinawa and the repeated reshuffles in Cabinet, Army and Navy betray Japan's deep anxiety.

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The Game With Human Lives

The tragedy that Bengal witnessed in 1943 is unparalleled in history both in intensity and character. What is most agonizing is that this famine did not come as an entirely unexpected avalanche. With bold and resolute action, it could have been prevented. Science and Culture observes:

A post-mortem examination has now been carried out on the Bengal famine of 1943. The Famine Enquiry Commission set up by the Central Government, with Sir John Woodhead (late of I.C.S.) as Chairman, has now released a report in which the situation prevailing before and during the famine has been analyzed. It is noteworthy that most of the charges of maladministration brought against the Bengal Government by the public during the famine and which were often stoutly refuted by the authorities, are very largely substantiated in this report. Broadly speaking, the findings of the Commission are:

I. That the incidence of the famine was not sudden, the signs of the catastrophe were apparent

several months before its actual occurrence.

II. That although shortage of food supply and fall of Burma created conditions for its occurrence, its incidence was mainly due to (1) the sudden increase in the price of food materials, (2) the terribly low purchasing power of the people, (3) the confusion in the policy of the Government regarding control of prices and procurement of foodgrams through Government agents, (4) the panic in the adjoining areas after the fall of Burma, (5) the weak and vacillating policy of the Government to control hoarding and increase of prices, (6) the maldistribution of available supply, (7) unfortunate Government propaganda against the incidence of famine when thousands were dying daily, (8) Government's failure to make an early declaration of famine and consequently delay in the adoption of relief measures, (9) unrestricted free trade, (10) export of rice from Bengal to other areas, (11) heavy purchases by the Army, huge stocks accumulated by industrial and Government employers, (12) destruction and loss of coastal boats, (13) lukewarm and complacent attitude of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, (14) hoarding and greed for money even at the expense of human lives, and above all due to lack of enlisting public support and loss of public confidence in the capacity of the Bengal Government to take effective measures even under the most acute conditions.

The report says:

"An attempt to control prices by the prescription of statutory maxima aggravated the situation by driving stocks under-ground. The subsequent decision not to enforce the Order, while alleviating the difficulties which the Order created, advertised the inability of Government to control the markets."

"The events of 1942 had shown how necessary it was for the Bengal Government to secure control of supplies. In these circumstances, we think that the wise course would have been for Government to have recognised that it was inadvisable to wait for a decision whether the control of rice should be central, provincial or regional responsibility, and that the proper course was to establish as quickly as their own procurement machinery.'

"It has been reckoned that the amount of unusual profits made on the buying and selling of rice during 1943, was 150 crores."

"We have been told that Government advised

people that there was no shortage at a time when everybody knew that there was a shortage, and that this increased the prevailing lack of confidence."
"Conditions actually prevailing in Rengal at the time were far too serious for anyone to believe any-

thing of the kind. We consider that this propaganda of antificiency was quite ill-advised. We think that it would have been wiser to have told the people the truth."

"The remarkable feature of the Bengal famine was that the rise in the price of rice was one of the principal causes of the famine. This, as far as we are aware, makes it unique in the history of famine in India. The great majority of Indian famines have been caused by drought and widespread failure of crops over wide areas. Floods, hail, and cyclones have on rare occasions produced the same effect."

"But after considering all the circumstances we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Government of Bengal, by bold, resolute and wellconceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took

place.

"It has been for us a sad task to inquire into the sarse and causes of the Bengal famine. We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown, as well as an administrative breakdown.

Meaning of Shakespeare in War Time

Prof. Dover Wilson writes in The Twentieth Century:

No man can breathe anything but the climate of opinion of his own period. And when you realise that Elizabethan England found peace and security, as it seemed to them, by a miracle, in the rule of their extraordinary Queen Elizabeth, after a generation or two of civil strife and the constant threat of foreign invasion, a threat which culminated in the defeat of the Spanish invasion fleet in 1588, a year or two before Shakespeare began writing his plays, you see at once that no other political attitude was possible for the men of that great age.

When Britain was recently threatened by invasion,

she found the patriotic note of Shakespeare's history-plays stir her like a trumpet:

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror. Come the three corners of the world in arms, And we shall shock them.

And the famous description of the island-fortress

in Richard II:

This fortress built by nature for herself Against infection and the hand of war, This happy breed of men, this little world, This precious stone set in the silver sea, Which serves it in the office of a wall, Or as a moat defensive to a house

Against the envy of less happier lands, Such passages have meant much to the people of Britain in these last years, more than they had imagined they could possibly mean in the days of

peaceful preoccupation.

In another history-play, written later, though dealing with an earlier region, King Henry V, Shakespeare shows his country as itself invading the continent of Europe, and winning the great victory of Agincourt over the French in 1415. Here is a writing about England at war, a victorious war, surely the play of all

plays to be reading or seeing in wartime?

What thrills us in Henry V is not the rather bombastic choruses, but the fact that the battle of Agincourt was fought and won by a handful of English against overwhelming odds, and the King's speech, in which he addresses his men as "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers."



Indian Chronology

than the popular art of book-writing or bril- greatest lever and one which, if stout and liant presentation. P. K. Gode writes in The strong, has infinite potentialities. Arvan Path:

Chronology is rightly looked upon as the very backbone of history, while geography is its eye. Accuracy in determining the time and place of a historical event or person inspires confidence but mere arguments do not prove a historical fact. All research worth the name in the historical field must connect the past with the present or, if this is not possible in a given case, it must accurately lay bare sufficient data by exploring a historical field within two definite chronological limits with a view to helping further investigation in the field by subsequent explorers. Recording data bearing on the problem under investigation and pointing out its significance is useful but writing page after page with-out discovering or recording any new fact does harm to the problem as it clouds the issues instead of clearing them. Mere inferences should be stated as such and even deductions from facts discovered should be cautiously made without leaving the moorings of facts.

There should be no mysticism in fact-finding or even in the presentation of facts. Evidence should be recorded without garbling and inferences therefrom should be presented in a clear-cut manner without adding too much polish or brilliance. The object of the investigator of facts should be the presentation of the facts discovered in their proper historical perspective with a view to helping brother investigators. Every research student will bear me out when I say that cautious research within reasonable limits warranted by specific data has not much to fear as it is never wide of the mark, though one may not always succeed in hitting the bull's-eye. The real test of a research article lies in its quo'n-worthing - in the eyes of subsequent workers in the field.

This is what may be called realism in The habit of fact-finding is more useful historical research of which chronology is the

> A beginner in chronology should ply his axe on some knotty problems for which some reliable data can be gathered from sources still untapped. In our enthusiasm to determine the age of the Veda we neglect sources of history such as the numerous manuscripts in our libraries and the large number of inscriptions and archaeological finds pertaining to the different epochs of history, not to say the valuable documents of the modern period of Indian history, all of which need systematic investigation and exploration, A close study of this enormous material even in part, if carried out under the guidance of competent teachers, is sure to develop a realistic outlook which is badly needed

> the data from epigraphic and archaeological sources is of paramount importance to the future of all research in Indology on scientific lines. Hundreds of research students can easily engage their minds in the study of this vast material that awaits exploitation in a cautious manner. Discoveries in research generally come from untapped sources. First-rate discoveries made by an investigator on the strength of new and unknown sources extend the bounds of our knowledge in a given field of history. While studying new historical sources we must in the first instance determine their chronology and then use them for historical reconstruction. Datable allusions or facts, when arranged in chronological order, make reliable history within their limitations. The investigator of historical facts must be a chronologist and not a novelist. The process of historical reconstruction worth the name is essentially an inductive process which builds up the edifice brick by brick with the cohesive cement of logic based on carefully selected facts.



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No More Windfalls in Apple Orchards

Arnold Nicholson writes in The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health:

If Dr. Frank Gardner had been three centuries sooner, a little ahead of Sir Isaac Newton, the world might still be wondering what makes things drop to

earth. earth.

For the discoverer of gravitation, being also an enthusiastic horticulturist, would naturally have sprayed his orchard with the fifteenth-century "Dr. Gardner's magic mixture," and the well-known apple would not have fallen. It is still open to argument whether or not this scientific "double-cross" would have been worthwhile, for Dr. Gardner's discovery is rated "one of the most important in the history of food production"

most important in the history of food production."

By adding a teaspoon of his "magic" to two hundred gallons of water for sprinkling an orchard—bigger, sweeter, more vitamin-crammed apples, pears, chernes, and other fruit are now produced.

and other truit are now produced.

In the coming months, the public will be receiving the biggest dividend yet from the "crazy experiments" could be closed by stating: "And so, hormones have which Dr. Gardner, as a member of the U. S. Bureau of Plant Industry's staff, began five years ago at the bureau's experimental farm at Beltsville, Maryland.

What hundred a formatt and the statement of the best formatting the plant world, to the glory of science and the bureau's experimental farm at Beltsville, Maryland.

What hundred a formatt and the statement of the best formatting the public which cause some man to age prematurely and the statement of the plant world, to the glory of science and surface and the bureau's experiments. What hundreds of farmers and fruit-growers have seen, wondered at, and adopted in these few short years was aptly expressed by a veteran orchardist: "That stuff just mails the fruit to the tree!"

just nails the fruit to the tree! "nail fruit to the tree" versatile in their vegetable guise. lies in the fact that most fruit fall when the seed is For instance, while Dr. Gardner was "nailing mature enough for reproduction. Unfortunately, the apples to trees." Dr. G. W. Schneider, working at a New would much rather have it stay put for ten days or two been seeking for years.

weeks. For it could continue fattening up in the eun-

weeks. For it could continue lawrening up in one standshine, storing up sugar, losing its tannic acid, and acquiring a glowing jacket.

The teaspoon of stuff Dr. Gardner tossed into the spray-tank at Beltsville, back in 1929, was one of the spray-tank at Beltsville, back in 1929, was one of the most potent activating substances known to science—a hormone. Acting on an idea, he wanted to see what effect it would have. "It might," he told the spray men, "prevent fruit from dropping."

The men chuckled inwardly. They had already witnessed many unorthodox antics in the name of plant science, but to be told that a few drops of chemical, diluted in 200,000 parts of water could have any offset

diluted in 200,000 parts of water, could have any effect, well !

The experimenter had the last laugh. Apples hung in the trees, when the autumn winds blew, as though they were taped to the branches. And some which had been sprayed twice were still hanging there, wisened and brown, when December snows whipped through the leafless orchard.

cells, which cause some men to age prematurely and others to remain young in their old age, which have a score of effects on the human body and temperament

mattre enough for reproduction. Unfortunatery, the applies to frees. Dr. G. W. Schneider, working at a rew needs of propagation and the preference of fruit-eating Maxico experimental station, discovered that a similar mankind do not always coincide. Too often when the hormone spray, when applied to blossoms, had exactly small layer of cells in the stem, which is the fruit's the opposite effect—it caused a reduction in the number "release mechanism," dries out to the point where the which turned into fruit. Again, fruit growers cheered, fruit falls, the fruit-grower—and his cash customers— A blossom-reducing substance was something they had

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Fisheries in India

It is time that we should ardently try to develop Fishery Science and apply it in practical fields for the uplift of our national resources. There is an urgent need of research. Dr. H. K. Mookerjee observes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Fish is one of the best ingredients of non-vegetarian diet. In a hot country like India and specially in Bengal fish is generally preferred to meat. The Fishing industry may be divided into the main categories, namely, 1. Fresh-water fishery, 2. Estuarine fishery, and 3. Marine fishery. The main problems of fresh water and estuarine fisheries are:

(a) Life-history, (b) Brading (c) Raving, (d) Conservation:—(i) Stocking (i.) Introduction Protection and Fishery laws, (e) Ecology, (f) Technology:—(i) Preservation, (ii) Different methods of catch and appliances, (g) Marketing, (h) Fishermen—their life

and education.

Each of the above items of the main problem of fresh water and estuarine fisheries involves many enquiries which are still hopelessly lacking. The knowledge derived in other countries is mostly of no use when we note that our fish is quite different from fish of western countries. For example, Indian major crops unlike the European carps do not breed in ordinary stagnant ponds. Ecological conditions, particularly temperature, the acidity or alkalinity of water, oxygen contents of water, are so different that at every step it involves fresh research.

Now let us take up the life-history of common fresh water fishes. Without the life-history nobody can go a step further in fishery. It is so very fundamental.

Dr. Rao in his report on the progress of science in India during the past twenty-five years in connection with Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress Association in May, 1938, remarked, "Considering that the study of the developmental history of fishes is of great importance in solving fishery problems, it seems surprising that so little attention has been paid to this subject in India."

I may state here that in the Fisheries Laboratory of the University of Calcutta during the last eight years, we have investigated the complete life-histories of some of the edible fishes.

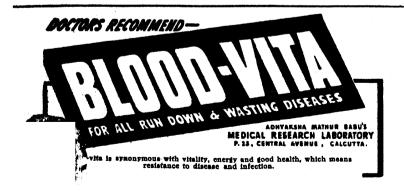
The number of fresh-water fishes of Bengal alone is more than 150 of which common ones would be 50.

So there is still enough scope to trace the lifehistories and carry on basic researches on the different

species of fresh-water fishes.

The condition of estuarine fishes is still worse. The full life-history of not a single species is yet known. The breeding methods of fresh-water fishes have recently been investigated by the Calcutta University and the knowledge of this was in a deplorable condition but even now it may be said that still more work is necessary.

The rearing of fry depends much on food. Although each and every Fisheries Department investigated to comparative value of artificial food, nobody cared to know the natural food of such fishes. The result is a tremendous amount of financial loss. In case of carp alone such artificial food is of no use as they are costly and pollute the water. From our fish laboratory of the Calcutta University we have been able to throw much light on the peculiarity of the natural food of carp. Carp always take semi-rotten plant body in their adolescent and adult stages, as they have no teeth in their jaws to bite plants in fresh condition, and they are unable to digest the diatoms. Much depends on the quantitative value of food as we all know that qualitatively there is practically no difference between the food of a child with that of an adult person. It is in the percentage composition of food that varies from a child to an adult person. The same truth holds good even for fish. These valuable data have also been collected very recently by the Fish Laboratory, Calcutta University. Much work is still to be done in this



RACULOUS PREDICTION ON WAR

Made on the 3rd September 1939 has become true now.

"Astrologer & Astronomer of All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society of Calcutta considering situation of British and King Emperor with reference to present planetary position predict present war enhances British prestige and British emerges successful.

The above prediction was sent to the Secretary of States for India, His Excellency the Vicercy and Governor-General of India and the Governor of Bengal which was thankfully acknowledged by them with their letter Memo No. 361/A/XX-A-24, through the Govt. of Bengal 12-12-39, No. 3/MP dated 7-10-39 and Government of Bengal Govt. Camp No. D.O.39-T dated 8-9-39 respectively.

This prediction was made by

ASTROLOGER & TANTRIK-YOGI INDIA'S GREATEST



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He is the only Astrologer in India who is highly appreciated by His Majesty the King Emperor George the Sixth for his won-derful calculation and the Eighteen Eminent Ruling Chiefs of India honoured him for his marvellous achievements in Astrology and Tantrik rites.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Art Crafts of Ireland

In The Catholic World, Regina Madden points out how the present Irish Renaissance movement is manifesting itself in all the Irish activities of to-day:

It has often been said that the average Inshman is an individualist with a stronge urge toward expressing his individuality. That is undoubtedly the reason why mass production has aroused only a limited enthusiasm in the Irish and why craft work has retained its popularity down to the present day. In the art crafts the worker has an opportunity to express his personality; and while expressing his personality, he works joyously, reminding us of William Morris's statement that art is the expression of man's joy in his work. So the art

crafts have always held an important place in the occupational life of Ireland.

That the skill to be found in Ireland in the artisuc crafts is not a foreign mlay is satisfactorily proved by the native artistic achievements in book illumination and metal work as early as the eighth century. To foster these and other native skills the Royal Dublin Society was organized in 1731. From 1743 on we find the Society offering awards for superior work done in the making of lace, embroidery, tapestry, carpets, enamels, and in other artistic crafts. Before the end of the eighteenth century the glass of Waterford had attained such fame that we may read in the Dubhn Chronicle of August 21, 1788, that "a very curous service of glass has been sent over from Waterford to Milford for their Majesties' use, and by their orders forwarded to Cheltenham, where it has been much admired and does great credit to the manufacture of this country." Equally famous was the silverware of Irrland, while the making of lace from gold and silver thread had also become so important an industry by 1773 that the Irish Parliament to protect it passed an act prohibiting altogether the importation of gold and silver laces.

When projects for the improvement of the welfare of certain sections were undertaken by such agencies as the Congested Districts Board in 1893 and more ment of Lands, the native Irish taste for the Cepartment of Lands, the native Irish taste for the crafts was utilised in establishing crochet, embroidery, lace, and the industries.

Today Ireland, cut off from outside influences and thrown upon her own resources, turns more of her mative crafts and finds a wholesome energies in

happing

ssion through work.

of the Irish Renaissance move-Th ment a out the base scivity is seen in the Dun Emer by prevent, where the handwoven carpets, tapestrick stich and ries made under the direction of Miss strong fr. mick and Miss Evelyn Gleeson, are dea of Miss id Gaelic motifs.

Also a beaugh a Also beffei a the v e Renaissance movement bas work of Ireland, which is the been the be the early part of the present produced in the Harry Clarke of the produced in the Harry Clarke ry only the mass-produced rom Munich and Birmingham nurches of Ireland. To-day the best done century. studio an beginning stainec 🜇 swer churches comes through

ieweled-colored windows of native design and native craftsmanship.

One of the most popular centers of craftsmanship is the Cluana Studio in Dawson Street, Dublin, which is noted for its beautiful handmade jewelry, its handcarved wooden utensils, its basket work, etc. Another association of craftsmen is the Avoca Hand-Weavers, who make rugs, blankets, scarves, and tweeds. The weavers work in an old water mill, in which the cardweavers work in an old water min, in which are inerging and the spinning are done on primitive ma linery.

All the weaving is done by hand. The popularity of the material is in large part due to the variety of beautiful colors found in it, which is the result of constant experimenting in dyeing.

In the more remote sections of Donegal, Galway, Mayo, and Kerry are produced homespuns. Through the open half-doors of the whitewashed cottages in these areas one can see the women busy at the work of spinning the yarn and coloring it. It is common to find in these homes the picture of St. Bridget, for it is she who is the patron of spinners. The yarn, richly colored in the dyes made of lichens, moss, heather, and roots, is taken to the local weaver, who uses his own individual patterns in weaving the material, which has a distinctive beauty. In these sections hand-knitting is also done from the yarn spun in the home. Sweaters, scarves, gloves, socks, and ties of beautiful and original patterns are made for sale.

Virtually all the artists engaged in these various crafts have found their inspiration in the ancient Celtic art, taking their motifs from the Irish Romanesque and earlier styles. In so developing her art crafts along the lines of native tradition, Ireland is following the policy of cultural self-reliance advocated over fifty years ago by the man now her president, who has always remained true to the belief that while her culture lives on. a

nation will endure.

India To-day

In a review article under the above caption in The International Review of Missions, John McKenzie, D. D. passes the following remarks about five books on India:

In these days news about India is scarce, and new books about India are few and far between. This is not

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due to any shortage of ideas or to any lack of the kind duties he travelled to almost every part of India, and of activities that stimulate men to thought and extere are few church or mission compounds in the pression. It is due chiefly to the limitations which the length and breadth of the land in which he would not war has put on the means of expression, the shortage find his way about without a guide. More than that, of paper and of facilities for printing. But we have he was, and continues to be, the trusted friend of great before us five books dealing with present-day India. numbers of non-Christians, including many of the The details of their subject-matter vary, as do the political leaders; and his intimate friendship with Mr. pression. It is due anison to the initiations which the war has put on the means of expression, the shortage of paper and of facilities for printing. But we have before us five books dealing with present-day India. The details of their subject-matter vary, as do the points of view of their writers. Each of them sheds some light on a situation which everyone who is interested in India feels to be in need of illuminating. At the end the reader may have difficulty in fitting into a single picture the varied information and the various ominions with which the different writers supply him, but he will at least have discovered how great and how important for the world are the movements which are of the problems which face those who from necessity or from choice have laid upon them the task of planning for India's future.

We shall look briefly at each of these books, and firstly, at Dr. Hodge's Salute to India, for though small in bulk it is the most comprehensive, the best balanced and the most illuminating of them all. It is the work of a man who knows India with an intimacy which few westerners ever reach. He came to know a peasant community in Bihar with a knowledge that is possible only for one who lives for long years among the people, entering into all their interests, their work and their play, their joys and their sorrows, and who in love serves them. He made many other friends, for while still in Bihar he was collaborating in the service of the spiritual and material needs of India with people of many types, Indian and European, in all parts of the land. Then for over eleven years he had the high honour and privilege of serving as secretary of the National Christian Council. In the discharge of his

Gandhi is of thirty years' standing.

Dr. Hodge has given us, in his own words, 'a tribute to the Indian people, whom I know and respect. It is a worthy tribute, which we ought all to hail with gratitude; for it cannot but have a healing influence

at this time of deep misunderstanding and alienation.

Mr. Beverley Nichol's Verdict on India is a much more impressive looking book, with a much more impressive title. Actually when he essayed to mount the bench and deliver a judicial verdict on India Mr. Nichols took upon himself a task that was far beyond his powers. It may be questioned ever whether he was justified in appearing at the bar in support of the case which he advocates. This is the case for Pakistan, and in pleading it he goes all out in favour of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League, and against the Congress and Mr. Gandhi and Hinduism and almost all its works. He got up his case far too hastily, and he makes some striking errors in his attempt to present the facts. The shortness of the time which he spent in India, the narrowness of the range of the contacts which he was able to establish with Indian people and his lack of any profound knowledge of or insight into the Indian mind unfitted him for dealing wisely or usefully with the Indian problem.

Mr. Nichols writes, as always, with great charm. It may be questioned, however, whether this enhances the merit of the book. He is dealing with a situation of great delicacy, difficulty and danger, a situation on which action must be taken soon. Whatever that action may be, it will have profound and far-reaching consequences for millions of people not only in India but far beyond it. There is therefore demanded of all who have anything to propose in speech or writing a high sense of responsibility and an informed judgment. Mr. Nichols' book is being read not because it exhibits him as being possessed of these qualities, but because it handles Indian matters far more picture-quely than most other writings do; for the average book on India is intolerably dull. But the pity is that in this country he will sway the judgment of many people who know even less about India than he does, and in India he is likely to make a hig contribution to the intensification of the ill-feeling which is already far too prevalent.



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Mr. Reviand's We who are Isalia deals with the subject of the Indian money-lender, against whose vamprish way, he manifests a justifiable and righteous indignation. The writer has done a valuable service in drawing the altention of people in the West to an evil which continues to bring misery to many millions of people in Irada, robbing them of the possibility of physical or continual well-being, and killing in them all

hope and as in ation.

Mr. Garl Heath's Gandhi extends to only thirty pages, but within this space he gives us an illuminating and interesting study of one of the most remarkable men of our time. Many have tried to characterise Mr. Gandhi, and many more will do so; for he is a very enigmatical character, and his interpreters will continue to differ widely from each other. Mr. Heath's will take a high place among the studies already made and those which

are yet to come.

I find it extremely difficult to write on Mr. Goshal's book, The People of India. It is an interesting book, book, The People of Incol. It is an interesting book, well planned, and written in vigorous and expressive linglish. It opens with a survey of India's heritage, beginning with Mohenio Davo and carrying us raridly on to modern times. But this is intended only to provide a background. The bulk of the book consists of a history and appraisement of the work of the British in India. It is written from the Left Wing Congress standpoint, and it is full of anti-British bitterness. There is no appect of British relations with India which is not given the worst possible interpretation. I believe this work of view has been excepted. tion. I believe this point of view has been accepted fairly widely in America, and I do not know whether works like Mr. Goshal's are to be regarded mainly as contributory causes to the anti-British spirit or mainly as effects of it.

My difficulty in commenting on the book and its implications is partly due to the fact that I spent the early years of my service in India in the period preceding the last war, when the Swaraj movement had started, but when one heard little, if anything, of the kind of interpretation of history with which we are here preented Political leaders, even those who were regarded as 'extremist', were on the whole appreciative of the services which Britain had rendered to Irdia. Most of their would have agreed with the words Mr. Subrimania Aiyar, one of the early leaders of the Congress: By a merciful dispensation of Providence, meta, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the British Power. These men were thinking in terms of the gradual transference of government to Indian hands, and they were working for this by constitutional means. They were working for this by constitutional means. They were appreciative of past progress, but eager to quicken the pace. But it would have entered the minds of very few to assert, as is asserted in the Teclaration of Independence passed by the Congress in LSO, that the British Government thas mined Indis economically, politically, culturally and quiriusally. I cannot believe that the men who drafted this behieved the allowants their hearts. But they have taught multitude attain the copie to believe it fanatically. I have not a country their period view of the progress which in the country that they have the substitution of the country of the progress which in the country of the progress which is method. The progress which is method that the progress which is method that the progress which is method that the prepared by the unprepared of the progress which is t differently from the manner in prejudiced m. For example, an unbiaseed which h material relating to the Crippe tructive.

.Three of the books at which we have been lookid-Dr. Hodge's, Mr. Heath's and Mr. Hoyland's—are, -Dr. Hodge's, Mr. Heath's and Mr. Hoyland's—are suppression of a deep religious concern. Mr. Bever suppression of a deep religious concern. Mr. Bever Nichols claims to stand on Christian principle, and sarier work, The Fool hath said, is evidence of its sincerity; but many Christians will find him on India matters an embarrassing ally. Mr. Joshal leaves religion out of his discussion of present day movements. But whatever they may say about religion, they cannot evade the political problem. In these days it is its possible. There are some good Christians who say to us missionnies, Why not leave politics on one side and set on with the work of the Gospel? The escape is not set on with the work of the Gospel? The escape is the content of the conten get on with the work of the Gospel ? The escape in as easy as that. The missionary on the field is fronted with the political problem all the time. The churchman in this country who has any touch with the work of a missionary society is all the sime having to handle questions which have very definite political implications. He does not exempt himself from the charge of taking part in polities by refusing to ages judgment on the political issues. If he does, he only lays himself open to the other charge of being a political die-hard, who stands for the maintenance of the status quo. It is not because missionaries regard politics as an interesting and exciting game that they bave at times taken part in political activities or made political pronouncements. It is because they realize that until the present bitter controversy, or rather, controversies (for they are many), are settled, there can be no health in India. There may be wide divergences of opinion as to how they should be settled; but all will agree as to the urgent need for the restoration of inter-racial and inter-communal peace and good-will.

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